

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

- 1 These were the states of Ma'in, Šaba', Qatabān, and Ḥaḍramaut.
- 2 Ancient southern Arabic, which is known to us through inscriptions, is certainly similar to the northern dialects of Arabia; however, it is even more closely related to ancient Ethiopic.
- 3 Such states include the kingdoms of the Nabateans in northwestern Arabia, the Palmyrians in the region of Syria, the Lakhmids in the vicinity of Babylonia, and the Ghassānids in Syria, which were tolerated and supported to some extent as buffer states by the surrounding empires. Also, the kingdom of the Kindites existed temporarily in interior Arabia.
- 4 These were the springtime month of Rajab and the late summer and fall consecutive months of Dhū l-Qa'da, Dhū l-Ḥijja, and al-Muḥarram. While in ancient times the Arabs sought to assimilate their year to the solar year by inserting extra months occasionally, the Islamic calendar is reckoned strictly according to the lunar year of 354 days (see p. 265, note 25). The months named above are the seventh, eleventh, twelfth, and first months of the year.
- 5 The names of these goddesses, whose cults were by no means limited to the Meccans, mean: 'the goddess' (cf. Allāh), 'the most powerful one', and 'fate'. The Arabs know other derivations for these names, whose supporters referred to them collectively as *banāt Allāh* (daughters of Allāh). See pp. 141 ff.
- 6 The word *jinn*, which according to the Muslim lexicographers is derived from *ijtanna* (to be covered), has been connected with the Latin 'genius' by European scholars. Whoever was in league with such a spirit came to be designated as *majnūn* (see p. 9). In contrast to some of the philosophers, Muḥammad and official Islam have acknowledged the existence of the jinn (see p. 9). The jinn could become believers and participate in salvation (see Sūra 72:2 and also p. 169).
- 7 The word *ḥanīf* appears in the Qur'ān especially in reference to Abraham as one who supported the worship of God alone, thus anticipating Islam. See p. 11, and also pp. 98 f., 99 f., and 245.
- 8 On the distinction between prophets and messengers, which is not entirely clear, see pp. 54 f. The word *nabi* is derived from the Hebrew *nāḥī* as

- well as from the Aramaic *nabīyā*. Regarding *rasūl* (messenger) cf. the word 'apostle' in Christian usage.
- 9 Regarding the sons of Muḥammad who died early, see p. 82 and p. 272, note 32. Except for Khadija, who was Muḥammad's only wife until the time of her death, only the Coptic slave Māriya bore a child through him.
- 10 See pp. 49 ff.
- 11 See pp. 62 f.
- 12 [First published in the *Edinburgh Review* for July 1866, and reprinted in *A Reader on Islam*, ed. Arthur Jeffery (The Hague: Mouton, 1962), p. 20. As an example of an attempt to imitate *saġ* in German, Gätje quotes the following translation of Sūra 96:1-8 by Hubert Grimme:
- Trag vor in des Herren Namen,
der euch schuf aus blutigem Samen!
Trag vor! Er ist der Geehrte,
der mit dem Schreiberohr lehrte,
was noch kein Menschenohr hörte.
Doch der Mensch ist von störrischer Art,
nicht achtend, dass Er ihn gewahrt.
Doch zu Gott führt einst die Fahrt.]
- 13 The term *maulā* designates not only the protector or patron, but also the one protected and the client. The *wilā*-relationship has its special significance in the emancipation of slaves, where the emancipator becomes the patron of the one emancipated. See p. 210.
- 14 Literally: 'mother of the book'. This is believed to exist on a heavenly tablet (see pp. 51 f. and p. 268, note 18). Regarding another meaning which is associated with the concept in the Medinan period (see p. 28) of the revelation, see pp. 55 f. and p. 269, note 30.
- 15 Cain and Abel are not mentioned by name in the Qur'ān, but are referred to as 'sons of Adam'.
- 16 Among the prophetic forerunners of Muḥammad, one finds some who do not appear in the Bible, such as Hūd (see p. 274, note 41) and Šāliḥ (see p. 72 and p. 271, note 8).
- 17 The word *umma*, meaning '(religious) community, corporate body, people', is a Hebrew as well as Aramaic loan-word (Syriac: *ummthā*). In the Qur'ān it usually designates the national, linguistic, or religious communities which are the subjects of special divine treatment (see pp. 92 ff.). The borrowing of words from the Jewish-Christian sphere is characteristic for this new religion, as is also the practice of giving new meanings to ancient Arabic concepts.
- 18 The word *mu'jiza* has come to designate the 'verification miracle' of the prophets. It does not appear in the Qur'ān; however, the idea that the people could produce nothing equivalent to the Qur'ān is clearly expressed (Sūra 17:88/90). The individual segments of the revelation in the Qur'ān are called 'signs' (*āyāt*, sing. *āya*). This term then came to be used in the sense of 'verse (of the Qur'ān)'. The verification miracle of the prophets is to be distinguished from the later concept of *karāma*, the gift of miracles which is attributed to the saints (see p. 20).

- 19 Later, however, within the scope of a glorified image of the Prophet numerous miraculous deeds were attributed to Muḥammad. See p. 81 and p. 271, note 16.
- 20 In the Qur'ān the People of the Book are only the Jews and Christians. To be sure, the Sabaeans (*sābi'īn*) and the Zoroastrians (*majūs*) are mentioned in the Qur'ān and already in early Islam they came to be included among the People of the Book on the basis of specific Traditions. Some scholars consider the Sabaeans to be the Mandaeans, a Jewish-Christian sect in Mesopotamia. Others identify them with the ancient Carrhae, a pagan sect in Ḥarrān influenced by Hellenism, whom many scholars have mentioned and who continued to be among the possessors of the Book for a still longer time in Islam. In the Qur'ān itself the Mandaeans are no doubt intended.
- 21 See p. 4 and p. 263, note 7.
- 22 The ritual prayer is to be distinguished from personal prayer (*du'ā*). The word *ṣalāt*, like the term *zakāt*, is derived from the Aramaic. Also, in the meaning of the Arabic words *ṣaum* or *ṣiyām* as 'fast' one sees Jewish-Christian influence at work.
- 23 The term *ṣadaqa* is also used for 'alms'; however, this term usually refers to the freewill gift as distinguished from the obligatory alms tax called *zakāt*.
- 24 In contrast to the duty of the individual (*fard al-'ain*), this is a duty of 'sufficiency' (*fard al-kifāya*). One other duty of this kind is, for example, the participation of a sufficient number of believers at Friday worship in the mosque.
- 25 See p. 263, note 4. Perhaps Muḥammad thereby held to a calendar commonly used in the moon cult. The year 1 of the Islamic era begins with 16 July 622 of the Gregorian calendar.
- 26 The word *imām* means 'example, leader, model, guiding principle' (see pp. 93 and 25). It then became the designation for the leader of the common prayer in the mosque, then it came to be used by the Sunnites as a title of honour for distinguished scholars (see p. 248), and in Shi'ite circles it has become in some respects a synonym of *khalifa* (caliph).
- 27 Regarding the terms *sunna* and *jamā'a*, see p. 16 and p. 273, note 2. The Sunnites claim that they follow the 'custom' (*sunna*) of the Prophet and eschew any deviation in both dogmatic and practical matters.
- 28 The word *ḥadīth* originally meant 'announcement, narrative, story' and then came to be used as the designation for the individual Tradition and also for the collection of Traditions as a whole.
- 29 See pp. 66 f.
- 30 The word *fiqh* (properly 'intelligence, understanding') gradually came to be the name for jurisprudence in Islam. In older theological language the term *fiqh* was used, in contrast to *ilm* (knowledge), to mean that knowledge which was based on independent intellectual activity regarding questions about which the Qur'ān and the Tradition did not contain decisive statements. The word *fiqh* also could then designate theology in the sense of an interpretation of the content of faith and corresponding statements in the form of confessions of faith.

- 31 That one could later see *ra'y* in a positive sense, so far as it does not rest on prejudice, is shown by al-Ghazzālī (see pp. 228 f.), who in contrast to orthodoxy also claims for himself the right of individual investigation (*jihād*, properly 'effort', see below).
- 32 The word *taqlīd* properly means 'putting on a necklace' (*qilāda*), and then also it came to mean 'clothing with authority' and the unquestioning adoption of doctrines, whereby one wished to distinguish between legitimate and illegitimate authoritative beliefs (see pp. 139 f.).
- 33 For the Mu'tazilites as well as later orthodox believers, namely the Ash'arites (see pp. 19 f.), were supporters of coercion, because they did not acknowledge absolute freedom of will. Zamakhsharī frequently refers to his opponents on this point as 'the Mujbira'.
- 34 *'Ismā* properly means 'shelter, preservation' etc., and then became a term for sinlessness and infallibility, in the sense of a shelter with which God protects his prophets. This characteristic is attributed to Muḥammad and according to some scholars also to the other prophets. The theologians have diverging opinions regarding the nature, extent, and beginning of this sinlessness (whether it existed already before the call to prophethood, etc.).
- 35 The term *shafā'a* appears in the Qur'ān mainly in the negative sense, in contexts where it is stated that there shall be no intercession on the Last Day. However, some positive statements are also made, providing a Qur'ānic basis for the later doctrine of the intercession of the Prophet, which became acknowledged through consensus.
- 36 See p. 264, note 18.
- 37 [On the spelling of the name al-Ghazzālī, see *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1902), pp. 18-22; and for arguments in favour of the spelling 'al-Ghazālī', see W. Montgomery Watt, *Muslim Intellectual: A Study of al-Ghazālī* (Edinburgh University Press, 1963), pp. 181-3.]
- 38 The word *bid'a* has primarily a negative meaning and is used variously after its introduction into traditional accepted thought. However, innovations which are praiseworthy and do not run contrary to traditional sources of belief are also recognized, as for example the use of Arabic philology for the understanding of the Qur'ān.
- 39 With reference to this term one speaks also of the movement of the *salafiyya*.
- 40 See p. 264, note 18.
- 41 Thus, for example, a fragment could be integrated into the text because at the time of the compilation it was written on the back of a sheet or other material containing a text from another context on the front side. [It should be pointed out here that this is one of Richard Bell's theories, which significantly affected the format of his two-volume translation of the Qur'ān. For W. Montgomery Watt's critique of this proposal as a dominant factor in the compilation of the Qur'ān, see Watt's work entitled *Bell's Introduction to the Qur'ān* (Edinburgh University Press, 1970), pp. 101-7.]
- 42 Separate schools of Qur'ānic readers developed in Kūfa and other cities which received copies of the Qur'ān prepared by the 'Uthmānic redaction commission.

- 43 According to the orthodox view, abrogation applies only to regulations and not to statements which are subject to the criterion of truth (see pp. 158 and 180). Whether or not a verse of the Qur'ān can be regarded as having been abrogated on the basis of a Tradition is disputed (see p. 59).
- 44 See p. 266, note 41.
- 45 See pp. 17 and 31f.
- 46 Since the tenth century a system of seven canonical readings of the Qur'ān, which later were expanded, have been known. [See Watt, *Bell's Introduction to the Qur'ān*, pp. 47-50.]
- 47 For example, the passage 'which however became disunified' after the statement 'The people were one community (*umma*)' in Sūra 2:213/209, which is found in the reading of 'Abd Allāh ibn Mas'ūd (see p. 93).
- 48 For instance, 'Alī is said to have read 'And Noah called to *their* (unbelieving) son' instead of 'And Noah called to his (unbelieving) son' in Sūra 11:42/44 (see pp. 104 f.), thus affirming that this was not Noah's own son, but a child that his wife had brought into the marriage. It would be shocking if the actual son of a prophet were unbelieving. Theological motives have led to alterations in the text especially within the sphere of the Shī'a. (See pp. 39 and 239 ff.)
- 49 [For readers of this English edition, the Qur'ān translation by Arthur J. Arberry (which is followed in the present work) and the more recent translations by Pir Salahud-Din and Muḥammad Zafrulla Khan should also be mentioned. See bibliography.]
- 50 See p. 264, note 18.
- 51 [It should be noted that, although in later usage the term *ummī* for theological reasons came to mean 'unlettered' or 'illiterate' and was especially applied to Muḥammad, in the Qur'ān there is no evidence to suggest that this meaning was known during Muḥammad's lifetime. The Qur'ānic meaning of the term *ummī* seems to be 'native', 'belonging to the (Arab) community', or possibly 'belonging to the common people'. See Rudi Paret, *Der Koran: Kommentar und Konkordanz* (Stuttgart, 1971), pp. 21-2.]
- 52 See pp. 17 and 24.
- 53 See p. 265, note 30.
- 54 The word *tafsīr* is used also for commentaries on scientific and philosophical works, in which case it is interchangeable with *sharḥ* (explanation, interpretation).
- 55 [As distinguished from Ṭabarī's other major work, a multi-volume history of the world, commonly cited as *Annals*.]
- 56 This is not always apparent in the texts of Ṭabarī translated here, because most of these must be summarized in the interest of space and readability.
- 57 See perhaps pp. 123 f.
- 58 See pp. 65 f., 95 and 125.
- 59 Sūra 3:7/5. On this topic, see pp. 55 ff. and p. 232.
- 60 [German: 'elendes Gewebe von Lügen und Dummheiten', a description given by Theodor Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, 2nd ed (edited by Friedrich Schwally), II, p. 180.]
- 61 On this title, see Sūra 83:27. The Tasnīm is regarded as a spring in paradise.

62 See pp. 249 f.

I. REVELATION

- 1 Sūra 28 :7/6
- 2 Sūra 37 :102/100 f.
- 3 According to Zamakhsharī neither the attribute of speech nor that of sight can be ascribed directly to God. See pp. 19, 36, 162 f., etc. Regarding the present verse, see also pp. 158 f.
- 4 Sūra 4 :164/162 (see p. 46) and 19 :52/53. According to the Tradition, in the case of Moses God created the speech in the bush on Mount Sinai (see p. 175).
- 5 Baidāwī accepts the doctrine of *bi-lā kaifa* and regards speech as a positive attribute of God (see p. 19).
- 6 Literally, *it*.
- 7 Arabic, *bait al-muqaddas* or *bait al-maqdis* (house of holiness). This is a translation of the Hebrew *bēth ham-miqdash*, which designated the Temple of Solomon and then, along with other designations, became a name for Jerusalem.
- 8 The last part of this saying has become proverbial.
- 9 Ramaḍān is the ninth month of the Islamic lunar year. The name indicates that in ancient times this month fell in the hot part of the year. See p. 263, note 4.
- 10 The exact date of the Night of Destiny is not known. It is regarded as certain that it is one of the last five odd-numbered nights of Ramaḍān. [See, however, K. Wagtendonk, *Fasting in the Koran* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968), pp. 97–122, where it is argued that the *lailat al-qadr* was originally the *lailat al-mirāj* (the night of Muḥammad's ascension to heaven) which falls on the 27th of Rajab.]
- 11 By Torah (*taurāt*) is probably meant here the entire Hebrew Bible, as it is sometimes designated by the Jews themselves.
- 12 Literally, *in it*.
- 13 The eighth month of the Islamic lunar year. What is meant is the night before the 15th of Sha'bān.
- 14 A *rak'a* is the bending at the waist with the preceding erect position and the two following prostrations in the ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*).
- 15 A tribe of Syrian-Arab nomads with large holdings in livestock.
- 16 See pp. 48 f.
- 17 The concept of seven heavens (see Sūra 2 :29/27, etc.) is an ancient oriental idea. One might think of the seven planetary deities of the Babylonians.
- 18 In the doctrine of the well-preserved tablet are combined two separate concepts. On the one hand, the tablet contains the divine revelation in its 'original text' (*umm al-kitāb*), which is preserved here against alterations (see Sūra 85 :22). On the other hand, the tablet is also the receptacle for the unalterable divine decisions and decrees (see p. 52 and p. 264, note 14). The expression 'original text' (*umm al-kitāb*) is also used in the latter sense (see p. 184).

- 19 ['It' here may refer either to the 'Arabic Qur'ān' mentioned in v. 3/2 or to the 'clear Book' in v. 2/1.]
- 20 *Abāna* (participle: *mubīn*) means not only 'to be clear', but also 'to make clear, to clarify, to separate, to distinguish'.
- 21 *La'alla* usually appears as a designation for something hoped for or feared.
- 22 See p. 264, note 14 and p. 268, note 18.
- 23 See pp. 7 f. and p. 264, note 14, etc.
- 24 See p. 9 and p. 264, note 18, etc.
- 25 See pp. 105 ff.
- 26 Referring to Muḥammad.
- 27 In the Tradition the messengers are not all mentioned by name, to say nothing of the prophets.
- 28 Namely, al-Lāt, al-'Uzzā, and Manāt (see pp. 3 and 141 ff.), who are represented in Sūra 53 :23 as 'mere names'. That Muḥammad was once near to permitting his opponents to influence him in the recitation of the revelation is shown in Sūra 17 :73f., 75f. (see pp. 73f.).
- 29 See pp. 36 and 232.
- 30 Thus, here not all verses of the Qur'ān are part of the *umm al-kitāb* as above pp. 51 f. See p. 264, note 14.
- 31 The following examples comprise two pairs, each of which contains one clear verse and one ambiguous verse.
- 32 See pp. 156 ff.
- 33 See pp. 162 f. and also p. 156. As a Mu'tazilite, Zamakhsharī refused to attribute actual visibility to God; thus, the 'gazing' must have a special meaning.
- 34 According to Mu'tazilite doctrine, God commands nothing evil. See p. 222.
- 35 [This is an allusion to Sūra 74 :27–31/34. Bell, *Qur'ān*, p. 618, regards the long passage, vv. 31/31–34, as a later, Medinan addition and explanation of the number nineteen in v. 30. For additional literature on this topic, see Paret, *Kommentar*, p. 494.]
- 36 [It should be noted that both Paret and Arberry adopt the alternative interpretation. Paret: 'Aber niemand weiss es (wirklich) zu deuten ausser Gott. Und diejenigen, die ein gründliches Wissen haben, sagen: "Wir glauben daran."' And Arberry: 'And none knows its interpretation, save only God. And those firmly rooted in knowledge say, "We believe in it."' Cf. the translation of the same passage at the beginning of this section, where Gätje has adopted the interpretation of Zamakhsharī.]
- 37 According to Ignaz Goldziher (*Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, p. 24), this is the correct reading, while *nansa'hā* and *tansahā* are to be attributed to the theological considerations (see pp. 29 f.). That God commits something to oblivion cannot be reconciled with the immutability of the divine will. [It should be noted that, although Zamakhsharī adopts the reading *nansa'hā* at this point, both the official Cairo edition and the Flügel edition have *nunsihā*.]
- 38 Although soothsaying exhibits a certain similarity to the Qur'ān in its rhymed prose and also, as a rule, in diction and themes (see pp. 3 and 6),

- poetry is distinguished from the Qur'ān even externally through its strict metric construction and specific requirements concerning rhyme. There are also important distinctions in themes; see below.
- 39 Literally, *him*.
 - 40 That is, the good news which Muḥammad brings.
 - 41 There are differing Traditions concerning Muḥammad's ability to read and write (see p. 7). When Muḥammad is represented here as illiterate, what is being said is that he could not have acquired knowledge from earlier revealed books. The word *ummi*, which is connected with *umma* (see p. 264, note 17), however, does not have the meaning 'gentilis', but 'vulgaris'. [See also p. 267, note 51.]
 - 42 *Rajaz* is a relatively simply organized metre, in which in ancient times not only the verses but also the hemistichs had to rhyme.
 - 43 Regarding the jinn, see p. 263, note 6.
 - 44 For the Mu'tazilites, reason is a source of understanding which stands next to revelation on an equal basis. See pp. 19, 36, 216 ff, etc.
 - 45 According to the Mu'tazilite view, God is required to punish evil and reward good, since a statement to this effect has been issued. See pp. 19 and 36.
 - 46 In this connection some have called attention to the practice of wrapping oneself in a shroud among the ecstasies and visionaries. However here, as also at the beginning of Sūra 73, one could just as well think of someone who has covered himself in his mantle for the night and now has been summoned to arise.
 - 47 See p. 5.
 - 48 See p. 5.
 - 49 The word *abb* is also derived from the Aramaic (cf. the Syriac *ebbā*).
 - 50 See p. 109. Either the travellers who found Joseph in the cistern or Joseph's brothers could be meant here. In the following text from Ṭabarī, the separate Traditions are omitted.
 - 51 The *uqiyya* (ounce), as was found in Mecca in early Islamic times, amounted to 125 grams.
 - 52 *Ihyā' ulūm ad-dīn* (Istanbul, 1318-22 A.H./1900-4) I, p. 254.
 - 53 *Ibid.*, I, pp. 17 f.
 - 54 To which belong certain parts of speculative theology (*kalām*) and philosophy (*falsafa*).
 - 55 On the following, see pp. 16 ff.
 - 56 [On the Qur'ānic usage of the term *ummi* and the later development of its meaning, see p. 267, note 51.]
 - 57 [A 'defective chain' is one in which two or more successive links in the chain of authorities could not have had contact with each other, usually because they did not live at the same time and place.]

II. MUḤAMMAD

- 1 [Gätje, following Paret, renders this phrase: *was von der Thora vor mir da war* (what was there of the Torah before me), thus eliminating the problem

- that the term Torah in the Qur'ān is usually interpreted as referring to the entire Hebrew Bible which was not complete at the time of Jesus.]
- 2 Or: 'with a highly praiseworthy name' (*ismuhū aḥmadu*). 'Apparently, Muḥammad had already referred this verse to himself and this is an allusion to his name (which means 'the praiseworthy one, the one who is praised').
 - 3 Here Jesus is seen as not being the son of a Jew.
 - 4 Referring to the battle at Uḥud (March 625), in which Muḥammad was injured.
 - 5 'Abd Allāh ibn Ubayy was at the head of the Medinan 'hypocrites', while Abū Sufyān was the leader of the pagan Meccans against Muḥammad.
 - 6 Literally, *they*.
 - 7 Literally, *him*.
 - 8 Ṣāliḥ, the prophet of the ancient Arab tribe of Thamūd (see pp. 118 f.), had as his miracle of verification of prophethood a she-camel (Sūra 7:73/71), which according to the Tradition was born out of a rock. Concerning Jesus' miracle of verification of prophethood, see pp. 123 ff.
 - 9 Literally, *they*.
 - 10 Literally, *they*.
 - 11 Literally, *it*.
 - 12 See p. 10. According to the Tradition, the event described in the following is said to have occurred in the ninth year after the Hijra.
 - 13 See pp. 3, 141 ff., etc. The main sanctuary of al-Lāt was a four-sided boulder in the Valley of Wajj near at-Ta'if.
 - 14 [Paret translates *al-masjid al-aqṣā* as 'fernen Kultstätte', and Arberry renders this expression 'Further Mosque'. The English translation here follows Gätje who follows Zamakhsharī.]
 - 15 That is, God.
 - 16 Together with the ascension (*mī'rāj*) of Muḥammad mentioned below, the night journey to Jerusalem (*isrā*), concerning which there are various Traditions, is regarded by Muslims as a kind of miracle, although Muḥammad himself says in numerous passages in the Qur'ān (e.g., Sūra 13:7/8; 17:93/95) that he is nothing but an ordinary person (see also pp. 70 ff.). However, other miraculous deeds also came to be attributed to Muḥammad (see p. 81).
 - 17 In Arabic this word is indeterminate, although here according to Zamakhsharī it has a specific meaning.
 - 18 The concept *ash-sha'm* is more extensive than that of modern Syria and included Palestine also.
 - 19 The German 'Moschee' [and the English 'mosque'] come from the Arabic *masjid* [through the French 'mosquée']. What is meant is the mosque at Mecca, which lies within the greater area of jurisdiction of Mecca (see p. 2).
 - 20 Burāq (who is not mentioned in the Qur'ān) is the amazing animal on which Muḥammad is believed to have undertaken the night journey and the ascension.
 - 21 The idea of an ascension to heaven by Muḥammad is connected with the

- vision portrayed in Sūra 53:1 ff. (see p. 166). There are differing Traditions about the ascension and its relationship with the night journey.
- 22 Or: 'the house which was (well) maintained' (see Sūra 52:4). What is referred to here is an abode that is situated over the Ka'ba in one of the various heavens.
- 23 See Sūra 53:14. According to later interpretation this tree stands in the seventh heaven and shades paradise. [Also, the rivers of pure water, milk, wine, and honey mentioned in Sūra 47:15f./16f. are said to flow from the roots of this tree. See pp. 180 ff.]
- 24 According to another interpretation, this is the farthest spot in the seventh heaven, from which the angels pay homage to God.
- 25 Literally, *they*.
- 26 That is, Muḥammad.
- 27 *Lahd*, in contrast to the simple vertical grave (*darīh*), is a grave with a niche for the corpse in the lateral wall.
- 28 Literally, 'through hearing'. See pp. 217 f.
- 29 Mecca was conquered in January 630, while Sūra 48:1-17 was proclaimed well after the Treaty of Ḥudaibiya which Muḥammad concluded with the Meccans in March 628 (see p. 12).
- 30 The successful military expedition against the Jews in Khaibar probably occurred in May 628. After this, the Jews of Fadak submitted voluntarily.
- 31 The Persians had inflicted a heavy defeat upon the Byzantines in 613/14 and had carried off the cross from Jerusalem. Emperor Herakleios I forced the Persians to an armistice in 628 and in 629 carried the cross back to Jerusalem.
- 32 This son, who died young, was born to Muḥammad by the Coptic slave Māriya as his only child after the death of Khadija. Regarding the other sons, none of whom lived beyond tender childhood, the Traditions differ to some extent as to number and names. See p. 5.
- 33 See pp. 129 f.
- 34 Regarding the doctrine of God's support (*taufīq*), see pp. 19, 153 ff., etc.
- 35 Muḥammad had set free and adopted his slave Zaid ibn Ḥāritha, one of the first adherents of Islam. Zaid then married Muḥammad's cousin Zainab bint Jaḥsh, from whom he separated, however, when Muḥammad took a liking for her (in 627).
- 36 The waiting period after divorce lasts for three menstrual periods or three months for non-menstruating women. Pregnant women may first enter into a new marriage forty days after the delivery.
- 37 According to Islamic law one should celebrate the wedding during a feast.
- 38 Regarding the coexistence of reason and revelation, see pp. 19, 36, 216 ff., etc.
- 39 Honorary title for the wives of Muḥammad.
- 40 Literally, *them*.
- 41 The amount of the *mahr al-mithl* is set according to the position, age, beauty, and other characteristics of the woman.
- 42 *Dār al-ḥarb*, in contrast to *dār al-islām*, is the non-Islamic territory, which gradually has to be conquered.
- 43 That is, the wives of Muḥammad.

- 44 All together, Muḥammad is believed to have had fourteen legitimate wives; but the identity of these is in part disputed. Moreover, some had already died.

III. SALVATION HISTORY

- 1 Literally, *they*, meaning the followers of earlier revealed religions.
- 2 Regarding the term *umma* as '(religious) community', see p. 264, note 17. In contrast to this Qur'ānic term is the word *jamā'a* with the meaning 'community (of believers)' which belongs to later linguistic usage.
- 3 Regarding this addition, see p. 267, note 47.
- 4 Cf. Sūra 2:124/118, where Abraham is represented as an example (*imām*) for the people. One should also notice the similarity between the words *umma* and *imām*.
- 5 Ascribing to the word *umma* the meaning of *imām* is not the same as interpreting it *pro toto*, as is done here.
- 6 In the Qur'ān, both the 'Children of Israel' (*banū isrā'īl*) and the Jews (*yahūd*) are mentioned. Evidently, at a later period, Muḥammad designated the contemporary Jews as *yahūd* and the ancestors as Children of Israel. [The contexts of Ṭabarī's references to the 'Jews among the Children of Israel', as well as 'these groups of the Children of Israel' suggest that Jews and Christians are both regarded as 'among the Children of Israel'. See pp. 99 and 124.]
- 7 See p. 11 and especially pp. 130 ff.
- 8 In Islam the fast is prescribed only during the daytime during the month of Ramaḍān and on the other fast days which are commanded.
- 9 See p. 263, note 7.
- 10 See Sūra 4:125/124.
- 11 See pp. 130 ff.
- 12 The Qur'ān mentions Abraham in a number of passages and includes several stories about him, including the story of the offering of his son (Sūra 37:102 ff./100 ff.), although it is not stated whether this son is Ishmael or Isaac. Regarding Abraham as the one who built or purified the Ka'ba and as harbinger of Islam, see pp. 11 and 100 ff.
- 13 See Sūra 9:30 and pp. 126 f.
- 14 Noah enjoys special popularity in the Qur'ān and in the Muslim legends. He came as a prophet and warner to his people, who however displayed widespread unbelief. Muḥammad is strongly portrayed in the role of this prophet. Regarding the flood, see pp. 8 and 147 f.
- 15 Jesus is the herald of the Last Judgment. See p. 129.
- 16 In addition to this son, Qur'ānic exegetes also know the biblical sons of Noah, namely Shem, Ham, and Japheth.
- 17 Regarding the beginning of this sūra, see above pp. 52 f. See also p. 65. Joseph belongs among the favourites of Islamic legends, which in part appeal to the haggadic sources for information. [This entire section on Joseph and his brothers comes from Baiḍāwī's commentary.]
- 18 Literally, *He*.

- 19 Baidāwī appeals here to a philosophical interpretation of dreams, based on a later development of Aristotelian psychology.
- 20 Regarding the temptation of Adam and Eve, see Sūra 2:35f./33f. and 7:19 ff./18 ff. (see pp. 170 f.).
- 21 Here the traditional doctrine concerning dreams is placed with the philosophical teaching about dreams.
- 22 See pp. 99 f.
- 23 See Sūra 21 :68f.
- 24 See p. 273, note 12.
- 25 See p. 53.
- 26 Actually eleven names are mentioned here, if one regards Benjamin as a full brother. Dinah is, of course, a girl in the Bible.
- 27 This is prohibited in Sūra 4:27/23.
- 28 The parasang measured about six kilometres [or three and a half miles].
- 29 See Sūra 19:12/13 and 30/31.
- 30 [A term meaning 'mighty, powerful, highly esteemed'; but in this context it is a title meaning 'overlord'.]
- 31 Corrupted from Potiphar.
- 32 Shu'aib is a prophet who is often mentioned in the Qur'ān. Later interpreters identify him with Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses.
- 33 Literally, *He*.
- 34 Literally, *He*.
- 35 See p. 271, note 18.
- 36 Not mentioned by name in the Qur'ān, but alluded to in Sūra 5:23/26, where he is meant in a reference to the two devout men, Joshua and Caleb.
- 37 In contrast to Job, not mentioned by name in the Qur'ān.
- 38 That is, the story of Joseph.
- 39 Literally, *them*.
- 40 According to the Qur'ān, Solomon understood the language of birds and animals (Sūra 27:16), he ruled the wind and the spirits (34:12 f./11 f., etc.), and his army consisted of spirits, people, and birds (27:17). He plays a leading role in the legends and is regarded as one of the four world rulers, of whom two were unbelievers (Nimrod and Nebuchadnezzar) and two were believers (Alexander the Great and Solomon).
- 41 Regarding the Thamūd, see p. 271, note 8. The 'Ād, according to tradition, lived after the time of Noah and were a powerful people to whom the prophet Hūd was sent.
- 42 Literally, *he*.
- 43 Paret translates: 'Katastrophe' here and also in Sūra 13:31 (see p. 246) and 101:1-3/1-2 (see p. 176). [Arberry translates: 'Clatterer' in 69:4 and 101:1-3/1-2, and 'shattering' in 13:31.]
- 44 According to Sūra 11:67/70 it was the 'cry', and according to Sūra 41:17/16 it was the 'thunderbolt of the chastisement of humiliation', which came upon the Thamūd (see also p. 166).
- 45 The tenth month of the Islamic year.
- 46 In the confrontation between Lot and the inhabitants of Sodom, Muḥammad saw a similar contrast to that between himself and the pagan Meccans. According to the Qur'ān, the people of Lot were destroyed by a rain of stones (11:82/84) or a sandstorm (54:34). See also, however, p. 166.

- 47 [The term *ar-rūm*, which occurs only once in the Qur'ān, at the beginning of Sūra 30, which is called *Sūrat ar-rūm*, refers to the Eastern Roman Empire and means 'the Byzantines'. Baidāwī, however, refers here to Alexander the Great at *rūmī* (actually, 'Byzantine').]
- 48 Dhū l-Qarnain is also the nickname of the Lakhmid king, Mundhir III. In the Qur'ān, however, the name Dhū l-Qarnain clearly refers to Alexander the Great, who above all was known through the so-called 'Alexander saga'. This name may stem from an unknown version of this legend.
- 49 [See p. 274, note 40.]
- 50 That is, Jesus.
- 51 [Reading *al-mashraqa* (which means both 'eastern' and 'sunny') here and where indicated in the text above, instead of *al-mashrafa* (elevated spot) which appears in both places in Ṭabarī's text (Cairo edition, 1373 A.H./1954).]
- 52 Some have seen in the account to which these verses belong a reference to various stories of the New Testament, such as the vision of Peter in Acts 10:10 ff. and the story of the feeding of the multitude in Matthew 14:17 ff., and 15:32 ff. If this Qur'ānic account refers to the Eucharist, then the statements about it are confused. In the following text by Ṭabarī, the numerous individual Traditions are again omitted.
- 53 As a Mu'tazilite, Zamakhsharī refuses any anthropomorphism in statements about God (see pp. 19 and 36, etc.).
- 54 The *dajjāl*, who does not appear in the Qur'ān itself, is derived from Christian views. See the false Christ of Matthew 24:24 (Syriac: *mshihē daggālē*).

IV. ISLAM, THE 'BOOK RELIGIONS', AND PAGANISM

- 1 See pp. 246 f.
- 2 See p. 265, note 20.
- 3 See p. 11.
- 4 The present verses date from the time when Muḥammad had already broken with the Jews, but still felt united with the Christians.
- 5 Paret translates: *die sich (Gott) ergeben haben* ['who had surrendered themselves (to God)']. Gätje translates: *die den Zustand des Islams angenommen haben* (who had embraced Islam)]. See the commentary of Zamakhsharī.
- 6 Note the special view-point of the Mu'tazila, who deny real attributes to God (see p. 19).
- 7 In the earliest period of Islam every person guilty of unchastity was stoned. Later this punishment was mitigated through Muḥammad to flogging (Sūra 24:2 ff./3 ff.). The second caliph, 'Umar, however, is said to have recalled very clearly the 'stoning verse', which is missing in the present text of the Qur'ān, and as a result, from then on certain categories of people found guilty of unchastity also were stoned.
- 8 See the following verses of the sūra.
- 9 The words *jibt* and *tāghūt*, which here designate the objects of idolatry, apparently came into Arabic from Ethiopic. [Although Zamakhsharī

- interprets the term *aṭ-ṭāghūt* to mean Satan, the consensus of Western scholars is that it is a general generic term meaning 'idols'. See Arthur Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary in the Qur'ān* (Baroda, 1938), pp. 202 f. and additional references in Paret, *Kommentar*, p. 55.]
- 10 Or: *pronounce to be forbidden*.
 - 11 See p. 11.
 - 12 Although the term *yad* specifically means 'hand', it also has the meaning 'power, control, influence, authority, assistance, etc.'
 - 13 Regarding *taqīd* as the opposite of *ijtihād*, see pp. 17 f.
 - 14 Literally, *their calling* [as in Arberrry. Gätje, following Paret, has: 'die Gebete ihrer Verehrer'.]
 - 15 That is, those who regard such beings as divine and worship them.
 - 16 See p. 3, and p. 263, note 5, etc.
 - 17 This event occurred after the capitulation of Mecca in the year 630. The goddess al-'Uzzā was connected especially with the Ghatafān, whose pasture area was east of Khaibar and on the edge of the Hijāz. The main sanctuary, however, is believed to have been in the valley of Nakhla.
 - 18 The main sanctuary of Manāt, a black stone, was located among the Hudhailites in Qudaid, to the north of Mecca on the way to Medina. This goddess was worshipped by many Arab tribes.
 - 19 Actually the expression *al-ukhrā* might be occasioned by the rhyme.
 - 20 See p. 198.
 - 21 These tribes were dispersed over various parts of the Arabian peninsula. To some extent these gods were also worshipped by other tribes.
 - 22 Regarding Iblīs, see p. 278, note 11.
 - 23 Knots, spittle, and blowing were used in ancient Arab paganism in both harmful and non-harmful magic. In Islam the death penalty was imposed for sorcery. Although the efficacy of sorcery is clearly acknowledged in the present sūra, Zamakhsharī as a Mu'tazilite who opposed unbelief, questions its real existence.

V. GOD

- 1 Or, *they comprehend nothing of the knowledge concerning it* (see pp. 157 f.). [Gätje translates simply: *Sie aber wissen nichts davon* (they however know nothing of it).]
- 2 That is, the heavens and the earth.
- 3 This verse is well known as the so-called 'Throne Verse'. Many exegetes identify the chair, which is mentioned here, with the throne (*'arsh*) of God (see pp. 148 ff., 164 ff., etc.); however, others, as is indicated by Zamakhsharī, think that the chair (*kursī*) is a kind of footstool before the throne. Significantly for Zamakhsharī as a Mu'tazilite again is the attempt to keep the conception of God free from anthropomorphic features.
- 4 Literally, *it*. Regarding the Flood, see pp. 8 and 102 ff.
- 5 See pp. 233 ff.
- 6 This creation story, which is treated variously in the Qur'ān, is based on the account in the Hebrew Bible. While the total time required for the

- creation is mentioned, the individual stages are not clearly specified, and thus the views of the exegetes also vary. See the following.
- 7 This viewpoint (see p. 19) is adopted by Baiḍāwī, in contrast to Zamakhsharī (see pp. 146 ff.).
 - 8 According to verse 9/8 of the sūra (see pp. 149 f.). Then in verse 10/9 the provisioning of the earth and the (entire) four-day period are treated. While Baiḍāwī is of the opinion that at first the heavens were created in two days and then the earth and its provisions were created in a further four days, Zamakhsharī includes the creation of the heavens in the two periods of the creation and provisioning of the earth.
 - 9 The term *takhyīl* refers to something which is represented as existing, although in reality it cannot exist. The simile, on the other hand, is used to relate something which is imagined. In general, Muslim scholars regard the Qur'ān as exalted above the fantastic illusions discussed here by Zamakhsharī as a means for avoiding anthropomorphic conceptions of God.
 - 10 The first man here is Adam. According to Zamakhsharī, the water (*mā*) here is the sperm. See the commentary to Sūra 23:12f.
 - 11 Literally, *heart* (*al-af'ida*).
 - 12 In accordance with the traditional editions of the Qur'ān [including both the Flügel and official Cairo editions], Paret reads *khalāqahū* and translates: (*Er*) *der alles, was er geschaffen hat, gut gemacht hat* ([He] who made good everything which he created). Zamakhsharī also records this interpretation.
 - 13 Paret: *darin, dass die Winde wechseln; in den Wolken, die zwischen Himmel und Erde in Dienst gestellt sind* (in which the winds turn about; in which the clouds are placed in service between heaven and earth). This interpretation is also recorded in Baiḍāwī.
 - 14 On the doctrine of divine support and benevolence, see p. 19. Concerning this verse, see also pp. 240 f.
 - 15 Literally, *them*.
 - 16 The Arabic *adraka* can mean 'attain, reach, overtake' as well as 'grasp (physically or mentally), comprehend, perceive, understand', etc. Concerning this verse, see also p. 56, where Zamakhsharī interprets the 'reaching' clearly in the sense of 'seeing'.
 - 17 *Ahāṭa* means primarily 'surround, comprise, encircle', but then also 'know thoroughly, grasp fully, understand'. What is meant here is thorough comprehension.
 - 18 Here and also in the other contexts below, various individual Traditions are omitted.
 - 19 See pp. 162 f. and also p. 56.
 - 20 See p. 146 [and p. 276, note 1].
 - 21 See p. 180 and p. 267, note 43.
 - 22 See pp. 45 f.
 - 23 See p. 166.
 - 24 Zamakhsharī also does this (see p. 162).
 - 25 Tabarī then attempts to refute in detail the divergent views.
 - 26 See pp. 56 and 156 f.

27 [Paret translates the term *fāqira* as 'eine Brandkerbe' (a burning perforation); Arberry translates, 'the Calamity'; and Gätje, following Zamakhsharī, translates, 'eine (Wirbelsäulen)erkrankung' (a [back-breaking] sickness). The term *fāqira* is usually associated with *faqār* (spine, vertebrae); however, Bell notes that the verb *faqara* is used for 'making an incision in the snout of a camel in which to insert the leading-rope, and, as faces are here spoken of, this is appropriate' (*Qur'ān*, p. 622, note 1). Bell thus translates this verse: 'One would think holes were being bored in them.']

VI. ANGELS, SPIRITS, AND MANKIND

- 1 Regarding the Throne of God and Zamakhsharī's interpretation of it, see pp. 146 f. and p. 276, note 3.
- 2 The name of one of the archangels, who probably goes back to the Hebrew Serāfīm, just as the Arabic word for 'angel' (*malak*, *mal'ak*, originally 'messenger') apparently stems from the Hebrew. In contrast with Gabriel and Michael, Isrāfīl is not mentioned by name in the Qur'ān.
- 3 Regarding the relationship between faith and reason according to the Mu'tazilites, see pp. 19, 36, 216 ff., etc.
- 4 The angels are created out of light, the spirits (*jinn*) out of fire, and man out of earth (see pp. 169 f.).
- 5 Or: *It*, that is, the Qur'ān.
- 6 That is, Muḥammad.
- 7 The vision described here belongs to the complex of events associated with the so-called ascension of Muḥammad (see p. 271, note 16).
- 8 Regarding the destruction of the people of Lot and the Thamūd, see pp. 118 f.
- 9 Regarding Iblīs, see p. 278, note 11.
- 10 See 53:13. [Dihya was a Companion of the Prophet renowned for his outstanding beauty. See 'Dihya' in *Ency. of Islam*.]
- 11 Iblīs is one of the Qur'ānic names for the devil. The word is apparently derived from *diabolos*. God had commanded the angels to bow down before Adam after he was created, which all except Iblīs did (Sūra 38 : 71ff.; see also 2:34/32, 7:12/11, etc.). However, since on the other hand Iblīs is also designated as one of the spirits (*jinn*) (18:50/48), there are varying views concerning the relationship between Iblīs and the angels and spirits.
- 12 Literally, *He*.
- 13 See verse 76/77 of the sūra and 7:12/11. The spirits are also created out of fire (see p. 169 ff.), while the angels are said to be created out of light.
- 14 In the Qur'ān, angels (Sūra 4 : 172/170) as well as certain favoured people, like Jesus (3:45/40) are designated as 'those who stand near (God)' (*muqarrabūn*). In general, the theologians, in contrast to the Mu'tazilites and the philosophers, grant the prophets, among whom Adam also belongs, a higher rank than the angels (see p. 171).
- 15 Regarding the jinn, see p. 263, note 6.
- 16 The term *jānn* is, in fact, derived from *jinn* and is identical with it.

- 17 Here and in the following, Baiḍāwī has derived ideas from Greek philosophy.
- 18 See also Sūra 20:120 f./118 f. According to the Qur'ān, Eve is created out of Adam; but there is no reference to the rib. Both live in paradise, but are driven out after the Fall. Adam then repents and is restored to his elevated rank.
- 19 See p. 278, note 14.

VII. ESCHATOLOGY

- 1 See p. 278, note 14.
- 2 That is, the unbelievers.
- 3 According to the widespread view, which Zamakhsharī does not, however, accept, God awakens man into a kind of life while he is in the state of death within the grave.
- 4 Like most Muslims, Zamakhsharī thinks of a corporeal resurrection, whereas some of the philosophers believed only in the resurrection of the soul.
- 5 The plural appears in the Arabic since what is referred to are the individual 'skins' of various men. [However, see Zamakhsharī's commentary below.]
- 6 See p. 268, note 4.
- 7 Paret translates: *Katastrophe*. See p. 274, note 43.
- 8 In this case the meaning is: 'whose mother is (the hell) Hāwiya.' Concerning the plunge into hell, see also p. 282, note 8.
- 9 See pp. 187 f. According to the predominant view, unbelief negates good works to the extent that a direct reward, and thus admittance into paradise, is excluded. The views differ in details while the Mu'tazila, on the basis of their view of necessary divine justice (see p. 19), also accept the conclusion that every other grave sin negates good works and is worthy of punishment. Orthodoxy advocates a more generous view-point.
- 10 Literally, 'the garden' (*al-janna*). The name is thus related to the biblical Garden of Eden. [Note that the Qur'ānic verse here has the plural 'gardens of delight' (*jannāt an-na'im*). The Qur'ān also speaks of 'gardens of Eden' (*jannāt 'adn*) (Sūra 9:72/73, 18:31/30, etc.).]
- 11 See p. 158 and p. 267, note 43.
- 12 That is, the godfearing.
- 13 Name of a mountain near Mecca and also other mountains.
- 14 Whom Zamakhsharī regards as the opponents of free will (see p. 266, note 33).
- 15 *Jahannam*. The word comes from Hebrew through Ethiopic.
- 16 [Literally, *it*.]
- 17 Literally, *our misery*.
- 18 See p. 268, note 18.
- 19 The evidence cited by Tabarī is again only partly reproduced here.
- 20 See Sūra 40:50/53, where it is mentioned that the prayer of unbelievers fails completely.

21 See pp. 173 f.

VIII. DUTIES AND PROHIBITIONS

- 1 According to Islamic law, the following actions are punishable: (1) Injuries against life and limb, which justify blood revenge or the claim for expiatory money. (2) Offences for which a specific, unalterable punishment is prescribed either in the Qur'ān or in the Tradition, that is, unchastity, slander with regard to this, the partaking of wine, theft, highway robbery, and according to some, also apostasy, for which the death penalty is given. (3) All other violations against the command of God. Here the punishment is determined by judges.
- 2 That is, in this world.
- 3 Recitation of the Qur'ān is considered to be meritorious.
- 4 That is, the gold and silver which are hoarded.
- 5 See Sūra 2:177/172 and 9:60, where those who are to receive alms are listed. See also p. 210 f.
- 6 [Literally, 'seeking the face of God' (*turīdūna wajha-llāh*).]
- 7 [Or: 'doubled' (*al-mud'ifūn*).]
- 8 In Islam one distinguishes between interest involving a business transaction (exchange in return for an object of higher value) and interest involving a loan. Regarding the former, opinions differed at first; however, the view has prevailed that one may charge no interest in business transactions. On the other hand, according to all legal schools any explicit arrangement to charge interest in a loan agreement is unconditionally prohibited. However, many a stratagem (*hiyal*) has been employed in order to come to gain, while not violating the letter of the law.
- 9 That is, he is not required to give up his past earnings through interest.
- 10 That is, by entering into new interest transactions.
- 11 See p. 280, note 1, and also p. 275, note 7.
- 12 That is, if instead of retaliation through killing, only blood money is demanded.
- 13 That is, by the brother of the deceased person or by one's brother in faith (a fellow-Muslim). See the commentary.
- 14 This is a reference to the so-called battle of Basūs between the tribes of Bakr and Taghlib, which was caused by an act of violence on the part of the powerful Taghlib chief, Kulaib. It apparently ended towards the beginning of the sixth century.
- 15 Only the Mālikites do not consider the dog unclean.
- 16 The term *khamr* apparently stems from the Aramaic. In ancient Arabia there was only a small amount of wine-growing; thus wine was imported from the Syrian-Palestinian and Mesopotamian regions. However, the people used to make all kinds of drinks out of varieties of dates, fruits and the like, which had a more or less intoxicating effect after preparation and aging. Among these belongs *nabīdh* (which is mentioned below), regarding which there is disagreement as to whether it falls within the broader scope of *khamr*.

- 17 [*Maisir* was actually a specific game of chance practised in Arabia at the time of Muḥammad. It involved the use of arrows for casting lots as a method for dividing a butchered camel. Such arrows were also used for divining purposes and were sometimes associated with certain idols. Arberry translates this term as 'arrow-shuffling'. For references to literature on *maisir*, see Paret, *Kommentar*, p. 46.]
- 18 In Medina this dry or liquid measure amounted to 12,617 litres; however, the amount and weight varied considerably. Ultimately this was not true regarding the *raḥl* (also mentioned here), which weighed between about 300 and 3,000 grammes.
- 19 See Sūra 2:260/262.
- 20 The emancipation of slaves was considered as meritorious. Two kinds of emancipation are the so-called *iadbīr*, the declaration of the master that after his death the slave is to be free, and the method described here, where emancipation is based on an agreement. Perhaps the name *kitāba*, which is derived from *kataba* (to write), comes from the fact that the agreement is fixed in writing. Compare, however, Zamakhsharī's meaning.
- 21 The slaves have no individual rights until they obtain these with the letter of emancipation.
- 22 Regarding the word *maulā*, see p. 264, note 13. The former master, as patron, can be an heir to the one who is set free if there are no male blood relatives of the male line.
- 23 The 'public treasury' is supplied through the alms tax, as well as through other taxes, inheritances, and similar sources, and can be provided directly to the needy and the other people who are entitled to receive it.
- 24 A rich person is not allowed to accept alms for himself.
- 25 That is, the Meccan believers.
- 26 Jumādā l-Ākhira is the sixth month of the Islamic year. In the following month of Rajab a sacred truce was maintained in ancient Arabia. The battle of Badr, which brought Muḥammad a victory over the Meccans, occurred in March 624 according to our chronology. The attack upon 'Amr ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥaḍramī occurred near Nakhla.

IX. DOGMATICS

- 1 This interpretation means that no-one can be forced into proper faith against his will.
- 2 See p. 275, note 9.
- 3 See pp. 11 and 138 f.
- 4 As a Mu'tazilite, Zamakhsharī considers reason to be a source for religious understanding in addition to the knowledge of revelation that is obtained through hearing or instruction (see pp. 19, 36, etc.). Baiḍāwī deviates consciously from this view-point.
- 5 See, among others, pp. 32 and 228 ff.
- 6 See pp. 17 f., 21, 22, etc.
- 7 According to Muslim tradition Muḥammad promised paradise to ten of his Companions already in their lifetime.

- 8 According to the Muslim view, when the people are resurrected they must walk across a bridge which stretches over hell, and the damned will fall off into hell, while the blessed pass over into paradise. See p. 241.
- 9 See p. 14 and p. 265, note 27.
- 10 While Zamakhsharī as a Mu'tazilite interprets the passage in the sense of free will (see p. 19), Baiḍāwī accepts the Ash'arite view-point of the determinism of the will (see pp. 19 f.). Another interpretation of the passage in the sense of determinism is: 'If God wills, then. . .'
- 11 See p. 266, note 33.
- 12 The Arabic text does not state what it is that is said here to be a lie.
- 13 See p. 266.
- 14 The distinction between the metaphor and the simile here is that with the metaphor something is ascribed directly to the subject, which in reality does not belong to it, while with the simile the subject is likened to something else which in fact has the same properties.
- 15 See p. 219.
- 16 See p. 56.
- 17 The possibilities, which have not previously been enumerated, are: (1) The hearts are sealed firmly since God created them thus. (2) The sealing of the hearts is like a sealing which God has actually created in other subjects. (3) God has created the possibility of the sealing, but did not undertake the sealing itself.
- 18 Literally, *He*.
- 19 As a Mu'tazilite, Zamakhsharī ascribes to the people themselves individual responsibility for their acts (see p. 19), while the Mujbira (see p. 266, note 33) assert that the acts of people are created and determined by God. According to their view the translation would be: 'When God created you and your doing (i.e., making or acting).'
- 20 The situation is thus not described in full, as Baiḍāwī interprets it in this case. In the Arabic the object is not specified.

X. MYSTICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL QUR'ĀNIC EXEGESIS

- 1 *Iḥyā' 'ulūm ad-dīn* (Istanbul, 1318-1322 A.H./1900-4), I, pp. 268 ff. Here, Ghazzālī modifies the concept of interpretation according to individual opinion (see pp. 31 f., etc.) and reserves to himself an individually expressed opinion (see p. 266, note 31). In the acceptance of an outer and an inner meaning, he is influenced by the mystics, acknowledging however the necessity for outer exegesis as the preliminary stage for inner interpretation.
- 2 Ghazzālī places the intuitive certainty of faith above reason, while in the following text Ibn Rushd takes reason to be a higher authority, to which Qur'ānic exegesis has to be adapted.
- 3 Ibn Rushd, *Kitāb faṣl al-maqāl*, ed. George F. Hourani (Leiden, 1959), pp. 13 f.
- 4 [See p. 268, note 18.]

- 5 See pp. 55 ff. and also 36. [Note that both Paret and Arberry end the sentence with 'except God', thus beginning a new sentence with 'Those firmly rooted in knowledge say: . . .'. See p. 269, note 36.]
- 6 Paret translates: 'Befehl' (see p. 148) [and Arberry translates: 'command']. The word *amr* has various meanings and signifies 'command, power, dominion' as well as 'matter, affair'. It can also be used in the sense of Logos.
- 7 The Mahdī ('rightly guided one') is to appear at the end of time as one who restores faith within the world. The Sunnites have other views of the Mahdī than the Shī'ites (see p. 15) and identify the Mahdī in part with Jesus.
- 8 Compare with this the ancient concept of *ἐνκρασία*. Here, as well as in the other texts of Kāshānī, many Greek and especially neo-Platonic influences are at work.
- 9 That is, above, below, to the right, to the left, before, and behind.
- 10 Regarding the Throne of God, see p. 276, note 3.
- 11 [Referring to Moses at Mount Horeb (or Sinai). The significance of the 'holy valley' and the name Ṭuwā have not been satisfactorily explained. See Paret, *Kommentar*, p. 331. Bell (*Qur'ān*, p. 294) suggests a connection with the Syriac *ṭūrā* (Mount).]
- 12 Literally, *He*.
- 13 See p. 274, note 32.
- 14 [The term *taḥbiq* is actually a verbal noun (*maṣdar*) meaning 'adaptation, accommodation', from the verb *ṭabbaqa* (to cover up, to make congruent). Gätje translates *taḥbiq* as 'Parallelisierung', which is also his title for this section of the chapter. See also pp. 40f.]
- 15 What is meant are the five 'Pillars of Islam' (see p. 11), of which the confession of faith is one.

XI. SHĪ'ITE QUR'ĀNIC EXEGESIS

- 1 Paret translates *adhilla* as: 'ein bescheidener, unscheinbarer Haufe' (a modest, insignificant group). The word had a negative sense and is thus represented in the commentary as a false reading. Regarding the battle of Badr, see p. 281, note 26.
- 2 Regarding this, see Kāshānī, above, p. 237. On the interpretation of this verse, see p. 153.
- 3 See p. 282, note 8.
- 4 Omitted here is the often-cited interpretation that those who are blessed by God are the Muslims, those against whom God is wrathful are the Jews, and those who have gone astray are the Christians.
- 5 Regarding the Fāṭimids and their relation to the Imāmites, to whom al-Kāshī belongs, see p. 15.
- 6 This verse is known as the 'Light Verse' and has received special attention in mystical interpretation of the Qur'ān.
- 7 Referring to 'Alī, who was to put into effect Muḥammad's will. See p. 284, note 18.

- 8 [Arberry translates: 'Surely He is All-laudable, All-glorious', thus following the usual interpretation that the pronoun *hu* refers to God and not Abraham. Arberry's translation: 'O people of the House' indicates that he has adopted Paret's suggestion that this is a reference to the Ka'ba. See Bell, *Qur'ān*, p. 212, and Paret's later statement in his *Kommentar*, pp. 239-40.]
- 9 'Imrān is the father of Moses, Aaron, and Miriam, who in the Qur'ān seems to be identified with the mother of Jesus, so that 'Imrān is identified also as the grandfather of Jesus.
- 10 Regarding the *qibla*, or direction of prayer, see pp. 11 and 130 ff. In various Traditions the direction of prayer facing Mecca is said to be that of Abraham.
- 11 See pp. 99 f. [Arberry translates: 'A Muslim and one pure of faith'.]
- 12 Regarding *qārī'a* as pounder', see pp. 118 f. and 176.
- 13 The ideas in this text are not fully clear to me. It is evidently thought here that the lights have veiled certain higher stages of emanation in forms to which Muḥammad and 'Alī belong.
- 14 That is, Muḥammad.
- 15 '*Ain* is Arabic for 'eye, source, self, substance, individuality', etc. In mysticism, it designates the original or real self. The present text uses the word as an equivalent for God, although at the same time also bringing into play other associations.
- 16 [The term *mī'ād* (from *wa'ada*, 'to make a promise, to arrange a rendezvous') means both 'promise' and 'rendezvous, appointed time'.]
- 17 According to Ismā'īlite doctrine, the prophets and imāms are special people who are regarded as 'mediator-veils'.
- 18 In Shī'ite texts the term *waṣī* appears frequently in reference to 'Alī as the executor of Muḥammad's will (see p. 283, note 7). At times, however, the prophets and also the imāms had an 'executor'. With the imāms this is generally the immediate successor.
- 19 The term *qā'im* (one who arises) evidently designates here that being whose appearance marks the beginning of the resurrection.

XII. MODERN QUR'ĀNIC EXEGESIS

- 1 *Ustādh* means 'master, teacher' and is a title for university teachers, but is also used for other scholars and eminent people. The title *imām* (see p. 265, note 26) has been conferred upon eminent scholars by the Sunnites since early times.
- 2 The dissolving of marriage in Islam generally occurs through repudiation by the man (called *talāq*). This can be effected with or without specific conditions. There is also the *mubāra'a*, a mutual declaration of separation which includes waiving all claims to property and other compensation, and the *khul'*, divorce at the request of the wife, who must pay compensation. Only under specific circumstances can a judge declare the marriage void (*faskh*) on a motion of the wife. Another basis for separation according to the penal code is the so-called curse: the man swears on oath that

- the wife has committed adultery and if necessary she swears the opposite. The marriage can also become void of itself (for example, through apostasy).
- 3 [Regarding the statement 'because they spend their wealth', Paret adds in parentheses: 'als Morgangabe für die Frauen?' (as dowries for the women?). The same suggestion is made by Bell, *Qur'ān*, p. 74.]
- 4 See pp. 143 and 198.

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GENERAL INDEX

This index contains key topics, personal and place names, certain key Arabic terms, and also several special features. Arabic forms of Biblical and other well-known names are given in parentheses after the English entries. Brief comments and biographical data are supplied in numerous cases. References are given to variant readings (*qirā'āt*) and occasions of revelation (*asbāb an-nuzūl*) mentioned in the commentaries translated in this work. The italic numbers given with certain Arab names indicate pages where passages translated from their commentaries begin. Initial definite articles (al-, ad-, etc.) are disregarded in the alphabetical listing.

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