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THE PNEUMATOLOGY OF THE QUR'ĀN

A STUDY IN PHENOMENOLOGY

By

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Doctor of Philosophy
University of Edinburgh
1969
PREFACE

The Western student of the Qurʾān who attempts to interpret this scripture which is held to be sacred and inviolable by millions of pious Muslims throughout the world must constantly re-examine his methods of study and his principles of interpretation, knowing that he will be challenged from two fronts—从 the standpoint of critical accuracy and from the standpoint of religious dogma. One objective of the present study is to begin developing a method of Qurʾānic interpretation which is intended to meet this two-fold challenge.

This task has been pursued by following the approach called "phenomenology" as it has developed in the general field of History of Religions during the past two generations. Since this approach has not been applied systematically to Qurʾānic studies, an introductory chapter has been devoted to a survey of the main principles of phenomenology, an application of these principles to the study of the Qurʾān, and an outline of a proposed phenomenological method for the exegesis and interpretation of the Qurʾān.

This method is then applied to the specific problem of determining the nature and "personality" of the various spirit-beings which are mentioned in the Qurʾān while tracing the
development of Qur'ānic ideas related to the spirit-world. The various spirit-conceptions are studied in their literary and topical contexts within the Qur'ān rather than following the method of arranging the material according to the various spirit-beings (malā'ika, jinn, shayātīn, Iblīs, Shayṭān, etc.). The spirit-conceptions related to the High Council and creation myths are discussed first, then those associated with the legends of former prophets and the special case of those related to ‘Īsā ibn Maryam. These categories of contexts appear to be distinct from those which are related to historical events in the lives of Muḥammad and his contemporaries and the special case of those associated with death and eschatology.

In this study all statements concerning "Qur'ānic usage" and the number of occurrences of certain Qur'ānic terms are based upon Gustav Flügel's Concordantiae Corani Arabicae (Leipzig, 1842). All quotations from the Qur'ān which are given in English are the author's own translations based upon the Egyptian official text (Royal Edition, Cairo, 1344/1925). The verse numbers of the Egyptian edition are given first, followed by the numbers of the edition of Gustav Flügel (Corani Textus Arabicus, Leipzig, 1834) where they differ. (Note that the Flügel numbers have been abbreviated.)

Sincere appreciation is extended to the supervisor of this study, Professor W. Montgomery Watt of the Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies at the University of Edinburgh. The
writer is also indebted to the efficient and helpful staff of the Edinburgh University Library, and also for the excellent facilities offered for study and research. Acknowledgment is also due to the writer's wife who has devoted herself so faithfully to the arduous task of preparing the typescript of this dissertation.
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<td>AO</td>
<td>Acta Orientalia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BA</td>
<td>Biblical Archaeologist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BASOR</td>
<td>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bg.</td>
<td>al-Bayjawi, Anwar at-Tanzil (see Fleischer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BDB</td>
<td>Brown, Driver, and Briggs, Hebrew and English Lexicon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bukh.</td>
<td>al-Bukhari, Kitab al-Jami' as-Sahih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EL1</td>
<td>Encyclopaedia of Islam, first edition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EL2</td>
<td>Encyclopaedia of Islam, new edition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BRE</td>
<td>Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HUCA</td>
<td>Hebrew Union College Annual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDB</td>
<td>The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IQ</td>
<td>The Islamic Quarterly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IS</td>
<td>Islamic Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JA</td>
<td>Journal Asiatique</td>
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<tr>
<td>JBL</td>
<td>Journal of Biblical Literature and Exegesis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JQR</td>
<td>Jewish Quarterly Review</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lane</td>
<td>E. W. Lane, An Arabic-English Lexicon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lisän</td>
<td>Ibn Manzur, Lisân al-’Arab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>Muslim ibn al-’Uajjaj, As-Sahih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MW</td>
<td>The Muslim World (The Moslem World)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NT</td>
<td>New Testament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OT</td>
<td>Old Testament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RO</td>
<td>Rocznik Orientalistyczny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RSV</td>
<td>Revised Standard Version of The Holy Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rz.</td>
<td>ar-’Araqi, Masafi’ al-Ghayb</td>
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<td>at-Tabari, Jami’ al-Bayan, Maymuniyya edition (The &quot;Shakir&quot; edition is indicated in parenthesis.)</td>
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<td>Tab.(Ann.)</td>
<td>at-Tabari, Tarikh ar-Rusul wa-l-Muluk</td>
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<td>TR</td>
<td>Textus Receptus</td>
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<tr>
<td>VKAW</td>
<td>Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen</td>
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<tr>
<td>WZKM</td>
<td>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zam.</td>
<td>az-Zamakhshari, Tafsir al-Kashshaf</td>
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<tr>
<td>ZDMG</td>
<td>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</td>
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*See Bibliography for full details regarding editions of works used in the present study. (Abbreviations of the books of the Bible follow the list given in The Oxford Annotated Bible, ed. Herbert G. May and Bruce M. Metzger. New York: Oxford University Press, 1962.)
ABSTRACT

The subject of this dissertation is the development and meaning of the spirit-conceptions in the Qur'ān. The purpose of the study is to determine the nature and role of the various spirit-beings mentioned in the Qur'ān and to isolate and describe the "personality" of those which have prominent places in the development of Qur'ānic pneumatology.

The five-part arrangement of the study is based upon the principle of determining the meaning of the various spirit-conceptions in their literary and topical contexts rather than examining each conception individually. The five parts of the study are preceded by an introductory chapter on methodology and are followed by a concluding chapter. The introductory chapter contains a survey of the main principles of phenomenology which have emerged in the field of History of Religions, an application of these principles to Qur'ānic studies, and then an outline of the phenomenological method for the exegesis and interpretation of the Qur'ān which is followed in this study.

In Part One it is shown that the Qur'ān contains two distinct High Council myths--the shooting-star myth and the story of the angels (malā'īka) objecting to the creation of man. The latter is also the last of three distinct creation myths, the earliest being the Iblīs-myth in which Iblīs is portrayed as an arrogant, rebellious fallen-angel who is cursed (rajām) and cast out of heaven to become the tempter of man until the day of judgment. The last three of the seven accounts of this myth are followed by accounts of the Shayṭān-myth in which the tempter appears in the role of the sly, crafty Genesis serpent, but is invisible and is consistently called Shayṭān. Although these two myths are combined in the Qur'ān, their original independence remains clear and both Iblīs and Shayṭān retain their distinct "personalities".

In Part Two the nature and role of the spirit-beings which appear in the Qur'ānic legends of former prophets are discussed. In the Ibrāhīm/Lūṭ legend-cycle (which is seen to consist of a Lūṭ punishment-story, an Ibrāhīm-saga, and a Lūṭ-saga), the celestial guests (gāyf) are also called "messengers" (rusul) and "envoys" (mursalūn) but never malā'īka, and it is shown that in the various accounts the roles of delivering the family of Lūṭ and destroying the city are attributed both to Allah and to his messengers. The jinn and shayṭān in the Sulaymān legends are seen as nature-demons which have come under the control of man. It is concluded that the ṣifrīt is associated with the jinn army of Sulaymān and is probably the captain of this feared fighting corps.
In Part Three the two Qur'ānic versions of the Annunciation story are seen to be "concurrent accounts", referring to the same episode but differing significantly regarding the identity of the celestial messengers. In one account the rūḥ of Allah appears in visible form as a "handsome man" (bashar sawī) and converses with Maryam; in the other account certain malā'īka are said to deliver the message, but Maryam seems to be unaware of their presence as she is alone in the sanctuary praying to Allah. It is concluded that any attempt to reconcile these differences leads to a distortion of the individual portrayals within the two accounts.

In Part Four several significant Qur'ānic spirit-conceptions are seen to be associated with historical events in the lives of Muḥammad and his contemporaries. It is concluded that the expressions majnūn and bihi jinnatun mean "inspired by the jinn" and are related to the question of Muḥammad's inspiration. The contexts which refer to the attempts of Shayṭān and the shayātīn to interfere with the revelation of the Qur'ān indicate that Muḥammad considered such interference to be possible; however the Qur'ān does not state explicitly that this possibility ever occurred. In the gradual development from the vague statements of the early contexts to the ultimate identification of Jibrīl as the sole intermediary agent of revelation, the malā'īka never appear explicitly in this role. Jibrīl is not specifically said to be one of the malā'īka, and there is no evidence to suggest that the earlier description of the intermediary agent as a rūḥ, "the faithful rūḥ", or the rūḥ al-qudūs refer to Jibrīl (who is not identified in this role until later). The place of the malā'īka in the Qur'ānic credal statements appears to be related to the Medinan elevation in their position and the corresponding decline in the significance of the jinn and shayātīn in the Qur'ān. In the latest contexts in which they are mentioned, the jinn appear to be identified with Arabian deities which are then said to be non-existent, and the shayātīn appear to be identified with Muḥammad's "human adversaries". Then, during the Medinan period, the supernatural (but non-divine) powers for good and evil are focused in the malā'īka and the arch-adversary, Shayṭān, while the jinn and shayātīn cease to be mentioned.

In Part Five surveys of Qur'ānic contexts in which various spirit-conceptions are associated with death and eschatology demonstrate the phenomenon of "corporate personality", where actions for which Allah is ultimately responsible are in some contexts said to be performed by certain of his agents, but in other accounts the same actions are said to be performed by
Allah himself. Both Allah and his messengers (variously designated as *rusul*, *malāʾika*, and the *malak al-mawt*) are said to "take" man at the time of death. Also, the role of casting the condemned into Jahannam is ascribed both to Allah and to his *malāʾika* and the *khazana* (keepers) of Jahannam. These surveys indicate that these references to spirit-beings are not intended to be taken literally, as has been the case in later Muslim theology where various incongruous Qurʾānic accounts have been woven into an intricate system of eschatology.
CHAPTER I

TOWARDS A PHENOMENOLOGY FOR QUR'ĀNIC INTERPRETATION

Background and Need for Attention to Methodology

To the devout Muslim, the Qur'ān is not only the acme of Arabic literature, the queen of all books, but also holy scripture, the guide for worship and devotion, the basis for all religious beliefs and moral conduct, the ultimate word from Allah on political, social, and economic matters. To the non-Muslim student of Islam, the Qur'ān must be the subject of careful and thorough study for the purpose of seeking a more profound understanding of its meaning and also its place in the history of man's religious experience.

In past generations Muslims and non-Muslims followed separate approaches to the study of the Qur'ān, and there was little effort towards deliberate inter-religious communications regarding its meaning and interpretation. Thus, while producing excellent and valuable studies of the Qur'ān, European scholars often offended devout Muslims with careless and sometimes inflammatory statements. At the same time, Muslim writers continued to adopt traditional methods of interpretation of the Qur'ān (with even less freedom than is exhibited in the classical tafāsir).
and little effort was made to adapt Qur'ānic interpretation to modern needs. In recent years the impact of modern, Western culture upon Muslim lands (through travel, communications, industry, education, etc.) has encouraged a certain amount of liberation from the traditional habits and also from the traditional attitudes regarding the sanctity of classical interpretations of the Qur'ān. Unfortunately, those who have deviated from traditional interpretations usually manifest tendentious motives. For instance, in the late nineteenth century certain Indian and Egyptian scholars attempted to show that inventions produced by Western technology (the telegraph, telephone, etc.) are mentioned in the Qur'ān.¹

One who may be called the father of modern, Muslim interpretation of the Qur'ān is Sir Sayyid Ṭāhir Khān (1817-98), whose six-volume tafsīr was published in 1880.² The Egyptian educator and reformer Muḥammad ʿAbduh (1849-1905) and his student Muḥammad


²Because of the significance of this work, Baljon concludes that the year 1880 "can rightly be styled the initial date of deliberate modern Muslim Koran interpretation", p. 4. See also Muḥammad Daud Rahbar, "Sir Sayyid Ṭāhir Khān's Principles of Exegesis: Translated from his Tahrīr fī ṭusūl al-tafsīr", MW, XLVI (1956), 104-12, 324-35.
Rashīd Riḍā are better known in the West. The influence of these scholars upon certain contemporary Indo-Pakistani and Egyptian writers has engendered a trend towards "modernistic" interpretations which, although officially denounced by Orthodox Islam, are growing in popular acceptance.

One of the trends among contemporary Muslim modernists is to interpret the Qur'ān in such a way as to suppress or eliminate certain elements of the supernatural. This tendency sometimes takes the form of attempts to "de-mythologize" certain Qur'ānic myths, such as the shooting-star myth. Also, attempts are made to "de-fabulize" some of the well-known Qur'ānic fables, such as those of the speaking bird (ḥudhud) which is interpreted as a proper name of a man or tribe, and the speaking ant (an-naml).

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3Partially because of the attention devoted to these scholars by J. Jomier; see ibid., p. 5. Muḥammad ʿAbduh's Risālat at-Tawḥīd has recently been translated into English by Ishāq Musāʿad and Kenneth Cragg, The Theology of Unity (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1966).


6See ibid., note 1849, where Hudhud is said to be the proper name of one of the officers in Sulaymān's army. In note 1846 the term ṭāʿār (27:16,17) is said to refer to the horses in Sulaymān's army.
which is often taken as the name of a tribe. Another aspect of Muslim, modernist interpretation of the Qurʾān is misconstruing the obvious meaning of a text in order to attain an interpretation which corresponds with the interpreter's personal theological views. This practice has a long history, of course, but is more flagrantly executed in modern times by writers such as the Aḥmadiyya translator, Maulānā Muḥammad ʿAlī.

A significant trend among contemporary non-Muslim interpreters of the Qurʾān is to concentrate on the importance not only of communication with Muslim readers, but also acceptance of the views expressed. This effort is thus often characterized by oversensitivity concerning the personal beliefs of Muslim readers—an understandable reaction against the excesses in the opposite direction of which Orientalists in past generations were guilty. In recent years well-meaning scholars have been adopting a language which falsely implies consonance with Muslim theological views. This tendency to suppress obvious differences which exist between the Muslim and Christian communities is at its worst when writers reinterpret either the Qurʾān or the Bible for the purpose of attempting to establish harmony between the two scriptures at points where none exists.

For Western, non-Muslim students of Islam, the aim in Qurʾānic studies should be to carry out sound, objective research which both satisfies the demands of literary criticism and at the

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7See ibid., note 1847. For other examples, see Baljon, pp. 16-36.
same time does not offend the devout Muslim through the use of abusive or careless language. Until now, Western scholars have not adequately fulfilled these twin objectives, and one of the primary causes of this failure is that insufficient attention has been devoted to questions of methodology.

The Phenomenological Approach to the Study of Religion

The approach to the study of religion which best fulfills modern requirements for both objectivity and inter-religious communication is the method called "phenomenology", which was first developed in the field of philosophy by Edmond Husserl (1859-1938), and has been applied not only to religion and psychology but also to the study of ethics, society, and even science. Formative work in the application of phenomenological methods to the study of religion was carried out by the Norwegian scholar W. Brede Kristensen (1867-1953), who taught at the University of Leiden from 1901 to 1953. His outstanding study in phenomenology The Meaning of Religion was translated into English in 1960. The contributions of Kristensen--as well as Karl Jaspers (1883-1968), Joachim Wach (1898-1955), and others--were then incorporated into the studies of the Dutch scholar, Gerardus van der Leeuw,

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8Translated by John B. Carmen and published at the Hague by Martinus Nijhoff.
whose comprehensive volume entitled *Phänomenologie der Religion* was published in Tübingen in 1933.\(^9\)

Phenomenology provides a remarkably objective approach to the study of religion, and at the same time has as its goal penetration into the depths of the phenomena which are observed. The phenomenologist observes the world around him and then describes what "appears". He is concerned with the "essence" of the phenomena, that is, a description of the nature of what appears, but not with the philosophical or scientific question of "objective existence". This, in brief, is the essence of phenomenology; however, certain terms may be explained in more detail, and it is also helpful to state the basic differences between phenomenology and other approaches to the study of religion.

Phenomenology of religion differs from "comparative religion"\(^10\) in that it is not concerned with the relative value of

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\(^10\)This expression is used here with its older (and still most popular) meaning, and not the relatively new usage currently encountered in certain American universities, and in the writings of such scholars as W. Cantwell Smith; e.g., in his article, "Comparative Religion: Whither--and Why?", *The History of Religions: Essays in Methodology*, ed. Mircea Eliade and Joseph M. Kitagawa (Chicago: University Press, 1959), pp. 31-58.
the various religious traditions,\textsuperscript{11} nor with their relative degree of development, nor with any comparisons of the traditions as large units.\textsuperscript{12} Phenomenology of religion differs from "philosophy of religion" in that it is not concerned with the rational development of ideas, nor with assertions based solely on logical propositions.\textsuperscript{13} The distinctions between phenomenology of religion and two other relatively new approaches, "psychology of religion" and "sociology of religion", are not so apparent since phenomenology is a "method" more than a "field of study", and both the psychological and sociological approaches may be pursued by means of phenomenological methods.\textsuperscript{14}

The same cannot be said of theology, which is clearly distinct from phenomenology. It is at this point that the uniqueness of the latter is most vividly seen. Necessary to the method of theology are certain theological presuppositions which can be

\textsuperscript{11}In the present study, the expression "religious tradition" is used (in place of the term "religion") to refer to the historical and theological content of a religious community. This usage is influenced by W. Cantwell Smith's The Meaning and End of Religion, and is roughly synonymous with his expression "cumulative tradition", as distinct from "personal faith"--the other aspect of the term "religion".

\textsuperscript{12}For discussions of the distinctions between these two approaches to the study of religious phenomena, see Kristensen, introduction; and van der Leeuw, p. 685.


\textsuperscript{14}For a discussion of the distinctions between "psychology of religion" and phenomenology, see van der Leeuw, p. 686.
neither proved nor disproved, but must be accepted as axioms. The entire structure of theology is based upon these fundamental presuppositions, and without them there can be no theology. In phenomenology, however, there are no presuppositions, nor any preconceived criteria by which the phenomena are judged. This distinction is explained by van der Leeuw as follows:

Theology speaks about God Himself. For Phenomenology, God is neither subject nor object; to be either of these He would have to be a phenomenon—that is, He would have to appear. But He does not appear: at least not so that we can comprehend and speak about Him. If He does appear He does so in a totally different manner, which results not in intelligible utterance, but in proclamation; and it is with this that theology has to deal.

Phenomenology is interpreted in slightly different ways by various exponents of the method, but at least the following three concepts are essential: (1) description, (2) reduction, and (3) essence. The explanation of these three will be sufficient for the purpose of the present study.

15 Contra T. F. Torrance of New College, University of Edinburgh, who for several years has been arguing for a "science of theology".
16 p. 688
Description is one of the characteristics of phenomenology which distinguishes this approach from the scientific method and from philosophy, both of which seek to explain rather than describe. Scientific explanation often becomes so involved in the construction of models that it loses interest in the data and receives into "reductionism"—which identifies the meaning of an event or phenomenon with its empirical cause. The phenomenologist follows the dictum of Husserl: "Back to the data"—and never removes from this position, but always permits the data to speak for itself. Thus, the task of the phenomenologist is not to explain but to describe.18

Reduction, one of the most essential aspects of phenomenology, is the method of "bracketing out" questions of origin, cause, and objective existence. Phenomenological reduction is the practice of maintaining "intellectual suspense" or "restraint" (epoché), a concept employed by Husserl and later philosophers, and explained by van der Leeuw as follows:

It implies that no judgment is expressed concerning the objective world, which is thus placed "between brackets", as it were. All phenomena, therefore, are considered solely as they are presented to the mind, without any further aspects such as their real existence, or their value, being taken into account; in this way the observer restricts himself to pure description systematically pursued, himself adopting the attitude of complete intellectual suspense, or of abstention from all judgment, regarding these controversial topics.19

18 For additional explanations of this and the following two points, see Bettis, pp. 6-10.

19 p. 646
This method of reduction called *epoche* clearly differentiates phenomenology not only from theology but also from traditional methods of scientific and philosophical enquiry.20

*Essence* refers to the ontological aspect of phenomenology, the concern for the description of essence or meaning rather than concern for individual entities. By the term "essence" the phenomenologist does not refer to "objective reality", but to the common notion of "type" or "genus" as in the concept "mankind". He is concerned with "chairness" rather than particular chairs, and in man's religious experience, with "worship", "prayer", "sacrifice", etc. By concentrating upon the task of "describing" essences rather than "locating" them, the phenomenologist seeks to avoid the traditional philosophical problem of universals, the question of whether "reality" lies in things or in ideas. Whereas the realist (or empiricist) maintains that only things "exist", and the idealist argues that the essential reality lies in ideas, the phenomenologist evades the question altogether as irrelevant and, beginning with the awareness that people think in terms of essences, he seeks to draw out from man's environment those essences which lie hidden, and then clarify and describe the phenomena which appear to him.21

20In addition to the preface of Merleau-Ponty's work cited above, see also van der Leeuw, pp. 675-6.

21Bettis, p. 10, explains this in the following way: "Essence is not to be found by referring to some pre-conceived notion of what is really real about an event, but is to be found
The Phenomenological Approach to the Study of the Qur'ān

The phenomenologist may, of course, limit his scope of enquiry, and need not lay emphasis on data from "primitive societies" (as has been done by van der Leeuw, Mircea Eliade, and others). Scholars of Islam have been slow to adopt the phenomenological approach, and also in Christianity and Judaism little attention has been devoted by phenomenologists to the interpretation of scriptures—thus, the need for the following brief introduction which sets out principles for the development of a phenomenology of Qur'ānic interpretation.

1. Description

One of the most important aspects of the phenomenological attitude towards the Qur'ān is that the text must be permitted "to speak for itself". There are no theological motives, no attempts to prove or disprove certain doctrines. The first goal of the study is to seek "understanding", a concept which is closely related to the idea of das Verstehen, as suggested by the German philosopher Wilhelm Dilthey (1833-1911), except that the phenomenological usage does not involve a philosophy of history, but is

through the method of reduction whereby the phenomenologist brackets out questions of origin or status so that the phenomenon may present itself. He is seeking the meaning of essence rather than cause or truth."

22 In addition to his well-known work, Patterns in Comparative Religions (New York, 1958), see also The Sacred and the Profane, tr. William R. Trask (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1959).
"understanding" of present phenomena. Then, after comprehending the meaning of the text or topic, the sole purpose is to describe, not to defend or refute or explain. The phenomenologist selects and arranges, but allows the text to speak for itself; he simply testifies to what he has observed, describing the phenomenon as it has presented itself to him.

2. Reduction

Following the method of reduction, the phenomenologist approaches the Qur'ān with the attitude of intellectual suspense (epoché) in that he has no theological or rationalistic presuppositions regarding its origin, and he maintains the attitude of "suspension of judgment" regarding the objective existence of the supernatural (and fabulous) characters mentioned in the text. (A strict historical attitude is maintained regarding the historical and Biblical characters mentioned in the Qur'ān.) The phenomenologist is concerned only with the phenomena, what appears, so that for him there is nothing "behind" or "beyond" the text. Also, no assumption is made concerning either divine or human

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23 Dilthey developed his idea of das Verstehen in his studies called Geistwissenschaften (sciences of the mind) which he distinguished from Naturwissenschaften (the natural sciences). This distinction is no longer recognized by such writers as Karl R. Popper, in his The Logic of Scientific Discovery (London: Hutchinson & Co., Ltd., 1959, revised in 1960).

24 This term is employed in its root sense "pertaining to a fable", not in the loose, popular usages "amazing" and "false" or "non-historical".
authorship, although indications of the impact of the Meccan and Medinan environments (as well as Muḥammad's own character and personality) are recognized whenever these appear. In the same manner, although the theological question of the eternity or createdness of the Qurʾān is avoided, this does not mean that consideration for the history of the text is neglected. On the contrary, recognition of textual development and attempts to clarify this complicated problem are essential to the method of permitting the text "to speak for itself".

3. Essence

The essence or meaning of statements and concepts in the Qurʾān is not to be found by applying to the text certain preconceived notions, nor by judging the text by any preconceived criterion—whether it springs from theological, scientific, or rational dogma (and it should be remembered that contemporary rationalism is a "system of belief", and that rationalists are often more dogmatic than contemporary theologians). This means that no inherent value judgments are placed upon the text, other than those which the text itself manifests. The text is recognized, of course, as having power,25 and its impact both upon individual Muslims and upon the community as a whole must constantly be borne in mind. The purpose of phenomenology is to seek the essence of various Qurʾānic concepts, not to evaluate their "truth" or "falsity".

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25The term power plays a central role in the phenomenology of van der Leeuw; see esp. pp. 23-51.
Before outlining the phenomenological method for Qur'anic interpretation which is followed in the present study, it is necessary to discuss briefly the two significant terms exegesis and interpretation as they relate to phenomenology.

Exegesis refers to the analytical aspect of Qur'anic study, which involves such activities as the analysis of grammar and syntax, the determination of date and Sitz im Leben as well as purpose and theme, the classification of literary type, the survey of the "Qur'anic usage" of the key terms, and the study of the form and structure of a context—its unity or the relationship of its various parts. These activities should not be neglected since this fact-finding aspect of Qur'anic study is necessary for comprehending the meaning of a passage. The exegesis yields factual data, the validity of which should be apparent to anyone (whether he is a devout Muslim or an atheist) who is willing to examine the data thoroughly. Therefore, in the present study whenever conclusions are presented as resulting from exegesis, they are regarded as "factual" rather than "interpretive".

Interpretation refers to the descriptive aspect of Qur'anic study, the comprehension and elucidation of the personal meaning.

26 The characteristics of "description" in phenomenology as presented above also apply to what is said here concerning "interpretation".

which a text or concept has for the interpreter. Thus, the way
is open not only for the acceptance of different interpretations
of the same text, but also for the suggestion that a multiplicity
of meaningful interpretations is both expected and desirable. At
this point, Karl Jaspers' principle of "unlimited interpretation"
may be applied (with modifications) to interpretation of the
Qur'ān:

Understanding . . . . offers itself in a tentative way and
remains mere proposition within the cool atmosphere of knowl-
edge that comes from understanding. It does, however,
structure the objective meaningful facts, so far as they can
be defined as facts, when meaning lies open to unlimited
possibilities of interpretation. 28

It must be emphasized, however, that the exegesis produces the
data from which the interpretation is made and that no interpre-
tation can be considered as "valid" 29 unless it is consonant with
the conclusions of the exegesis. 30 Then, as knowledge of the
Qur'ān grows, understanding of its principal concepts will become
more precise as the variety of interpretations gradually converge
in the effort to reach the "essence" of the concept. As Jaspers

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28General Psychopathology, tr. J. Hoenig and Marian W.

29When evaluating interpretations of the Qur'ān, the
categories "valid" and "invalid" should be used in place of "right"
and "wrong", or "correct" and "incorrect".

30It should be noted that K. Wagtendonk, Fasting in the
Koran (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968), also distinguishes between
the terms "exegesis" and "interpretation", but he reverses their
meanings. On p. 87 he uses "exegesis" to mean "interpretation";
and on p. 96 he uses "interpretation" to mean "exegesis". Cf.
also his use of the term "exegete" on pp. 97-8.
states: "Multiplicity does not necessarily imply haphazard uncertainty but can mean a flexible movement within the range of possibility that leads to an increasing certainty of vision." 31

A Phenomenological Method for Qur'anic Interpretation

The task of developing a sound, phenomenological method for the interpretation of the Qur'ān will be fulfilled only gradually as various scholars apply the principles of phenomenology to the study of this book (and to the scriptures of other religious traditions). Thus, the method outlined below is presented as provisional, and it is only hoped that it will provide sound, working guidelines. The following summary of the general approach of phenomenology suggested by van der Leeuw has been taken as the starting-point from which the proposed method has been developed:

The phenomenology of religion must in the first place assign names: sacrifice, prayer, saviour, myth, etc. In this way it appeals to appearances. Secondly, it must interpolate these appearances within its own life and experience them systematically. And in the third place, it must withdraw to one side, and endeavour to observe what appears while adopting the attitude of intellectual suspense. Fourthly, it attempts to clarify what it has seen, and again (combining all its previous activities) try to comprehend what has appeared. Finally, it must confront chaotic "reality", and

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31p. 359. Also valuable when applied to divergent interpretations of the Qur'ān is W. H. Walsh's "perspective theory" which was developed as part of his philosophy of history: "Its contention would be that objectivity in history must be taken in a weakened sense: a history could be said to be objective if it depicted the facts accurately from its own point of view, but not in any other way. And different histories would not contradict, but complement, one another."--Philosophy of History: An Introduction (New York: Harper & Row, 1960), p. 109.
its still uninterpreted signs, and ultimately testify to what it has understood.\textsuperscript{32}

When applying such a method to the Qur’\textsuperscript{\textae}n, the limitations of scope are to a certain extent artificial, but the limitations of subject matter are inherent; that is, the study will be restricted to those topics mentioned in the text, but the extent to which external sources are consulted and employed in interpreting the text remains arbitrary, and will depend upon the judgment of the interpreter. In most cases the soundest principle is to confine the study to the text itself except where the use of external sources are necessary for rendering the text intelligible. However, it will be seen that the comparison of certain Qur’\textsuperscript{\textae}nic legends and stories with older forms which appear in earlier scriptures or other religious writings will sharpen the distinctiveness of the Qur’\textsuperscript{\textae}nic forms and thus assist in their interpretation.

1. Classification

When seeking to interpret a Qur’\textsuperscript{\textae}nic topic or concept, the first task is to determine the problem and scope, locate the terms involved, and classify the literary "types" of the contexts in which the concept occurs. The literary classification of Qur’\textsuperscript{\textae}nic types will involve determining whether the context is a doctrinal teaching, legislation, exhortation, political address, a m\textsuperscript{\textael}thal, or some type of narrative—a punishment-story.

\textsuperscript{32}p. 688—this method is explained in somewhat more detail on pp. 674–8.
prophet-story, creation-story, etc. Often the purpose of a passage becomes obvious as soon as it is "typed"—for instance, that of a "punishment-story" or "sign-passage". Also the unity of the sura must be considered since a concept or term will often be interpreted in light of the content and purpose of the broader context in which it occurs if the sura (or this broader context) is a unity, but not otherwise.

2. Comparison

After the contexts of the topic and its related terms have been located and "typed", these contexts will then be compared and arranged to determine the various relationships. The contexts will be placed side by side so that they may "appear" together, and be permitted to "speak for themselves". The phenomenologist lifts related statements and concepts, continually selecting different combinations of such related contexts, and permits them to "appear"—in harmony or sometimes in their many-faceted, contrasting and complementary details. It should be remembered that although the Qur'ān has the form of prose, it possesses the poetic (or artistic) characteristic of employing contrasting, yet complementary, images and details to convey intelligible impressions of what is considered to be the mystery and complexity of ultimate reality. This comparison of contexts will include attention to grammar and syntax as well as such details as date, Sitz im Leben, speaker, specific person or group being addressed, and the purpose or theme of the various contexts.
3. Reduction

Except for the emphasis on seeking "appearances" by permitting various combinations of Qur'anic contexts to "speak for themselves", the method so far presented could be considered to be simply the method of literary criticism. From this point, however, the method is characteristically phenomenological. The interpreter "withdraws to one side" and observes what "appears" from the combinations of related contexts, while maintaining the attitude of ἑποχή or intellectual suspense. This procedure may be compared to the phenomenological approach to psychotherapy, where the physician observes the fantasy world of his patient and, while neither affirming nor denying its objective existence, he momentarily experiences this world himself while seeking to comprehend it.33

4. Clarification

Combining the activities and results of the previous procedures, the phenomenologist then seeks to clarify what has been observed, to comprehend the essence of the concept or topic as it has presented itself through the various combinations of Qur'anic contexts. This effort to "grasp the essence" of a certain Qur'anic concept involves the task of determining the "Qur'anic usage" of the key terms which are related to that concept. The conviction that the meaning of a key Qur'anic term should be

33See Jaspers, pp. 306-7.
determined by observing its use in the various contexts in which it occurs (instead of simply consulting lexicons—in which the definitions are sometimes influenced by Qur'anic usage or later historical or theological issues) is essential to the phenomenological approach to Qur'anic interpretation. This task helps to clarify not only the terms themselves but also the broader topics and concepts in the Qur'ān.

5. Description

The phenomenologist then describes what he has seen to be the essence of the Qur'ānic concept as it has "appeared" in the text as various related contexts have been brought together and studied. As van der Leeuw states: "Phenomenology is the systematic discussion of what appears." Rejecting the ambiguous distinction between "true interpretation" and "false interpretation", the phenomenologist simply testifies to what he has observed. His purpose is not to defend or to refute Muslim theological doctrines (whether they be orthodox or heterodox), nor to explain or "explain away", but simply to describe, and then permit the results of the study to testify to its own validity in the same way that the text is allowed to speak for itself.35

34p. 683

35It should be noted that the method which has been presented is not seen as a series of steps to be followed rigidly in consecutive order, since the activities discussed (esp. the second, third, and fourth) may be repeated several times before the final conclusion is reached, or they may evolve almost simultaneously.
Concluding Note

The question of the right of a non-Muslim to attempt to interpret the Qur'ān must be considered. The general opinion among Muslims is that because of its literary excellence the Qur'ān can, and should, be studied by non-Muslims, but that only the Muslim himself is capable of understanding the true significance of this holy book (or at least of comprehending new meanings which are "intended for man"). The phenomenologist does not shy away from this question, but (recognizing that this opinion is dogmatic and therefore irrefutable) he forthrightly asserts that his attitude and method permit him to glimpse into the heart of the religious tradition which he studies. The method outlined above, by which the phenomenologist seeks this "personal glimpse", may be compared with what Martin Buber (1878-1965) has described in his categories I-It and I-Thou, the sphere of experience and the sphere of relationship, the objective or impersonal and the personal. In the constant (and sometimes unconscious) transformation back and forth from the sphere of objectification to the sphere of personal relationship, the phenomenologist works his way into the heart of the religious tradition which he studies. The simple classification and description of the external manifestations of a religious tradition are not sufficient to understand the "essence" of the subject of research; the phenomenologist attempts to break

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into the "holy of holies", the heart of a rich religious tradition which many of its own adherents fail to grasp. Through his honest and straightforward methods, the phenomenologist claims to possess as much right within this sanctuary as one who calls himself a Muslim. In the end, only the results of the study will justify or condemn this claim. For those outside the tradition, the phenomenological approach provides an opportunity to attempt to understand "as if from within"; for those within the tradition, it provides a sound and systematic basis for "stepping aside" and taking an objective look at the subject of their own commitment.
PART ONE

CONCERNING THE HIGH COUNCIL AND CREATION MYTHS
CHAPTER II

MALĀʾIKĀ AND THE CREATION OF MAN

Introduction

The first step towards understanding the role of the spirit-beings in the creation narratives of the Qurʾān is to isolate the literary units (thus discovering the number of stories involved) and determine the purpose of each story. Based on the assumption that the Qurʾān contains only one, consistent creation-story, most discussions of creation in the Qurʾān in both classical and modern literature on the topic ignore this first essential step, thus limiting the understanding of the various creation narratives and fragments.¹

¹In the European literature on the topic, considerable progress was made towards isolating the units of the Qurʾānic creation narratives as long ago as 1833 when Abraham Geiger published his essay entitled Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen? (The English translation by F. M. Young is called Judaism and Islam and was published in Madras by M.D.C.S.P.C.K. in 1898; see pp. 75-8.) Further significant contributions were made by Leo Jung, "Fallen Angels in Jewish, Christian and Mohammedan Literature: A Study in Comparative Folk-lore", JQR, N.S. XVI (1925), 49-85; Paul Arno Eichler, Die Dschinn, Teufel und Engel im Koran (Leipzig: Verlag der Buchhandlung Klein, 1928); see also the reference to Zwemer in note 5 below. Yet, writers still continue to publish studies on this topic which completely ignore valid conclusions which have previously been
The first clue that the Qur'ān contains more than one creation-story is the well-known fact of the distinctive and consistent usage of the two proper nouns Iblīs and Shayṭān in the creation narratives, where the name Iblīs occurs only in relation to the prostration of the *malāʾika*² to Adam, and the designation Shayṭān occurs only in relation to the temptation and fall of Adam and his wife. Although it may be only coincidental, it is certainly noteworthy that Shayṭān appears only in the portion of the story which is paralleled in the Genesis account, whereas

²This broken plural form from *malāʾak* (which appears both in the Qur'ān and in classical and modern literary Arabic as *malak*), meaning "angel" or "messenger", is left untranslated in the present study in discussions of its usage in Qur'ānic contexts. For details concerning the etymologies and meanings attributed to this term, see: *Lisān*, XII, 272, 370; *Lane*, p. 81; *Tab.*., I, 150; *Bq.*., I, 47; and Duncan Black Macdonald, "Malāʾika", *El¹*, III, 189-92. For discussions of the relationships between this term and corresponding terms in other languages, see: Eichler, p. 83; Walther Eickmann, *Die Angelologie und Dämonologie des Korans im Vergleich zu der Engel- und Geisterlehre der Heiligen Schrift* (Leipzig: Verlag Paul Eger, 1908), pp. 11-12; Hartwig Hirschfeld, *Beiträge zur Erklärung des Koran* (Leipzig, 1886), pp. 45-6; and Richard Bell, *The Origin of Islam in its Christian Environment* (London: MacMillan and Co., Ltd., 1926), p. 52.
Iblîs appears only in the portion which does not occur in the Old Testament. 3

What is even more striking is the fact that the verses pertaining to Iblîs form a complete story (hereafter referred to as the Iblîs-myth), and that the two longest and oldest Qur'ânîc accounts of this story (in sūras 38 and 15) occur alone, with no mention of Shayṭān and no reference whatsoever to the temptation and fall of Adam. The Iblîs-myth also appears in two other sūras (18 and 17) where the Shayṭān-myth does not occur. In all three occurrences of the latter story it appears just after accounts of the Iblîs-myth, which is related in a somewhat shortened form in Sūra 7, and then condensed down to a single verse in sūras 20 and 2. In 20:116/5a the story which was sixteen (or seventeen) verses in the earlier accounts is now abbreviated to the succinct form: "And when we said to the malā'îka: 'Bow down to Adam!' So they bowed, except Iblîs. He refused." 4

3 Throughout the present study the designations "Iblîs" and "Shayṭān" are retained in their Arabic, Qur'ânîc forms. This usage implies neither that the two are identified ontologically, nor that they are separate beings. They are simply treated as "characters in a story", a procedure which is in accordance with the phenomenological nature of this study. As the study progresses, conclusions will be drawn concerning the relationship between these two designations. This strictly literary usage also avoids the problem of presupposing an identity between the Qur'ânîc and Biblical counterparts.

4 wa-idh qulnâ li-l-malā'ikati-sjudû li-Ādama fa-sajadû illâ Iblîsa abâ. For a full comparison of the seven Qur'ânîc accounts of the Iblîs-myth, see Excursus at the end of Chapter III.
In Sūra 2 in the last of the three contexts where the Iblīs-myth and the Shayṭān-myth occur together, these two are preceded by a third narrative—the well-known story of Adam naming the creatures of his Lord. This story is complete in itself as it occurs in Sūra 2, and it also appears in several different forms as an independent story outside the Qurʾān. That the creation narratives in the Qurʾān actually form three separate stories (which are brought together only in Sūra 2) will become evident as the stories are discussed in the following attempt to determine what they relate concerning the Qurʾānic view of the spirit-world.5

The scope of the present chapter will be confined to the story which occurs first in Sūra 2—that pertaining to Adam naming the creatures of Allah. Then, after comparing this narrative with earlier forms of the same story, this account in Sūra 2 will be compared with Qurʾānic contexts which mention the High Council. The Iblīs-myth will be treated separately in Chapter III, and the Shayṭān-myth will be discussed in Chapter IV. Finally, the shooting-star myth (which is associated with

5Samuel M. Zwemer, "The Worship of Adam By Angels", MW, XXXIII (1943), 119, recognizes only two legend cycles instead of three: "Summing up the evidence, therefore, it seems that there are two cycles of legends back of the Koran narrative: the one dealing with the objection to the creation of Adam on the part of some angels, of which the original is found in Jewish sources: the other telling of Satan's refusal to worship Adam, which appears to be extra-Talmudic and Christian." Thus, Zwemer fails to distinguish between the Iblīs-myth and the Shayṭān-myth.
the High Council in the Qur'ān) will be treated in Chapter V, and phenomenological conclusions will be stated regarding the relationships between the various myths and characters which are discussed in these four chapters.

Malā'ika Unable to Relate the Names

The narrative which relates that Adam was able to state the names (of the creatures of Allah) whereas the malā'ika were unable to do so occurs in the Qur'ān only once, in 2:30/28-33/1: 7

30 And [remember] when your Lord said to the malā'ika: 8 "I am placing a Khalīfa on the earth." They replied: "What, will you place there one who will work corruption and shed blood, while we proclaim your praise and call you holy?" He said: "Surely I know what you know not."
31 And he taught Adam all the names. Then he presented them to the malā'ika and said: "Tell me the names of these if you are speaking the truth."

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6The text does not specify what Adam names; the pronominal suffix hum (them) and the equally vague demonstrative pronoun ha'ulā'i (these) are all that are given. Ibn Mas'ūd is said to have read 'araḍahunna instead of 'araḍahum, and Ubayy ibn Ka'b is said to have read 'araḍahā. Both alternate readings are possible since the pronoun ha'ulā'i is feminine as well as masculine. See Arthur Jeffery (ed.), Materials for the History of the Text of the Qur'ān (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1937), pp. 26,118.

7Both the official Egyptian verse numbers and the Flügel numbers are given for all Qur'ānic references in the text of the present study. However, only the former are indicated in the single-spaced translations of Qur'ānic passages.

8According to Bq., I, 47, these malā'ika are the same as the mugarrabūn (who are discussed in a later chapter).

9For an interesting (but unacceptable) etymology of the name Adam, see Zam., I, 125; and Bq., I, 49.
They said: "Glory be to you! We know nothing except what you have taught us. Surely you are al-‘Alîm, al-‘Hakîm."

He said: "Adam, tell them their names." And when he had told them their names, [Allah] said: "Did I not tell you that I know the unseen things in the heaven and the earth?" And I know what you make known and what you hide.

Certain problems in this account have been recognized and discussed at least since the times of the classical commentators, and various attempts have been made to answer some of these difficulties. The commentators at-Tabarî (d. 310/923) and az-Zamakhsharî (d. 538/1143) both ask how the malāʾika could have known the nature of man before he was even created, and they reply that the malāʾika must have been informed by Allah, since they say in v. 32/0: "We know nothing except what you have taught us."¹⁰

The precise setting and time of this story in relation to the creation of man are also not clear. Although the term khalâqa does not occur anywhere in this account (i.e., in vv. 30/28-33/1), it is generally assumed that the statement inni jâ'ilun fi-l-ardî khalîfatan (I am placing a khalîfa on the earth) indicates Allah's intention to create man.¹¹ The account does

¹⁰Tab., I, 157; Zam., I, 125.

¹¹Much discussion has been devoted to the term khalîfa in 2:30/28, a term which in its Qurʾānic usage means either "viceroy" or "successor". The only other Qurʾānic occurrence of khalîfa in the singular is in 38:26/5 where it clearly means "viceroy": "David, we have appointed you a khalîfa on the earth, so judge men justly and do not follow caprice, lest it lead you away from the way of Allah." The plural form khalâʾif occurs four times: 6:165, 10:14/5, 10:73/4, and 35:39/7. In the first and third of these contexts, khalâʾif seems to mean "viceroys" (as in 38:26/5); in the other two, however, it seems to mean "successors". Tab., I, 153, suggests that khalîfa in 2:30/28 may have either of these two meanings. Bq., I, 47, includes
not state explicitly that Allah created man; Adam simply appears in the second verse (along with that which he names). This omission is noteworthy in light of the fact that the act of creation is often mentioned in the Qur'ān, including the manner in which Allah creates by speaking the word "Be!" (kun). The setting of the first verse seems to be in the heavens where Allah speaks to the malā'ika before the creation of man, whereas the setting for the remainder must be on the earth. Thus there appears to be a break in both the time and the setting between the first and second verses, and the act of creation is to be understood either as having occurred during this interval, or as implied in Allah's initial statement to the malā'ika.

Also, there is a clear break in the development of the narrative. In the first verse the malā'ika pose a question which both: "The khalīfa is one who follows another and who represents him." In a paper read before the Oriental Club of Princeton University and later published as "Khalīfa or Khalīqa: A Variant Reading of Surah 2:28", MW, XXIV (1934), 183-7, Nabīn Amin Fāris suggests that in 2:30/28 the term khalīfa should be read khalīqa. Although this article points out interesting problems in the interpretation of this verse, Fāris' arguments are not convincing, largely because he overemphasizes the literary element—the possibility of a scribal error. The diacritical points were not added to the text of the Qur'ān until long after the text was memorized and recited throughout the Muslim world. Also, neither Fāris nor Jeffery (Materials, pp. 26, 118, etc.) has been able to locate any record of khalīqa having been read in place of khalīfa by any of the early readers.

12 E.g., 3:59/2: "Surely, in the sight of Allah, īsā is like Adam, who was created from dust, and then he said to him: 'Be!'—and he was." See also: 6:73/2, 16:40/2, 36:82, 40:68/70; and in references to īsā: 2:117/1, 3:47/2, and 19:35/6.
is not answered by the remainder of the story, nor is it relevant to the theme of the other three verses. Likewise, the phrase "if you are speaking the truth" in the second verse cannot logically refer to what the malāʾika say in the first verse. The malāʾika respond to the announcement that a khalīfa is to be placed on the earth by saying: "But he will work corruption and murder his fellows!" To this objection Allah replies by demonstrating his superior knowledge. Although the reply of Allah at the end of the first verse provides a bridge to the remainder of the story, still there is a clear dissociation of themes. This leads to the question of the purpose or intention of the malāʾika in this narrative. Is Allah consulting with them and seeking their advice regarding his intention to create man, or are they audaciously questioning a divine decree and offering an opinion which has not been sought?

Answers to these questions can best be attained by comparing this narrative with related Qurʾānic contexts and with older forms of this ancient myth. At-Ṭabarī and az-Zamakhsharī both went to haggadic sources for assistance in understanding this Qurʾānic story, and in this case such a comparison does help to clarify the distinctive characteristics of the Qurʾānic version.

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Comparison With Older Versions

In the Midrashim it is related in numerous places that the Holy One consulted with the angels (mal'akim)\(^\text{14}\) concerning the creation of man.\(^\text{15}\) The legends which developed around this idea arose as explanations of several Old Testament verses, particularly the intriguing statement of Elohim\(^\text{16}\) in Genesis 1:26: "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness". This verse was combined with the account in Genesis 2:19-20, which relates that "the man" assigned names to all living creatures, to form the core of a legendary cycle which continued to develop for centuries after the time of Muhammad.\(^\text{17}\) The following version appears several times (with slight variations) in the midrashic writings:

When the Holy One blessed be He desired to create man, He took counsel with the ministering angels. He said to them: "Let us make man in our image."\(^\text{18}\) They replied:

\(^\text{14}\)The Hebrew plural form from mal'ak which (like its Arabic cognate form) means "messenger"; see BDB, p. 521. It should be noted that this participation of the angels in the creation of man does not appear in the Biblical accounts; for discussion, see Eichler, p. 82.

\(^\text{15}\)In addition to references cited below, see also: Katsh, pp. 26-31; and Jung, pp. 53-6.

\(^\text{16}\)The Hebrew masculine plural noun meaning "rulers", "judges", or "God", related semantically to the Arabic divine name "Allah"; see BDB, pp. 43-4.

\(^\text{17}\)For an explanation of the origin and development of this legendary cycle, see Jung, pp. 57-8.

\(^\text{18}\)Gen. 1:26
"What is mortal man, that Thou art mindful of him?" He said: "Man, whom I wish to create--his wisdom is greater than yours."

What did He do? He gathered all cattle, beasts, and birds, caused them to pass before them and said: "What are their names?" They knew not.

As soon as He had created man, He caused them to pass before him, asking: "What are their names?" He said: "This is fitting to call 'ox' and this 'lion' and this 'ass' and this 'camel' and this 'eagle'", as it is said: "And He called names".

God said to him: "What is thy name?" He said: "Adam". (Why?) "Because I was created from the earth." God asked: "What is My name?" He said: "Adonai, because Thou art Lord of all creatures." As it is said: "I am Lord, that is My name", i.e. this is the name the first man gave Me.

Several distinguishing characteristics of this midrashic version stand out clearly. (1) it is explicitly stated that the Holy One sought the counsel of the angels regarding the creation of man. Thus, the plural in Genesis 1:26 is interpreted as referring to the heavenly host of angels. (2) When questioned concerning the nature of man, the Holy One replies that man will be wiser than the angels. It is clear that the purpose of this midrashic version is to demonstrate the superiority of man's knowledge over

19Ps. 8:4

20Gen. 2:19-20

21This word-play on the two terms 'adham (man) and 'adhamah (ground, earth) reflects an CT motif which appears not only in the Genesis account, but also in the metaphor of the potter moulding clay (as in Jer. 18:1-11).

22Is. 42:8

23Jung, p. 54. A similar version is given in Geiger, pp. 76-7.
that of the angels. 24 (3) The creation of man is emphasized, and it is explicitly stated that the setting of this story is just before and after the creation of man; thus, the angels are consulted just before man is created, and Adam names the creatures just after he is created (agreeing with the setting in which Adam names the creatures in Genesis 2:19-20).

Another well-known story concerning the consultation of the Holy One with the angels prior to the creation of man occurs as a midrashic narrative built around Psalm 85:10: "Kindness and Truth are met together. Righteousness and Peace have kissed each other." As reported in the fourth century, this story begins: In the hour when the Holy One came to create the first man, the ministering angels formed themselves into companies. Some said: "Let him be created", others: "Let him not be created". Then it is stated that the two groups of angels called Kindness and Righteousness advised that man should be created because he is kind and just. But the two groups called Truth and Peace advised against the creation of man because he is dishonest and quarrelsome. 25 It is noteworthy that the angels have knowledge of man's nature before he is created--some pointing out his virtuous characteristics and others emphasizing his mischievousness. Also,

24 In this story the wisdom of man lies in his ability to ascertain the intrinsic names of the animals (whereas the angels are incapable of this perception).

25 Note that the grouping of the angels in the midrashic interpretation is different from that in Ps. 85:10.
they form their own opinions regarding divine decrees, and they disagree among themselves—a characteristic of the heavenly host which is related to the idea of "fallen-angels". The setting of this story is clearly celestial and prior to the creation of man. The question of the superiority of knowledge and the element of jealousy are conspicuously absent. This story of the creation of man is left incomplete since the purpose of the narrative is simply to explain the cryptic language of Psalm 85:10. However, it introduces new elements into the legendary cycle, and it provides interesting comparisons with the Qur'ānic version.

**Comparison With High Council Contexts**

A question which is most significant in the task of interpreting the story in 2:30/28-33/1 is the possible relationship between this account and the High Council (al-malāʾ al-āʾilāʾ), which appears in 38:67-70, a context which seems to be an independent pericope, but in its present position serves as the introduction to one of the earliest accounts of the Iblīs-myth (that is, it is parallel to the position of the malāʾika-story in 2:30/28-33/1). The only significant information given concerning the High Council in 38:67-70 is that they are said to have disputed:

67 Say: "It is a mighty message
68 from which you are turning away.
69 I have no knowledge of al-malāʾ al-āʾilāʾ when they disputed.
70 It is only revealed to me that I am a plain warner."
This pericope appears to be an answer to certain opponents of Muḥammad who have referred to the High Council in voicing their objection to Muḥammad's message. Whatever that objection may have been, these verses evade the question of the identity or purpose of the High Council by asserting that Muḥammad has no knowledge of their dispute.26

The manner in which the expression al-mala’ al-a’lā appears in the Qurʾān indicates that the concept of a High Council was part of the popular mythology of the Arabs during the time when the Qurʾān was first recited. The only other occurrence of this expression in the Qurʾān is in 37:6-10, which is one of the Qurʾānic accounts of the ancient "shooting-star myth".27 The reference, in this context, to "rebel satans" who attempt to "snatch a fragment" as they listen to the proceedings of the High Council seems to indicate a Qurʾānic view that deliberations pertaining to man's destiny occur in these celestial meetings. Then, 38:67-70 adds the specific detail that these proceedings were marked by dispute.

If the phrase idh yakhtasimūna (when they disputed) in 38:69 is to be interpreted "when they disputed among themselves", then this reference would point to some legend like the midrashic

26 It is possibly significant that in this pericope Muḥammad claims to have no knowledge of any dispute within the High Council, and then later in Sūra 2 the malāʾika-story appears at this same point in relation to the Iblīs-myth.

27 See Chapter V.
one mentioned above which tells of the angels dividing into opposing groups (Kindness and Righteousness against Truth and Peace). The opponents of Muḥammad who enquired regarding the High Council may have been Jews who knew midrashic legends similar to the two discussed above. On the other hand, the phrase *idh yakhtasimūna* could be interpreted "when they raised an objection", thus referring to a single protest such as that raised in 2:30/28. In either case, the group of malāʾika mentioned in 2:30/28-33/1 appears to be identical with the High Council mentioned in 38:69 and 37:8.²⁸

**Conclusions**

What phenomenological conclusions can be stated regarding the nature of the malāʾika in 2:30/28-33/1? Viewed in the perspective of two examples of midrashic forms of the story and in light of related Qurʾānic contexts (excluding the other two creation stories which are discussed in the following two chapters), several distinguishing characteristics appear, the most prominent relating to (1) the question of the consultative role of the malāʾika, and (2) the question of superiority of knowledge.

The fact that Allah informs the malāʾika of his intention to create man must be interpreted as implying at least some degree

²⁸Bell, *Introduction*, p. 144, arrives at the same conclusion: "The nature of the High Council is not clear. In XXXVII, 8 it belongs to a piece of pagan mythology, but in XXXVIII, 69 it seems to denote the angels to whom Allah made known His intention to create man, cf. verse 71."
of consultative role for the mala'ika; otherwise, this element of the story is meaningless.\textsuperscript{29} The objection raised by the mala'ika in 2:30/28 is ignored, and their significance throughout the narrative is diminished to the point that they are reprimanded for their audacity. Although the role of the mala'ika as a group from whom Allah seeks advice is diminished to a minimum, the element of consultation is not completely eradicated. These mala'ika appear to be identical with those who are referred to in the two High Council contexts.

Possibly the most striking characteristic of 2:30/28-33/1 is that throughout the story it is Allah's knowledge which is emphasized rather than Adam's. Both here and in the midrashic forms of the legend, the purpose is to demonstrate the inferiority of the angels' knowledge. Whereas in the midrashic legend the Holy One says to the angels: "Man, whom I wish to create--his wisdom is greater than yours!", the parallel statement in the Qur'anic version is conspicuously different, where Allah says to the mala'ika: "Surely I know what you know not." Instead of demonstrating the superiority of man's knowledge over that of the mala'ika, the dominant theme of 2:30/28-33/1 is the supremacy of Allah's knowledge.\textsuperscript{30} The mala'ika are represented as having

\textsuperscript{29}Zam., I, 124, suggests that the purpose of Allah's consultation with the mala'ika is to provide a moral lesson to mankind, and that men should follow this example by consulting others before acting.

\textsuperscript{30}Zam., I, 126, and Bq., I, 49, both add that Allah taught Adam not only the names but also the characteristics of all the
no knowledge independent of Allah (v. 32/0), and if the account
is taken literally the malāʾika must be seen as incapable of
hearing what Allah addresses to man—since they are unable to
relate the names which have been taught to Adam.31

animals. For discussions of later Muslim legends which say that
Allah also taught Adam the languages of the various animals, see:
D. Sidersky, Les Origines des Légendes Musulmanes dans le Coran
dans les Vies des Prophètes (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul
Geuthner, 1933), p. 16; and J. W. Hirschberg, Jüdische und christ-
liche Lehren im vor- und frühislamischen Arabien (Kraków, 1939),
p. 110.

31 For a discussion of angels as extensions of "power"
from the Divine Being, and the diminution of power as the concept
of angels gradually becomes separated from the idea of the Divine
Being, see van der Leeuw, pp. 141-6. In the case of the malāʾika
in 2:30/28-33/1, this severance is complete and also the malāʾika
are powerless.
CHAPTER III

THE IBLĪS-MYTH

Survey of the Qur'ānic Narratives

The Iblīs-myth appears in the Qur'ān (varying in length from one to sixteen verses) in seven contexts: 38:71-95, 15:28-43, 18:50/48, 17:61/3-63/5, 7:11/0-18/7, 20:116/5a, and 2:34/2. The two longest accounts are also the earliest (as shown by the chronological order in which they are just listed\(^1\)), and these two narratives also have the most in common. As stated in the introduction to the previous chapter, the four earliest accounts of the Iblīs-myth occur alone, with no reference to the other two Qur'ānic creation narratives. As shown in the comparison in the Excursus at the end of this chapter, the only element of the

\(^1\)This order has been determined on the basis of a comparative study of the individual units (rather than following a chronological order of the entire sūras), and it differs from that suggested by Theodor Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qurāns*, 2nd ed., by Friedrich Schwally (Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1909), in which these contexts have the following respective places in the chronological order of the sūras: 59, 57, 69, 67, 87, 74, and 91. The order adopted in this chapter is much closer to that suggested by Régis Blachère, *Le Coran*, 2 vols. (Paris: Librairie Orientale et Américaine, 1949-50), where these seven contexts appear in the following order: 61, 59, 70, 74, 89, 57, and 93. Blachère, p. 193, also places 20:116/5a (and the verses which follow) later than the remainder of Sūra 20. See also note 4 below.
Iblis-myth which all seven accounts have in common is the statement: "We said to the malā'ika: 'Bow down to Adam!'; so they bowed, except Iblis."3

The account of the Iblis-myth which appears to be the earliest is the narrative which directly follows the reference

2It is interesting (although not particularly significant) that Adam is not named in the two earliest and longest accounts, those in sūras 38 and 15.

3In addition to the nine times that the name Iblis occurs in these seven accounts (appearing twice in sūras 38 and 15), this name occurs in two other contexts of the Qur'ān: 26:95 and 34:19. Opinions concerning the origin of the name Iblis differ widely, with the majority of Muslim writers (both classical and modern) deriving it from the Arabic root balasa (to despair)—see ar-Rāghib al-Īṣfahānī, Mufradāt fi Gharīb al-Qur'ān, published in the margins of Ibn al-Īkhārī's An-Nihāyat fi Gharīb al-Ḥadīth (Cairo: *Umar Ḥusayn al-Khashāb, 1318 [1900-1]), pp. 127-8. The 4th form imperfect verb yublisu occurs in 30:12/1, a context which closely resembles the theme and purpose of the Iblis-myth. Ṭab. (Shākir), I, 509, in explanation of the name Iblis, refers to the phrase fa-idhā hum mublisuna in 6:44. For references to Muslim authorities who deny the possibility of this derivation, see Arthur Jeffery, The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1938), p. 47. Still, some Western scholars argue for an Arabic origin: see esp. Eickmann, p. 26, and Otto Pauz, Muhammeds Lehre von der Offenbarung (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1898), p. 69. The tendency, however, among Western scholars is to derive the name from the Greek diabolos: see Geiger, p. 78; A. J. Wensinck (L. Gardet), "Iblis", EI2, III, 668; and Bell, Introduction, p. 118. For additional references in the older literature, see Jeffery, Foreign Vocab., pp. 47-8. For a theory which derives the name Iblis from a corruption of a Syriac transliteration of the Greek diabolos, see Josef Horovitz, Koranische Untersuchungen (Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1926), p. 87. A theory which seems to deserve more attention than it has received is that the name Iblis is related to the Greek name Beliar (which is derived from the Hebrew Belisal). The arguments for this derivation were proposed by David Künzliger in a short article, "Die Herkunft des Wortes Iblis im Korān", RO, VI (1928), 76-83. Apparently independent from this article, the same suggestion was developed further by Joshua Finkel in his article "Jewish, Christian, and
to the High Council (quoted in the previous chapter) which occurs
in Sūra 38:4

71 [Remember] when your Lord said to the malā'īka: "See, I am
about to create a mortal from clay.
72 When I have shaped him and have breathed some of my rūḥ into
him, fall down, bowing before him!"
73 Then the malā'īka all bowed together,
74 except Iblīs, who was proud and was one of the unbelievers.
75 [Allah] said: "Iblīs, what prevented you from bowing before
one whom I created with my own hands? Have you become proud,
or are you one of the high ones?"
76 [Iblīs] said: "I am better than he; you created me from fire,
and him you created from clay."
77 [Allah] said: "Then get out of it! Indeed, you are cursed!
Upon you shall rest my curse until the Yawm as-Dīn."
78 [Iblīs] said: "My Lord, respite me until the day they are
raised."
79 [Allah] said: "You are one of those respited
until the day of the appointed time."
80 [Iblīs] said: "Then, by your power, I will pervert all of them,
except your servants among them who are sincere."
81 [Allah] said: "Then, the truth and the truth I say:5

Samaritan Influences on Arabia", The Macdonald Presentation Volume
concludes (p. 163) that the name Iblīs was derived from the Greek
name beliar (or a lost form belias) through the influence of the
Samaritans, since only they referred to Beliar as the tempter in
the Adam and Eve story. Still, no conclusive evidence has been
presented for any of these opinions, so that all suggested deriva-
tions remain based upon conjecture.

4As shown above, both Nöldeke and Blachère consider the
account in Sūra 15 to be earlier than that in Sūra 38. Bell,
however, holds the opposite opinion, suggesting that the account
in Sūra 38 is "Meccan" while that in Sūra 15 is "late Meccan or
early Medinan"--The Qurʾān Translated, with a critical re-
arrangement of the Surahs, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark,

5This appears to be an oath: fa-l-ḥaqqu wa-l-ḥaqqa aqūlu.
The parallel passage in 15:41 has what seems to be another oath:
hādhā girāṭun 'alayya mustaqīm. However, Blachère, p. 219,
suggests that 'alayya should be read 'ilayya, a reading which has
not been found by Jeffery, Materials, p. 52, etc.
85 I will surely fill Jahannam with you and all those who follow you!"

Although the creation of man is mentioned at the beginning of this account (and in the parallel account in 15:28-9), this element is clearly not the dominant theme of the story. Where it is mentioned or alluded to in the other five accounts, the creation is plainly a secondary element. The reference to the rūḥ of Allah is mentioned only in suras 38 and 15, and is also not a dominant theme of the story.

The most significant points in the Iblīs-myth (although only the first occurs in all seven accounts) are the following:

1. The refusal of Iblīs to bow down to Adam

Where 38:73-4 and 15:30-1 have fa-sajada-l-malāʾikatu

6See the reply of Iblīs in 38:76/7, 15:33, 17:61/3, and 7:12/1. In the other accounts the creation of man is not mentioned.

7For a discussion of the rūḥ, see Chapter X.
kulluhum ajma'ūna illā Iblīs, the other five accounts have qulnā li-l-malā'ikati-sjudū li-Adama fa-sajadū illā Iblīs; then, each of the seven accounts continues in a different way. The statement in Sūra 15, abā an yakūna ma'a-s-sājidīn, is similar to that in Sūra 7, lam yakun mina-s-sājidīn. The parallel statement in Sūra 20 is simply abā. Sūra 2 combines this element from sūras 15 and 20 with the explanation given in Sūra 38 to provide the final version, abā wa-stakbara wa-kāna mina-l-kāfirīn. The only version which is manifestly different from the others in its explanation is in Sūra 18, kāna mina-l-jinni fa-fasaga 'an amri rabbihi. The first part of this explanation is clearly parallel to the last part of the explanation given in sūras 38 and 2.

818:50/48, 17:61/3, 7:11/0, 20:116/5, and 2:34/2. For translations of these phrases, see the Excursus at the end of this chapter.

9 Much attention has been devoted to this term sajada, particularly by those scholars who are inclined to debate whether the Iblīs-myth is of Jewish or Christian origin. The antiquity of this debate is seen in the insistence of the classical commentators that the command of Allah is not to be understood as a demand to adore or deify Adam: see Zam., I, 126-7, and Bq., I, 50-1. Geiger, p. 77, argues that the myth must be of Christian origin because the Jews would not think of putting such a command in the mouth of God. M. Grünbaum, Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1893), pp. 60-1, agrees with this conclusion. The validity of this argument is denied by such writers as: Eichler, pp. 48-9; Louis Ginzberg, The Legends of the Jews, tr. Henrietta Szold, Vol. V (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1925), p. 84; Charles C. Torrey, The Jewish Foundation of Islam (New York: Jewish Institute of Religion Press, 1933), p. 71; Katsh, p. 32; and the same conclusion is reached by W. Montgomery Watt, Companion to the Qur'ān (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1967), p. 18.
The form wa-kāna in 38:74 and 2:34/2 can mean either "since he was" or "and he became"—a slight difference which completely alters the meaning. There is no question regarding the literal meaning of the phrase kāna mina-l-jinn, however; the question here concerns the "interpretation" of the phrase. Either Iblīs is to be considered as always having been a jinnī, or he is to be regarded as a "fallen-angel"—that is, one who lost his status among the malā'ika and became a kāfir (who is later described as a jinnī). When asked why he refused to bow to Adam, Iblīs claims superiority over man because he is created from fire whereas man is created from clay. This statement in sūras 38, 15, and 17, may be an indication that the association of Iblīs with the jinn was known before the appearance of Sūra 18.

2. The curse upon Iblīs

The refusal of Iblīs to bow to Adam and the reasons given for this disobedience are followed in sūras 38, 15, and 7 with a curse upon Iblīs. The precise relationship between the curse and

10I.e., if this wa is interpreted as introducing a ḥal clause.

11There seem to be three substances from which man is said to have been created: in 38:71, 76/7, 17:61/3, and 7:12/1, he is created from ṭin (clay); in 15:28, 33 (and also 15:26), he is created from galgāl (dry or clanging clay), and also from ḍamaṣ masmūn (moulded mud). (The term masmūn, which also means "stinking", occurs only in these three verses in the Qur'ān; and the only other occurrence of ḍamaṣ is in 18:86/4.) For a discussion of these terms in relation to references to the creation of man from "dust" and "mud" in the books of Genesis and Job, see Eichler, p. 49.
the pronouncement of banishment are not clear, as is seen in the
comparison in the Excursus at the end of this chapter; the
banishment as a part of the curse will be discussed below. All
that is said about the curse (al-la‘na, in 15:35; but la‘natf,
"my curse", in 38:78/9) is that it is to last until the Yawm
ad-Dīn.

3. Respite until the Yawm al-Qiyāma

In suras 38, 15, and 17, the curse upon Iblīs is followed
by a request for respite "until the day they are raised" (ilā
yawmi yub‘athūna). The request and the reply in 38:79/80-81/2
are duplicated verbatim in 15:36-8, and the first two verses
occur (with minor variations) in 7:14/3-15/4. After the request
is granted, Iblīs threatens to misguide as many of Adam's descen-
dants as he can. The parallel passage in 17:62/4 combines the
request and the threat in the same statement where Iblīs says:
"Do you see this one whom you have honoured above me? If you
respite me until the Yawm al-Qiyāma, I will surely master his
descendants, except a few." In suras 15 and 7 Iblīs accuses "his
Lord" of leading him astray, and gives this as his reason for
leading mankind astray, bimā aghwaytanī . . . (wa-)la-ughwiyyanna-
hum. 12

12See Eichler, p. 65.
4. The banishment of Iblīs

Although the pronouncement of banishment occurs earlier in the story with the curse (before the request for respite), the actual banishment does not occur until the end of the story, in 17:63/5 and 7:18/7. Both here and in the earlier verses (38:77/8, 15:34, and 7:13/2), the place from which Iblīs is banished is not indicated. The commands, fa-khrūj minha (38:77/8) and 15:34, fa-khrūj (7:13/2), ukhrūj minha (7:18/7), and fa-hbīk minha (7:13/2), become simply ḫāḥab in 17:63/5. It is implied that his new realm of activity will be on the earth, and it is explicitly stated that his final abode will be Jahannām, but the identity of the ĥā in minha is not specified.

Thus, certain questions remain: what is the setting of the story? If minha refers to a celestial paradise, this would support the idea that Iblīs is a "fallen-angel". Is Iblīs one of the malaʾika when he first appears in the story? Does he fall from this estate and become a jinnī? Does Allah's question to Iblīs in 38:75/6, kunta mina-l-ʾālīn, refer to the High Council (al-malaʾ al-ʾālā)? And, finally, what is the relationship between Iblīs and Shayṭān? A comparison of the Qurʾānic Iblīs-myth with

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13See 38:85, 15:43, 17:63/5, and 7:18/7.

14Blachère, p. 218, suggests that the pronominal suffix ĥā in minha refers to al-janna (the garden). However, this term does not occur in any of the seven accounts of the Iblīs-myth, and there is no specific indication that al-Janna is the setting of these accounts.
ancient Latin, Arabic, and Syriac versions of the same story will elucidate the Qur'anic version and provide answers to some of these questions.

Comparison With Other Ancient Versions

The basic elements of the Iblis-myth occur in a series of legends which circulated in several languages throughout the ancient Near East long before the time of Muhammad and for several centuries after the initial expansion of Islam. The earliest known account appears in the story called the Vita Adae,15 the date of which is not certain but which has been suggested as "not earlier than the first century A.D., nor later than the fourth century."16 It is believed that the earliest versions (now lost) were in Aramaic, but the story also flourished in the Christian languages, Syriac, Armenian, and Ethiopic, as well as Arabic.17 The Syriac version (which dates from the sixth century) is published with a German translation by Carl Bezold in a work

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16Ibid., pp. 126-7.

17Ibid., pp. 124-8.
entitled *Die Schatzhöhle*, which also includes an edited text of four Arabic MSS. of the same story.\(^8\) The Sinai Arabic MS. (which is claimed to be older than those edited by Bezold) has been edited and translated by Margaret Dunlop Gibson.\(^9\) However, since the extant Arabic MSS. may have been influenced by the Qur'anic Iblis-myth, a translation of the Syriac version is provided here as the basis for comparison:

And the angels and the powers heard the voice of God when he said: "Adam, I have made you king, priest, prophet, lord, chief, and leader of all creatures, and they will serve you and are yours. And I have given you power over all that I have created." Then, when the angels heard this, they all kneeled down and worshipped him.

Now when the head of the lower order saw that dominion had been given to Adam, he was jealous and refused to worship him, but said to his powers: "Do not worship him and praise him with the angels. It is fitting that he should worship me, not that I should worship dust, which has been formed from a grain of dust."

The rebel continued to utter such things and was disobedient; thus, he became separated from God by his own free will. And he was cast down so that he and his entire band fell. On the sixth day, in the second hour, he fell from heaven and was stripped of the robe of glory, and his name was called Sāṭānā\(^{20}\) because he had turned away [from God],

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\(^{18}\)Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1883 (the German translation) and 1890 (the Syriac and Arabic texts).

\(^{19}\)Gibson calls this version the *Kitāb al-Majall* (Book of the Rolls), and she uses this title to refer to all Arabic MSS. of the story, including those edited by Bezold. Gibson's edition of the Sinai MS. and her translation are published in *Apocrypha Arabica, Studia Sinaitica No. VIII* (London: C. J. Clay and Sons, 1901).

\(^{20}\)From the Hebrew Sāṭān.
 Shedā because he had been cast down, and Daivā because he had lost his robe of glory.

And behold, from that same day until today, he and all his host are stripped naked and are ugly to look upon. Then, after Satan had been cast down from heaven, Adam was exalted, so that he ascended to paradise in a fiery wagon while the angels sang praises to him, the seraphim venerated him, and the cherubim blessed him.

This account is clearly Christian with its emphasis upon the praise (and even worship) of Adam, in direct imitation of the adoration of Jesus with such titles as "king, priest, prophet, and lord". The last two titles, "chief" and "leader" (which in the Arabic versions are raʾs or rayyis and mudabbir) resemble the use of khalīfa in 2:30/28.

Certain similarities between the Qurʿānic accounts of the Iblīs-myth and the other forms of this legend are evident: (1) the relationship between the fall of the rebel and the creation of man; (2) certain details regarding the reasons for refusing to bow down to Adam; and (3) the resulting fall from glory and banishment from the presence of "his Lord". However, the Qurʿānic

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21 Apparently an older Syriac form derived from Assyrian; see Jung, p. 66.


23 Bezold, pp. 4-5 (Ger.) and pp. 14ff. (Syr.). See also Jung, pp. 65-6.

24 Bezold, p. 15 (Ar.).

25 Gibson, p. 6 (Ar.).
accounts do not possess the clarity and precision of details which characterize the other versions; for instance, both the Arabic and the Syriac versions state that the rebel was "cast down from heaven". 26

On the other hand, certain differences among the various accounts are more significant for the purpose of the present comparison. The most notable of these pertain to: (1) the various names of the rebel, (2) the question of whether or not Iblîs was alone in his rebellion, and (3) certain aspects of the Qur'ânic Iblîs-myth which do not appear in the other versions.

1. The names of the rebel

In those Qur'ânic creation narratives which have been designated the "Iblîs-myth", the rebel against Allah is consistently called "Iblîs". 27 In the parallel account in the Vita

26 See ibid., p. 5 (Eng.) and p. 5 (Ar.). For the Syriac version, see translation above, paragraph three. Concerning the location of paradise, the Kitâb al-Majâl states: "The site of paradise was high up in the air so that its ground was celestial, and it was raised above all mountains and hills that were thirty spans high"—Gibson, p. 7 (Ar.) and p. 7 (Eng.).

27 The following parenthetical statement is added at the end of the account in Sûra 17 (in v. 64/6): "But Shaytân promises them nothing except delusion (ghurûr)." This reference to Shaytân is the earliest indication of the association between the Iblîs-myth and the Shaytân-myth. That is, in the three accounts of the Iblîs-myth which are earlier than the one in Sûra 17, Shaytân does not appear at all; in the three accounts which are later (those in sûras 7, 20, and 2), the two myths appear together. This reference in 17:64/6 is the transitional point in the development. Then, full accounts of both myths occur only in Sûra 7, and all three Qur'ânic creation stories occur only in Sûra 2. For the meaning of 17:64/6, compare the use of the term ghurûr in 7:22/1.
Adae, the rebel is consistently called "the devil"—a designation which seems to have no special significance. In the Syriac version, however, the rebel has no name before his rebellion, but is designated simply "the head of the lower order", and then "the rebel"; then, after "he fell from heaven and was stripped of his robe of glory", the rebel is called "Satan". Also, the text emphasizes the significance of his various names by providing etymologies which relate them to his fall.

The parallel passage in the Kitāb al-Majālī is of particular interest since it contains the Qur'ānic name "Iblīs" in addition to the Hebrew "Sāṭān" and its Arabic cognate form "Shayṭān"; also, it is significant that the form "ash-Shayṭān" is employed here as the "common name" for the rebel:

Allah (may his names be hallowed) deprived ash-Shayṭān of his robe of glory and dignity, and he called his name Shayṭān [because] he rebelled against Allah, and Sāṭān because he opposed the ways of his Lord, and Iblīs because [Allah] took his dignity from him.29

It should be noted, however, that the names are not employed consistently in the Arabic MSS. (as they are in the Syriac accounts; the Arabic versions are derived from the older Syriac accounts, but the significance of the names has been lost. For instance,

28Charles, p. 137.

29Gibson, p. 7 (Ar.) and p. 7 (Eng.). These three names could be interpreted as the Arabic, Hebrew, and Greek (or Muslim, Jewish, and Christian) designations for the rebel. However, the Oxford and Vatican Arabic MSS. both have Sāṭābāyīl in place of the Hebrew Sāṭān at this point in the narrative—see Bezold, p. 17 (Ar.).
at an earlier point in the Arabic narrative a preview of the fall appears in which the name Iblis is used: "Iblis had laid claim to divinity (ar-rubūbiyya), [a state of rebellion] which had entered him in the second hour of [the first Friday], and Allah hurled him down from heaven to earth."30 This parenthetical statement, which is given in the account of the creation of Adam, reveals nothing concerning the change of name in relation to the change of status, but simply indicates that the name Iblis was used for the rebel at the time that the story was told.31

2. The band of the rebel

In the Vita Adae the "devil" is over a group of angels: "When the angels, who were under me, heard this, they refused to worship him."32 Also, it is explicitly stated that this group of angels fell with the "devil": "And God the Lord was wroth with

30Gibson, p. 5 (Ar.) and p. 5 (Eng.). Also, after the fall of the rebel, he is called "the cursed prince", ash-Shaytān, Shaytān, and also Iblīs—ibid., pp. 7-8 (Ar.) and p. 8 (Eng.). Regarding the use of the name Iblīs in the Kitāb al-Majālī, it must be remembered that the oldest extant MSS. are at least four to five centuries after the time of Muḥammad and are doubtlessly influenced by Islam and the Qurʾān.

31The following quotation from Ibn ʾAbbās indicates that a change of name was associated with the fall of the rebel: "Before Iblīs decided to rebel with the malāʾika, his name was ʿAzāzēl and he was one of the inhabitants of the earth, and one of the malāʾika strongest in devotion and noblest in knowledge. It was for this reason that he was incited to pride." Ṭab., Ann., I, 83.

32Charles, p. 137.
me and banished me and my angels from our glory." 33 The Syriac and Arabic versions seem to differentiate between the "angels" and others called "powers" (in Arabic: al-ṣūwāt 34), although only in the Syriac MSS. is it indicated that these "powers" are the band of the rebel: "He was jealous and refused to worship him, but said to his powers: 'Do not worship him and praise him with the angels. . . ." 35 It is striking that the Arabic MSS. omit these cardinal elements of the story—not only the rebellion of the malā'ika, but also the refusal of the rebel to prostrate before Adam. The Arabic accounts say only that the rebel "refused the grace of his Lord and became shameless and warlike". 36 Although the descriptive adjective "warlike" (ṣarbi) may imply that a "host" of some kind is involved, throughout the Arabic accounts the rebel appears alone.

Also in the Qur'ānic accounts of the Iblīs-myth, the rebel appears alone, although the concept of "hosts of Iblīs" (junūd Iblīs) does occur elsewhere in the Qur'ān (26:95). 37 It may be

33 Ibid.

34 Bezold, p. 15 (Ar.); Gibson, p. 6 (Ar.).

35 See second paragraph of translation above.

36 The Sinai MS. has ǧāra waqāban ḫarban—Gibson, p. 6. The Paris MS. has ǧāra waqāban ḫarriban (he became impudent and daring)—Bezold, p. 17.

37 The presence of this expression in 26:95 may indicate that the concept of junūd Iblīs is implied in the Qur'ānic narratives of the Iblīs-myth, as is suggested by Eichler, p. 57; however, the absence of any explicit reference to these "hosts" is certainly striking. For traditions on this topic, see the section Ǧifāt Iblīs wa-junūdihī in Bukh.
argued that the "hosts of Iblīs" are also alluded to near the end of the four complete accounts of the Iblīs-myth where Allah says: "I will surely fill Jannah with you and those that follow you, all together." However, the Qur'ānic style of interweaving hortatorical statements with narrative material suggests that this threat is directed towards the hearers of Qur'ānic recitation and not specifically to Iblīs.

3. Distinctive characteristics of the Qur'ānic version

In addition to numerous differences in details, the comparison between the Qur'ānic and non-Qur'ānic accounts has revealed that certain essential elements of the Qur'ānic Iblīs-myth do not occur in the other versions. It has already been noted that Iblīs' refusal to bow before Adam is not mentioned in the Kitāb al-Majāll (although this point is extended in the Vita Adae and the Syriac version). Also, the curse upon Iblīs, his request for respite until the Yawm al-Qiyāma, the prompt granting of this request, and finally, Iblīs' promise to lead men astray and Allah's consequent promise to fill Jannah with Iblīs and his followers—all these points are noticeably absent from the non-Qur'ānic accounts.

Regarding the banishment of the rebel, the Qur'ānic command "Depart from it!" does not occur in the other accounts,

\[38\] 38:85, 15:43, 17:63/5, and 7:18/7.
where the fall is simply reported: "And he was cast down so that he and his entire band fell."\textsuperscript{39} The account in the \textit{Vita Adae} is more explicit: "And God the Lord was wroth with me and banished me and my angels from our glory; and on [Adam's] account were we expelled from our abodes into this world and hurled on the earth."\textsuperscript{40} The specification "from our glory" in this account does not help to clarify the ambiguous, Qur'ānic expressions \textit{fa-khruj minhā}, etc., which are cited above. However, the Syriac account (which is translated above) does specify that the rebel "fell from heaven"; also, the earlier reference to Iblīs in the \textit{Kitāb al-Majālī} states that "Allah hurled him down from heaven to earth".\textsuperscript{41}

\textbf{Conclusions}

Final phenomenological conclusions regarding Iblīs cannot be stated until after the Shayṭān-myth and, indeed, all other Qur'ānic references to Shayṭān have been discussed. At this point, however, certain conclusions can be drawn and observations can be stated regarding the Qur'ānic portrayal of Iblīs in those narratives which have been designated the Iblīs-myth.

First, what specifically does the text say about Iblīs?

(1) The one dominant factor which appears in all seven sūras is

\textsuperscript{39}Bezold, p. 4 (Ger.); see also Gibson, p. 7 (Ar.) and p. 7 (Eng.).

\textsuperscript{40}Charles, p. 137.

\textsuperscript{41}Gibson, p. 5 (Ar.) and p. 5 (Eng.).
that Iblîs did not bow with the (other) malā’ika. Although some commentators argue that the particle illâ does not necessitate that Iblîs be included among the malā’ika, other elements in the narrative make it clear that at this point he is considered to be one of them.42 (2) Three of the accounts state explicitly that Iblîs refused to participate with the bowing malā’ika.43 The implication is that he is one who disobeyed a direct command of Allah, a conclusion which is specifically stated in 18:50/48:

"Then he strayed from the command of his Lord (fa-fasaqa ‘an amrī rabbihī).44 (3) Two of the most important accounts state that Iblîs "was proud and was an unbeliever" or, according to a more likely interpretation, "exalted himself and became an unbeliever" (istakbara wa-kāna mina-l-kāfīrîn).45 This latter interpretation

42 Obvious examples of mistranslation and misrepresentation of the clear meaning of a Qur'ānic text are seen in the treatment of the expression illā Iblîs in the translation and notes of Muḥammad ʿAlī, p. 19; and also Abdullah Yusuf Ali, The Holy Qur-an (Lahore: Shaikh Muḥammad Ashraf, 1934), p. 25. The same treatment is given by both of these writers to all occurrences of this expression in the Qur'ān. For classical Muslim opinion which affirms that Iblîs was one of the malā’ika, see the reference from Tab., Ann., quoted above in note 31, and also Bq., I, 51, where it is concluded that: "Iblîs was one of the malā’ika; otherwise, the command to them would not have applied to him and his being excepted from them would have been without foundation."


44 In this respect Iblîs differs from the Sāṭān in the Book of Job. See discussion of this point in Eichler, p. 61.

45 38:74 and 2:34/2.
supports the conclusion stated above that Iblīs had been one of the malāʾika, an impression which seems evident to the unbiased reader. Finally, there is the single reference in 18:50/48 which states that Iblīs is one of the jinn. This assertion directly follows the statement that Iblīs did not bow with the malāʾika, and it seems to be given as an explanation. In light of the other accounts of the Iblīs-myth, this reference to the jinn appears to represent a development within "Qurʾānic thought", possibly an attempt to refute the idea that Iblīs had been one of the malāʾika. Certainly, it is not necessary to conclude (from a comparison of these narratives) that the malāʾika are to be identified with the jinn.

Then, in the dramatic sections of the accounts of the Iblīs-myth, what does Iblīs claim, and say, for himself, and what does Allah say regarding the nature and destiny of the rebel? (1) In two accounts Iblīs claims to be better than man (or better than Adam). The only reason given for this claim is that Iblīs had been created from fire, whereas man had been created from clay. In two other places in the Qurʾān (15:27 and 55:16/5) it is stated that the jinn had been created from fire, but there is

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46 In fact, according to Tab., Ann., I, 83, one of Iblīs' two principal sins was that he thought himself better than the other malāʾika. For discussions of this point, see: Wensinck (Gardet), p. 669; and Jung, pp. 67-70.

47 See Watt, Companion, p. 209.

48 38:76/7 and 7:12/1
no indication that they are thus superior to man. It is also significant that 15:27 occurs near an account of the "shooting-star myth", and just before an account of the Iblis-myth, and that 55:16/5 also occurs near a reference to the sun, moon, and stars.

(2) In two accounts it is stated that Iblis has been cursed until the Yawm ad-Din. This must imply that Iblis is now a "fallen-angel". (3) Then, Iblis blames Allah for perverting him, and he threatens to lead astray all of mankind who will follow him. This implies that the primary role of Iblis is that of "tempter". The threats at the ends of the accounts imply that Iblis will have followers, whose destiny (along with Iblis) will be Jahannam.

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49 Also, there is the possibility of the use of metaphor in the description of creation from fire and dust. See, for example, 21:37/8: "Man was created from haste (min 'ajalin)."

50 38:78/9 and 15:35.

51 See Jung, pp. 70-1 (notes); also, Rivkah S. Kluger, Satan in the Old Testament, tr. Hildegard Nagel (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1967), p. 33. (The original German edition was published in 1948 by Rascher Verlag of Zürich under the title "Die Gestalt des Satans im Alten Testament" as Part III of C. G. Jung's Symbolik des Geistes.)

52 15:39 and 7:16/5.


54 Eickmann, pp. 43-6, discusses this aspect of the character of Iblis in relation to the three roles of the Evil One in Persian and Jewish religious writings: (1) tempter, (2) accuser, and (3) destroyer of physical life. See also Eichler, pp. 64-5.

55 38:85, 15:43, 17:63/5, and 7:18/7.
Far from being insignificant, these details of the drama indicate the nature of Iblis as well as the purpose of the myth. The transitions from dramatic to hortatory statements at the ends of the accounts emphasize the independently apparent impression that the purpose of the Iblis-myth is not to inform, or to entertain, or even to explain, but to convince the hearers that rejection of Islam (surrender to Allah) will inevitably result in punishment. According to the genuine nature of mythic symbolism, Iblis personifies all rejection of Allah, and is thus the "unbeliever" par excellence.\textsuperscript{56}

\textsuperscript{56} See Eichler, p. 65.
EXCURSUS

The Iblis-myth

Following is a comparative presentation of the seven Qur'anic accounts of the Iblis-myth, indicating the similarities and differences in the chronological development of the story within the Qur'ān. Only the verse numbers of the official Egyptian edition are indicated.

38:71 When your Lord said to the malāʾika: "See, I am about to create a mortal from tīm."
7:11 when I have shaped you, bowing before him."

15:28 And when your Lord said to the malāʾika: "See, I am about to create a mortal from ǧalāṣal of ṣamaʾ masnūn."
29: when I have shaped you, bowing before him."

18:50 And when we said to the malāʾika: "Bow before Adam." 30: Then the malāʾika bowed all together, 73: except Iblīs, was proud,
17:61 And when we said to the malāʾika: "Bow before Adam." 31: except Iblīs, was proud,
7:11 then we said to the malāʾika: "Bow before Adam." 3: except Iblīs, was proud,
20:116 And when we said to the malāʾika: "Bow before Adam." 74: except Iblīs, was proud,
2:34 And when we said to the malāʾika: "Bow before Adam." 3: except Iblīs, was proud,

Then the malāʾika bowed all together, who refused to be among those who bowed.
Then they bowed, who was not of those who bowed.
Then they bowed, who refused.
Then they bowed, who refused,
Then they bowed, who was one of the unbelievers.

38:74 and was one of the unbelievers. /command.
18:50 was one of the jinn, and strayed from his Lord's
2:34 and was one of the unbelievers.
38:74 He said: "Iblīs, what prevented you from bowing before one whom I created with my own hands?"
15:32 He said: "Iblīs, what ails you that you are not among the bowing?"
7:12 He said: "What prevented you from bowing when I commanded you?"

38:75 Have you become proud, or are you one of the high ones?"
38:76 He said: "I am better than he; you created me from fire, 7:12 He said: "I am better than he; you created me from fire,
15:33 He said: "I would never bow before a mortal 17:61 He said: "Shall I bow before
17:61 and him you have created from ṭīn."
7:16 and him you have created from ṭīn."

38:77 He said:
15:34 He said:
7:13 He said: "Depart from it! It is not for you to be proud "Then get out of it! Indeed, you are cursed!
"Then get out of it! Indeed, you are cursed!
here! Then get out! Indeed, you are abased!

38:79 Upon you shall rest my curse until the Yawm ad-Dīn!"
15:35 Upon you shall rest the curse until the Yawm ad-Dīn!"

38:79 He said: "My Lord, respite me until the day they are raised." 15:36 He said: "My Lord, respite me until the day they are raised." 7:14 He said: "Respite me until the day they are raised."
80. He said: "You are one of those respited until the known day." 37. He said: "You are one of those respited until the known day." 15. He said: "You are one of those respited."

17:62 He said: "What do you think? This one whom you have honoured above me—if you defer me to the Yawm al-Qiyāma, I will surely master his descendants, except a few."

38:82 He said: "Then, 15:39 He said: "My Lord, for your perverting me, I will 7:16 He said: "Then, for your perverting me, I will
38:82 make everything seem fair to them in the earth, by your power,
I will pervert all of them, except your servants among them who are sincere."

and I will pervert all of them, except your servants among them who are sincere."

surely sit in ambush for them on your straight path, then, I will come upon them from before them and from behind them, from their right hands and their left hands. You will not find most of them thankful."

He said: "Then the truth, and the truth I say:

He said: "This is for me a straight path:

He said: "Depart!

He said: "Get out of it, despised and banished!

over my servants you will have no authority except those among the perverse who follow you

Those among them who follow you--

Those among them who follow you--

I will surely fill Jahannam with you

Jahannam shall be their surely Jahannam shall be your

I will surely fill Jahannam with

promised land, recompense, an ample recompense!"

and those who follow you, all together!"

all together!"

all together!"
CHAPTER IV

THE SHAYTÂN-MYTH

Survey of the Qur'anic Narratives

The Shaytân-myth (the designation used to refer to the story of the temptation and fall of Adam and his wife) occurs three times in the Qur'ân: 7:19/8-25/4, 20:117/5b-24,1 and 2:35/3-39/7. As stated above in Chapter II, these three narratives directly follow the three latest accounts of the Iblîs-myth (which has been abbreviated to a single verse in suras 20 and 2). Following is the final form of the Shaytân-myth as it appears in Sūra 2:

35 And we said: "Adam, you and your wife dwell in al-Janna and eat of its abundance wherever you please. But do not go near this tree, or you will be evildoers."

36 Then Shaytân caused them to slip from it and to go out from the state they were in. And we said: "Get down, each of you an enemy to the other, and in the earth you will have an abode and provision for a time."

37 Then, Adam received certain words from his Lord, who turned to him. Surely, he is at-Tawwâb, ar-Raḥîm.

38 We said: "Get down out of it, all together! Then, surely guidance will come to you from me, and no fear will be upon whoever follows my guidance—nor shall they sorrow.

39 But the unbelievers, who controvert our signs, shall be the companions of an-Nâr, therein abiding!"

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1Regarding the precise length of the accounts in suras 20 and 2, see note 3 below.
A comparison of the three Qur’ānic accounts of the Shayṭān-myth indicates that certain essential elements of the story have been omitted in this account in Sūra 2. Because of the significance of these details of the story for the discussion which follows, portions of the accounts in sūras 7 and 20 are also translated below.

If either of the accounts in sūras 2 or 20 were read alone by one who did not know the Shayṭān-myth, the reader would be confused concerning the disobedience of Adam and his wife. In Sūra 2 the manner of the disobedience is not explicitly stated. In Sūra 20 the specific act of disobedience is given, but the more important factor, the command not to eat from the forbidden tree, is omitted. This account in Sūra 20 also includes other significant details which do not appear in the other two accounts:

117 Then we said: “Adam, surely this is an enemy (*aduww) to you and your wife. So do not let him expel you both from al-Janna, so that you will be unhappy.

118 It is surely given to you neither to hunger nor to go naked therein, neither to thirst nor to suffer the sun therein.”

120 Then Shayṭān whispered to him saying: "Adam, shall I point you to the shajarati-l-khuld, and a kingdom which does not decay?"

121 Then, the two of them ate from it, and their private parts appeared to them, and they began to stitch upon themselves leaves from al-Janna. Thus Adam disobeyed his Lord, and so he erred.

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\[^2\]Ibn Mas‘ūd is reported to have read fa-kashafa ‘anhu wa-‘an zawjihi qhiţā’ahā wa-khaṣafā ‘alayhimā in place of the TR reading, fa-akalā minhā fa-badat la-humā sawʾātuhumā wa-ṭafiqā yakhṣifāni ‘alayhimā, thus omitting the report of the act of
It is only in the account in Sūra 7 that both the prohibition and the act of disobedience are included.\(^3\)

The reference to the Shajarat al-Khuld (Tree of Eternity)\(^4\) is both interesting and significant for the interpretation of the Shayṭān-myth. That this Shajarat al-Khuld is the "Tree of Life" (or Tree of Immortality) of the traditional Jewish and Christian accounts\(^5\) is indicated by what Shayṭān whispers to Adam and his wife in 7:20/19: "Your Lord has prohibited you from this Shajara only to prevent you from becoming malakayn, or from becoming immortals (mina-l-khālidīn)." Then, after receiving this promise of immortality, Adam and his wife eat from the Shajara (lit.,

disobedience--Jeffery, Materials, p. 61. However, the act of eating the forbidden fruit is reported in the account in Sūra 7 (which is discussed below), and Jeffery has located no alternative reading for Ibn Mas'ūd on this other verse.

\(^3\)As shown in the comparison of the three accounts in the Excursus at the end of this chapter, the narratives in sūras 20 and 2merge into hortatorical statements which are addressed to the hearers and not integral parts of the drama—which in effect end at 20:123a/0 and 2:37/5. What is more interesting is the fact that the extensions on these two accounts indicate a development of ideas within the Qurʾān. In the account in Sūra 7, apostasy seems to be final; in the later two accounts, a return to belief is seen to be possible, so that the fall of Adam is now considered to be only a blunder like the lapse of a Muslim at Uhud. On this point, see Eichler, p. 64. For a general discussion of the similarities and differences among these three accounts, see Eichler, pp. 54-6.

\(^4\)Cf. the expression dār al-khuld, one of the Arabic names for paradise or the hereafter.

\(^5\)Regarding the Tree of Life in Jewish and Muslim legends, see Grünbaum, pp. 64-5. Zam., I, 127, and Bq., I, 52, find it worthwhile to speculate concerning the kind of tree this was, suggesting that it may have been "wheat", "vine", or a "fig" tree.
"both of them tasted the tree"—dhāqā-sh-shajara⁶), which seems to be a reference to the Shajarat al-Khuld mentioned in 20:120/18.

At this point the Qur’ānic narratives differ significantly from the account in Genesis 2:4-3:21, where only the "tree of the knowledge of good and evil" is involved in the temptation and fall of Adam and his wife.⁷ Then in 3:22-4 (a short pericope which occurs after the account of the fall), the Tree of Life appears as the source of mysterious power—the power to make man immortal. However, a guard of cherubim and a flaming sword are placed "at the east of the garden" to insure that the disobedient pair never go near this tree.⁸ The Vita Adae expresses the same view when Adam says: "He laid a prohibition on us concerning the tree of knowledge of good and evil, which is in the midst of paradise."⁹ The parallel passage in the Kitāb al-Majālī is ambiguous but seems to agree with the Genesis account also. First, Adam is given "the commandment" (al-wasiyya) and is warned not to

⁶7:22/1

⁷See Gen. 3:3-6,11-12,17. Concerning the fact that there was only one tree in the temptation story itself, see Gerhard von Rad, Genesis, a Commentary, tr. John H. Marks (London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1961), pp. 91-4.

⁸According to the Kitāb al-Majālī: "When he put Adam and Eve out of paradise, he shut its gate and placed a fiery angel (malakan min nār) in charge"—Gibson, p. 10 (Ar.) and p. 11 (Eng.).

⁹Charles, p. 142. The Tree of Life is known in the Vita Adae, however, for later Eve swears to the serpent "by the throne of the Master, and by the Cherubim and the Tree of Life" that she will give some of the forbidden fruit to Adam—ibid., p. 146.
break it. Later, it is said that Allah plants the Tree of Life in the middle of paradise (ناَبَ السَّرْحَةِ شَجَارَةَ الْحَيَاةِ وَاسْتَقْرَةَ الْفَيْرَدَاءَ) and still later, it is said that Eve and then Adam eat fruit from "the forbidden tree" (شَجَارَةَ الْحَرْفَ). Related to this question are others which are raised by a comparison of the passages quoted above from the three Qur'anic narratives of the Shaytān-myth: (1) Is al-Janna (the setting of the Shaytān-myth) celestial or terrestrial, and what significance does this have for determining the relationship between Shaytān and Iblīs? (2) What is the relationship between Shaytān and the serpent of the Genesis account? (3) What is the purpose of the suggestion of Shaytān that eating from the Shajara might transform Adam and his wife into malakān? Is this an allusion to the High Council?

The Location of al-Janna and its Significance

At first glance, the references in the Qur'anic narratives to eating, hunger, thirst, suffering from the sun, and stitching leaves give the impression that al-Janna is terrestrial

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10Gibson, p. 7 (Ar.) and p. 7 (Eng.).
11Ibid., p. 8 (Ar.) and p. 8 (Eng.).
12Ibid., p. 9 (Ar.) and p. 9 (Eng.).
137:19/8 and 2:35/3
1420:118/6-119/7
157:22/1 and 20:121/19
like the "garden of Eden" in the Genesis account. Here Adam "tills and keeps" the garden of Eden and here roam the "beasts of the field" and "every living creature"; also, cherubim and a flaming sword are placed before the garden to prevent man from re-entering. In the Qur'anic accounts, however, the earth (al-arq) is not mentioned until the point of the story when the couple is banished, and the clear implication is that they are banished from al-Janna down to earth, as in 7:24/3-25/4:

24 He said: "Get down, each of you an enemy to the other! In the earth you will have an abode and provision for a time."
25 He said: "Therein you will live, and therein you will die, and from there you will be brought forth."

If this interpretation is valid, then al-Janna in the Qur'anic Shayṭān-myth is not terrestrial, as at first it appears to be.

The concept of a celestial paradise is well known in the midrashic legends, where in some the purpose of the creation of man is to replace the fallen-angels, and in others the angel Gabriel is sent down to the earth to collect samples of various


17 Gen. 2:15
18 Gen. 2:19
19 Cf. 20:123/1 and 2:36/4.
20 See Charles, p. 137.
colours of soil to be used by the Creator in forming man. 21
Also, it should be noted that the references to hunger, thirst, etc. in the Qur'ānic accounts of the Shaytān-myth appear in the context of an assurance that Adam will not suffer from these afflictions—an assurance which may be based upon the fact that al-Janna is in a special, non-terrestrial place. Such an interpretation fits all the facts of these three Qur'ānic accounts of the Shaytān-myth. But does this mean that al-Janna is a "heavenly paradise"? In the sense that heaven is the abode of the malā'īka and also the eternal dwelling-place of believers, the answer must be: No. 22

The paradise (al-firdaws) 23 in the Kitāb al-Majālī is located between heaven and earth, said to be "high up in the sky", 24 but also stretching "around from the east along a wall to the hollow at the southern place of darkness where the cursed Prince was cast, a place of sorrows". 25 Although the Qur'ānic

21 See Ginzberg, I, 54.

22 This may be implied in 7:20/19 in the suggestion of Shaytān that eating from the forbidden tree will transform Adam and his wife into malakān.

23 The term al-firdaws appears twice in the Qur'ān: once in the expression jannāt al-firdaws (18:107), and once alone (23:11). The expression jannāt al-firdaws is the Christian equivalent of the Jewish expression jannāt al-‘ādan which is mentioned above. See as-Suyūṭī, p. 323; Geiger, p. 33; and Jeffery, Foreign Vocab., pp. 223-4.

24 See note 26 in the preceding chapter.

25 Gibson, p. 7 (Ar.) and p. 8 (Eng.). For the statement in the Kitāb al-Majālī that Iblīs was cast down from heaven to earth, see note 30 in the preceding chapter.
accounts do not contain such details (nor any indication that
al-Janna is so extensive), the general conception of the setting
of the Shayṭān-myth must be the same as that of al-firdaws in the
Kitāb al-Majālī; that is, it is neither celestial nor terrestrial,
but is located at some place between heaven and earth. In the
preceding chapter it has been established that Iblīs is banished
from heaven (the setting of the Iblīs-myth) down to the earth,
and that this banishment occurs before the beginning of the
Shayṭān-myth. It has now been shown that the setting of the
Shayṭān-myth is somewhere above the earth. Thus, whether or not
Iblīs is to be identified in some way with Shayṭān, this is
further evidence that the Qur'ānic accounts of Iblīs and Shayṭān
deal with two distinct myths.

The Relationship Between Shayṭān and the Serpent

A comparison of the roles of Shayṭān and the serpent in
their respective contexts helps to clarify the nature of the
tempter in the Shayṭān-myth. In addition to the obvious parallel
in the fact that each appears as the tempter of Adam and his wife
in the garden,26 there are other indications that Shayṭān reflects

26 It has often been pointed out that the name of Adam's
wife is not mentioned in the Qur'ān, and usually this omission is
related to the Arab custom regarding the dominance of the husband
and his responsibility for all actions of the family. It is
significant, however, that in the story of the fall in Gen. 3
Adam's wife also is not named. It is not until after the fall
that 3:20 states: "The man called his wife's name Eve, because
she was the mother of all living." Earlier, in Gen. 2:23, the
the nature of the serpent. One hint is the use of the verb waswasa (to whisper) in the accounts in 7:19/8 and 20:120/18.27 The expression "Shayṭān whispered to them" suggests at least the slyness and cunning of the serpent. Also, the noun waswasa means both "a whisper" and "a rustling of the grass (like that of a serpent)". Although the serpent element in the Genesis account is purely fable (that is, the serpent is simply one of the wild creatures noted for his wisdom and cunning),28 this myth became the subject of extensive allegorical interpretation (both in midrashic and early Christian writings29) so that the relationship between the serpent and the Evil One became well known in the ancient Near East during the centuries prior to the advent of Islam.30

wife of Adam is named Ishshā (woman—from ish, man). This double naming has provided the occasion for the traditionists to postulate two wives for Adam, with the children of the first being eligible for marriage to the children of Adam and Eve.

27 Also, Ibn Masʿūd and al-Aʿmash are reported to have read fa-waswasa la-humā-sh-shayṭān in place of fa-azallahu-mā-sh-shayṭān in 2:36/4—Jeffery, Materials, p. 26.

28 Cf. Mt. 10:16; "Behold, I send you out as sheep in the midst of wolves; so be wise as serpents and innocent as doves."

29 For a summary of the historical development of the relationship between the Evil One and the serpent in the fall-myth, see Ginzberg, V, 123–4.

30 Relationships between serpents and jinn in pre-Islamic Arabia are discussed in van Vloten, "Dämonen, Geister und Zauber bei den alten Arabern", WZKM, VII, 174–8. Hirschberg, p. 48, has shown that the extant works of the pre-Islamic poets contain no references to any relationship between the serpent of the Genesis account and Shayṭān. On this point see also: Wilhelm Rudolph, Die Abhängigkeit des Qorans von Judentum und Christentum
Still, the Satan of the Old Testament is not to be identified with the serpent of the Genesis story, nor is the Qur'ānic Shayṭān to be genetically identified with the serpent although the roles appear to be identical. Like the serpent in the Genesis account, the tempter in the Shayṭān-myth appears momentarily with the single purpose of causing the fall of the first pair. However, unlike the Shayṭān-myth, a distinctive aspect of

(Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1922), p. 35; Ignaz Goldziher, Abhandlungen zur Arabischen Philologie, Vol. I (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1896), p. 208; and Langton, Essentials, p. 70. Note however that according to the Lisān, XVII, 104-5, the term shayṭān also means "serpent". For the derivation of this name, see also ar-Rāghib, pp. 221-2; Horovitz, p. 120; and Jeffery, Foreign Vocab., pp. 187-90.

31 Kluger, pp. 49-50, concludes: "Even if it is false to speak also of a genetic identity of Satan with the Paradise serpent, there still exists a connection of nature between them"; see also ibid., p. 111.

32 Zam., I, 128, and Bī., I, 53, both state that Shayṭān hid in the mouth of the serpent in order to gain entrance into al-Janna. In the Vita Adae the "devil" persuades the serpent to become his "vessel": then, after Eve's disobedience, "the Lord" reprimands the serpent saying that it has become "a thankless vessel" (skeûos acharistou), an expression which Fuchs suggests is a literal translation of the Hebrew expression keli Belial (instrument of Belial)--Charles, pp. 145-7. The Kitāb al-Majāll agrees that Shayṭān is not to be identified with the serpent, but seems to identify Shayṭān with Iblīs. First the text states that ash-shayṭān contrived to enter the serpent--Gibson, p. 8 (Ar.) and p. 8 (Eng.); then, it states that Iblīs al-la'īn hid himself in the serpent--ibid.; and finally, it states that ash-shayṭān al-la'īn entered the serpent--ibid., p. 9 (Ar.) and p. 9 (Eng.). It should be noted that the reference to Iblīs appears in what is clearly a separate fable (concerning teaching the animals how to speak), and also it must be remembered that the MS. in which these references appear dates from at least four centuries after the time of Muḥammad. For the same ideas in Jewish legends, see Ginzberg, I, 95-8.
the Genesis account is the punishment of the tempter (where the serpent is cursed so that it is compelled to crawl on the ground and eat dust); and the curse ends: "I will put enmity between you and the woman, and between your seed and her seed; he shall bruise your head, and you shall bruise his heel" (3:15). This curse has no direct parallel in the Qurʾān, since Shayṭān does not receive a curse for his part in the fall of man (although it may be alluded to in a statement which occurs in 7:24/3, 20:123/1, and 2:36/4: "Get down, each of you an enemy to the other!").

One significant difference between the serpent and the Qurʾānic Shayṭān is that the latter seems to be invisible or incorporeal. Adam and his wife show no indication that they are aware that anyone has spoken to them. Neither the couple nor Allah speak to Shayṭān; the only dialogue in the drama of the Shayṭān-myth is between Allah and the couple. Even when Allah reminds them that he had warned them about Shayṭān, they seem to ignore the suggestion that an external tempter is to blame (unlike Adam and Eve in the Genesis account), and they take the blame upon themselves.33 These factors suggest that the tempter in the Shayṭān-myth, while possessing the nature of the Genesis

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33This element of the drama occurs in only one of the three accounts, and Ibn Masʿūd is reported to have omitted this admission of guilt (in 7:23/2) where he read "rabbanā āla taqhfiru la-nā wa-tarḥamunā" in place of the TR reading rabbanā zalamnā anfusanā in lam taqhfir la-nā wa-tarḥamnā—Jeffery, Materials, p. 42. On the incorporeality of the Qurʾānic Shayṭān, see Eichler, pp. 74-5.
serpent, is to be understood either as invisible or simply as a symbol of "cunning temptation" within man.

An Allusion to the High Council

At first glance, the suggestion that the phrase *illa an takūnā malakāyn* is an allusion to the High Council may seem unlikely; also, it might be argued that the method of interpreting this phrase on the basis of extra-Qur'ānic mythic material is not sound exegesis. However, the parallels between 7:20/19 (considered with 20:120/18) and passages in Genesis 3 are striking, and the resulting conclusions are convincing.

The context of the phrase *illa an takūnā malakāyn* (7:20/19, which is translated above) should be compared with the parallel passage in Genesis 3:4-5: "But the serpent said to the woman, 'You will not die. For God knows that when you eat of it your eyes will be opened, and you will be like God [gods], knowing good and evil.'" That this statement of the serpent is not a distortion of the intended results of eating from the forbidden tree is confirmed by a later verse, Genesis 3:22: '"Then the Lord God said, 'Behold the man has become like one of us, knowing good and evil; and now, lest he put forth his hand and take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live forever . . . .'" It has already been stated above that the phrase *aw takūnā mina-l-khālidīn* (in relation to the Shajara in 7:20/19) is a reference to the Tree of Life. In the Genesis account the serpent states
that the "tree of the knowledge of good and evil" will make the woman (and Adám) "like gods". 34 This concept of divine beings of the heavenly court occurs also in the well-known statement in Genesis 1:26: "Then God said, 'Let us make man in our image, after our likeness ... '" 35

These passages make it clear that the statement in Genesis 3:5, "you will be like gods", refers to what is called the High Council in the Qur'ān. The discussion in Chapter II above has shown that the Qur'ānic view is that the High Council is a group of malā'ika. 36 The contexts of Sūra 7:20/19 and Genesis 3:4-5 are clearly parallel. From this evidence, it can be concluded that the phrase illā an takūnā malakayn is an allusion to the High Council, and that 7:20/19 thus includes references to both of the mythic trees which are mentioned in the general context of the Genesis account of the temptation and fall of man.

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34 The Hebrew term 'elōhīm in Gen. 3:5 seems to mean "gods", as the term is rendered in the Septuagint. 'Elōhīm is a plural noun which often means "gods" or divine ones" or even "angels" in the OT; for references, see BDB, p. 43.

35 This statement and Gen. 3:22 (quoted above) appear to represent two distinct traditions. In Gen. 1:26 man is said to be created in the image of gods; in 3:22 man is said to become like gods only as a result of eating from the forbidden tree. For other OT references to the heavenly court, see Gen. 11:7, 1 Kg. 22:19, Job 1:6, and Is. 6:8.

36 For Jewish legends which state that the heavenly court consists of angels, see Ginzberg, V, 3.
Conclusions

What do the three Qur'ānic accounts of the Shayṭān-myth state explicitly concerning the nature or essence of Shayṭān? First, he is said to be an enemy (‘aduww) of Adam and his wife, who are warned not to permit him to cause them to be expelled from al-Janna. Then, it is stated that Shayṭān whispers to them (or, in another account, "to him"), tempting the couple to disobey the divine command. In one account he tempts by offering to lead them to the Shajarat al-Khuld and "a kingdom that will not decay", and in another he promises that they will become malakān and also immortal if they eat from the Shajara. Thus, Shayṭān is the tempter of Adam and his wife and he causes them to fall from their state of innocence.

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37 See 20:117/5 and 7:22/1.

38 In 7:20/19: waswasa la-humā.

39 In 20:120/18: waswasa ilayhi. In the account in Sūra 20 both Allah and Shayṭān address Adam only, and Adam's wife appears only incidentally in such phrases as "both of them ate of it".

40 20:120/18

41 7:20/19

42 See 2:36/4. It must be noted, however, that this element of the myth in the Qur'ān does not have the significance which the fall of Adam in Genesis has for traditional Christian theology, as the basis for the doctrine of "original sin". In fact, as is stated at the end of the previous chapter, in the Qur'ān it is Iblīs who is the "first unbeliever", the prototype of all unbelief. Whereas in the NT "sin came into the world" through Adam, in the Qur'ān Iblīs possesses this mythic symbolism. However, in the
It is significant that after his single temptation speech Shayṭān no longer appears in the story. Both his role as tempter and his nature appear to be the same as those of the serpent in the Genesis account, but he is not cursed with the stigma of humiliation. This difference may be explained by the fact that (in the earlier Qur'ānic myth) Iblīs had already received a curse from Allah. Unlike Iblīs, Shayṭān does not appear as the leader of a band; he does not appear as a fallen-angel; and there is no indication that he will continue his activities as the permanent tempter of mankind.43

Qur'ān the emphasis upon the power and unity of Allah leads to the inevitable conclusion that Allah is himself responsible for the introduction of disobedience into the world. See Eichler, esp. pp. 41-6, 65-6.

43 In his article "Shayṭān", PII, IV, 286, A. S. Tritton's unqualified identification of Shayṭān and Iblīs has led to several uncritical and erroneous statements, e.g.: "Iblīs who is obviously borrowed from Judaism", "al-shayṭān is the chief of the evil spirits", and "The Qur'ān says that Shayṭān is made of fire" (cf. Eichler, p. 74); also he intermingles traditional material with historical and Qur'ānic data in a manner which makes it impossible to distinguish between the various types of evidence.
EXCURSUS

The Shaytān-myth

Following is a comparative presentation of the three Qur’ānic accounts of the Shaytān-myth, indicating the similarities and differences in the chronological development of the story within the Qur’ān. Only the verse numbers of the official Egyptian edition are indicated.

7:19 Then we said: "Adam, you and your wife, inherit al-Janna, your wife. So do not let him expel you both from al-Janna, your wife, dwell in 7:19 and eat Wherever you please; but do not go 2:35 And we said: "Adam, you and your wife, inherit al-Janna, your wife. So do not let him expel you both from al-Janna, your wife, dwell in 7:19 and eat Wherever you please; but do not go 2:35 and eat of its abundance wherever you please; but do not go 7:19 near this shajara, lest you be evildoers." 20:117 lest you be unhappy. 118 It is surely 2:35 shajara, lest you be evildoers." 20:118 given to you neither to hunger nor to go naked therein, 119 neither to thirst nor to suffer the sun therein."

7:20 Then Shaytān whispered to them, 20:120 Then Shaytān whispered to him, saying: "Adam, shall I point 20:120 you to the shajarati-l-khuld, and a kingdom that decays not?"

7:20 revealing to them that which had been hidden from them of their private parts. He said: "Your Lord has prohibited you from this shajara only to prevent you from becoming malakayn, or from becoming immortals." 21 And he swore to them: "Surely, I am a sincere advisor to you."

7:22 Thus, he led them on by delusion; 20:121 Thus, Shaytān caused them to slip from it 2:36 and to go out from the state they were in.

7:22 and when both of them tasted the tree, their private 20:121 both of them are from it, and their private
7:22 parts appeared to them, and they began to stitch upon
themselves leaves from al-Janna.

20:121 parts appeared to them, and they began to stitch upon
themselves leaves from al-Janna. Thus Adam disobeyed his Lord,
and so he erred.

7:22 And their Lord called to them: "Did I not prohibit you from
this shajara and say to you: 'Surely, Shayṭān is a manifest
tool enemy to you'?" 23They said: "Lord, we have wronged our-
selves, and if you do not forgive us, and have mercy upon us,
we will surely be lost."

20:122 Then his Lord chose him and turned again to him and
guided him.

7:24 He said: "Get down,
each of you
20:123 He said: "Get down out of it, all together, each of you
2:36 And we said: "Get down,
each of you
an enemy to the other. In the earth you will have an abode and
an enemy to the other. In the earth you will have an abode and
7:24 provision for a time." 25He said: "Therein you shall live,
2:36 provision for a time."

7:25 and therein you shall die, and from there you shall be
brought forth."

2:37 Then, Adam received certain words from his Lord, who turned
to him. Surely, he is at-Tawwāb, ar-Raḥīm. 38We said:
"Get down out of it, all together!

20:123 Then, surely guidance will come to you from me, and whoever
2:38 Then, surely guidance will come to you from me, and whoever
follows my guidance shall not go astray, nor shall he
follows my guidance—no fear shall come upon them, nor shall they
be unprosperous. 124But whoever turns away from my remembrance,
sorrow.

20:124 his shall be a life of narrowness, and on the Yawm al-Qiyāma
we will raise him blind!"

2:39 But the unbelievers, who controvert our signs, shall be
companions of an-Nār, therein abiding!"
CHAPTER V

THE SHOOTING-STAR MYTH

The legend-cycles of the ancient Near East were often interfluent, not only among the various societies and religious traditions, but also within each community. In an environment which had a millennia-long tradition of solar and astral worship, it is not surprising that the shooting-star myth enjoyed a rich evolutionary development and is found in various forms in virtually every religious tradition of the ancient Near East. Possibly the most popular form of the myth is the belief that the shooting-stars are "fallen-angels". This is no doubt related to the popular idea that angels were made of fire—and shooting-stars as well as lightning were conceived to be fire sent down from heaven. Thus, the various forms of the shooting-star myth were related to the solar-myth, which included not only such physical characteristics as redness of skin and hairiness in the solar-myth hero, but also the widespread mythic idea of throwing stones.¹

¹See Ignaz Goldziher, Mythology Among the Hebrews and its Historical Development, tr. from the German by Russell Martineau, with additions by the author (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1877), p. 109.
Even within the Qurʾān there is a clear development in the references to the shooting-star myth, and there are several references to stone-throwing which may be related to this myth. In the earliest and most lucid Qurʾānic accounts of the shooting-star myth, it is a Shayṭān Mārid (rebel satan) or a Shayṭān Rajīm (stoned, or cursed, satan) who attempts to listen stealthily to the proceedings of the High Council. Later, part of the speech of the jinn in Sūra 72 associates the jinn (rather than the Shayṭān) with the shooting-star myth. This reference may be related to the unique statement in 18:50/48 that Iblīs is one of the jinn. A reference to the Shayṭān attempting to steal a hearing at the gates of heaven (apparently to learn what is in the celestial book) may also be a form of the same myth.

The Rebel and Stoned Shayṭān

In the earliest and fullest Qurʾānic account of the shooting-star myth in Sūra 37, every Shayṭān Mārid is pursued with a piercing flame (Shihāb Thāqīb):

6 we have adorned the lower heaven with the adornment of the stars
7 to guard against every Shayṭān Mārid.
8 They do not listen to al-Malāʾī-ʾl-Aʿlā, for they are pelted from every side,
9 repulsed, and theirs is an everlasting punishment—
10 except him who snatches a fragment, and he is pursued by a Shihāb Thāqīb.

This passage presupposes the ancient cosmology of the seven heavens, the lowest of which is visible from the earth because it is embellished with stars. The Shayṭān move about freely
in the earth and in the sky, but they can travel only as far as "the gates of heaven". Here they attempt to hear something which is said in al-malāʿ al-ʿalā, which in the Qurʾān is seen to be a group of malāʾika—no doubt the same ones who are mentioned in 2:30/28–33/1. The Shayṭān are then driven away, presumably by malāʾika who "pelt them from every side". Finally, it is said that the intruders are pursued by shooting-stars.

Another version of the myth appears in a Meccan sign-passage in Sūra 15, and contains some interesting differences:

16 we have set constellations in the heaven and have made them beautiful to the beholders,
17 and have guarded them from every Shayṭān rajīm—
18 except him who listens by stealth, and he is pursued by a Shīhāb mubīn.

Still further information concerning this Qurʾānic myth is given in another version which appears in 67:5: "And we adorned the lower heaven with lamps and made them missiles for pelting the Shayṭān; and we have prepared for them the punishment of as-SAʿIR."

In addition to the differences which have been indicated by transliterations in the translations above, another distinguishing characteristic is that each of the three accounts uses a different designation for the lights which adorn the lower heaven: in 37:6 they are called kawākīb (stars); in 15:16 they

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2For this concept in Jewish legends, see Ginzberg, V, 3, 238.

3Ar. rujūm (sg. rajm); cf. rujum, "meteorites" or "shooting-stars".
are burūj (constellations); and in 67:5 they are maṣābīḥ (lamps). More significant is the fact that there appears to be some uncertainty regarding the purpose of these lights in the myth. In 15:17 it is clear that the burūj are guarded from the intruding shayṭān as is shown by the context: wa-ḥaḍignāhā min kulli shayṭānin rajīmin. In 67:5, however, the maṣābīḥ which adorn the lower heaven are used to stone the shayṭān: wa-laqad zayyānā-s-samāʿa-d-dunyā bi-maṣābīḥa wa-jāʿalnāhā rujūman li-sh-shayṭān. The parallel statement in 37:6-7 is ambiguous and must be interpreted in light of the other two contexts: inna zayyānā-s-samāʿa-d-dunyā bi-zīnati-l-kawākibi wa-ḥifzan min kulli shayṭānin māridin, which is translated by Bell with an interpolation: "Verily We have adorned the nearer heaven with the adornment of the stars. And (have made these also) a guard against any satan insolent." However, this verse is sometimes interpreted to agree with 15:17 rather than 67:5. Regardless of the interpretation of 37:6-7, it is clear at least in 67:5 that the stars themselves are used to stone the shayṭān who attempt to overhear conversation from within the High Council.

4 Bell's translation follows that of Rodwell: "We have adorned the lower heaven with the adornment of the stars. They serve also as a guard against every rebellious Satan". Arberry also follows Rodwell, but Muḥammad ʿAlī offers a different interpretation: "Surely We have adorned the lower heaven with an adornment, the stars, and (there is) a safeguard against every rebellious devil."

5 Watt, Companion, pp. 127-8 suggests that (at least in the account in Sūra 15) stones are cast at the shayṭān: "The Satans are said to have tried stealthily to observe the
The Jinn Who Encounter Guards and Flames

Another reference to the shooting-star myth appears in the well-known speech of the jinn in sura 72. This speech (which takes up approximately the first half of the sura) will be discussed again in a later chapter; at this point only two verses are relevant, and they contain details which differ significantly from the other accounts of the myth:

8 And we stretched towards heaven, but we found it filled with strong guards and shuhub.
9 We used to sit there on seats listening; but now anyone listening finds a shihāb waiting for him.

These two verses are the only contexts in the Qurʾān where the terms shihāb (a flame) and its plural shuhub (flames) appear unmodified; that is, they seem to be designations here rather than descriptions. The expressions shihāb thāqib (piercing flame) in 37:10 and shihāb mubīn (visible flame) are clearly descriptions of shooting-stars, and the terms shihāb and shuhub in 72:8-9 must be interpreted as referring to the same phenomena.

There is still the question of the precise relationship between these shuhub and the kawākb, the burūj, and the māṣābīḥ, which are mentioned above. It is possible to interpret these four accounts as referring to an attack in two stages: (1) once when "they are pelted from every side" (37:8)—which would correspond to 67:5 where the shayāṭīn are stoned with māṣābīḥ; and (2) then

inhabitants of Paradise, and to have been driven away by stones, which appear to men as shooting stars (hence 'a manifest flame')"
again when they are pursued with a "piercing" or "visible" flame (37:10 and 15:18). More likely, however, the verses should be interpreted as referring to a single attack, so that the shuhub (including the shihāb thāqīb and the shihāb mubīn) would be the same as the mašāḥīn. Then, on the basis of both the meaning of the terms and consideration of the syntax of the contexts, it is reasonable to conclude that the mašāḥīn are equivalent to the kawākīb but not to the burūj, and that the latter term is the only one which does not refer to shooting-stars.

The statement in 72:8, "we found it filled with strong guards and flames" (fa-wajadnāhā mulī'at harasan shādīdan wa-shuhuban), is unique in the Qur'ān, having no parallel in the other accounts of the shooting-star myth. The parallels between this statement and Genesis 3:24 appear too striking to be accidental. This verse in Genesis occurs at the end of the story of the fall of Adam and his wife, where they are banished from the garden of Eden: "He drove out the man; and at the east of the garden of Eden he placed the cherubim, and a flaming sword which turned every way, to guard the way to the tree of life."

The expression "strong (or, terrible) guards" in 72:8 is parallel to the cherubim who "guard the way to the tree of life"; and the shuhub (flames) in 72:8 are parallel to the "flaming sword" in the Genesis account. The purpose of the "guards" and "flames"

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6This conclusion seems to contradict the quotation from Watt in the previous note. Regarding the powers of the stars over demons, see Ginzberg, IV, 150.
in both accounts is to prevent intruders from entering "paradise" --which in the Genesis account is called "the garden of Eden", one of the Qur'ānic names for the "heavenly paradise". Although it may be distant, there is clearly a relationship between these two myths.

The Purpose of the Myth

It is clear that the purpose of the "guards" and "flames" (that is, the shooting-stars--by whatever designation they are given) is to prevent certain shayātīn and jinn from listening to something which is said within the High Council. A more important question is the purpose of the intruders in attempting to enter (or approach) the celestial realm; in 67:5-6 no indication is given, and in 15:16-18 it is said only that the shayātīn attempt to istaraga-s-sam'a (listen by stealth). In 37:10, however, the phrase man khaṭifa-l-khaṭfata (him who snatches a bit) suggests that the intruders are attempting to steal some specific thing.

A passing reference to the shooting-star myth occurs in 26:210-12: "Not by the shayātīn has it been brought down; it does not suit them, nor are they capable, for surely they have

7 See notes 16 and 23 in the preceding chapter.

8 For Jewish legends in which angels guard the gates of paradise and heaven, see Ginzberg, III, 109, 479; V, 377; and VI, 46.
been expelled from hearing." Although the antecedent of the pronominal suffix *hu* cannot be determined with certainty, it seems to refer to the Qur'ān (or the term *tanzil*, which occurs in v. 192). A related passage, 52:37-8, refers to listening from a ladder and returning with evidence: "Or are the treasuries of your Lord in their care? Or are they the overseers? Or do they have a ladder from which they listen? Then let one of them who has listened bring clear proof (*sultān mubīn*)."

Here again, listening at the gates of heaven for information from the High Council seems to be related to revelation. These contexts suggest that the purpose of the jinn and *shayātīn* in the shooting-star myth is to steal information from the celestial book. 

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9See also 38:10/9. The ladder motif is seen in the aetiological legend in Gen. 28:10-17 which explains the origin of the sanctuary at Bethel by describing how Jacob had a dream about angels ascending and descending a ladder which stretches down from heaven. Other ancient Near East legends about heavenly ladders are found in Ginzberg, I, 351; V, 10, 91, and 290.

10Alfred Guillaume, The Traditions of Islam (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924), p. 122, includes a tradition which seeks to explain the phenomenon of shooting-stars. In this story the impression is given that Muḥammad originated the myth discussed in the present chapter. This view is accepted by A. Sprenger, Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad, 2nd ed., Vol. II (Berlin: Nicolaische Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1869), p. 246. Eichler, p. 31, rejects this opinion and cites evidence showing that this myth was known in Arabia before the time of Muḥammad.
Iblīs and the Shooting-Star Myth

In legends of the ancient Near East, the angels are identified with the stars\(^{11}\) and are considered to have been created from fire.\(^{12}\) The phenomenon of falling- or shooting-stars was thus associated with "fallen-angels". Therefore, the Qur'ānic assertion that Iblīs was created from fire\(^{13}\) is in complete accord with ancient mythic conceptions since Iblīs is seen to be a fallen-angel. For this reason there is a natural relationship between Iblīs and the shooting-star myth.

The fact that in the Qur'ān the jinn are said to have been created from fire may be related to their association with the shooting-star myth, but more likely this is just to be interpreted as an elevation of their status—for they now have one of the leading characteristics of the angels.\(^{14}\) This rise in status may also be associated with the idea that Iblīs was created from fire, and also with the Qur'ānic concept of jinnūd Iblīs (hosts of Iblīs).

\(^{11}\) See Ginzberg, V, 40, 154, 158.

\(^{12}\) Ibid., I, 16. In V, 21, Ginzberg writes: "The fact that the angels were created of fire does not interfere with their incorporeality, for in legend fire, particularly the heavenly fire, is incorporeal".

\(^{13}\) 38:76/7 and 7:12/1

\(^{14}\) On the creation of the jinn from fire, see Ernst Zbinden, Die Djinn des Islam und der Altorientalische Geisterglaube (Bern: Paul Haupt, 1953), p. 93.
If this is the case, then the new status of the jinn is equivalent to that of the fallen-angels who constitute the junūd Iblīs.  

There is also a direct relationship between Iblīs and the Shayātīn of the shooting-star myth, in that both are called rajīm. Apparently, the Shayātīn are called rajīm because they are "stoned"; however, Iblīs is not stoned but is simply cast down out of heaven. There must be a relationship between these two uses of the term rajīm. Nöldeke has suggested that this term came into Arabic via an Ethiopic term meaning "cursed" or "damned." This meaning is compatible with the context of the Iblīs-myth where the rebel is said to be rajīm (38:77/8 and 15:34), since this term appears in conjunction with ḥāna (38:78/9) and al-laqa (15:35). However, that the term rajīm means more than simply "cursed" is suggested in the use of

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15 On the concept "hosts of angels" in the OT, see Edward Langton, The Ministries of the Angelic Powers: According to the Old Testament and Later Jewish Literature (London: James Clarke & Co., Ltd., n.d.), pp. 60-5. The orthodox Muslim view that the followers of Iblīs are not malā'ika is presented by Muḥammad ibn Mūsā ad-Damirī in his famous Ḥaṣāt al-Ḥayawān al-Kubra, Vol. I (Cairo, 1284 [1867-8]), p. 261: "It is a well-known fact that all of the jinn are descended from Iblīs, and this shows that they are not to be interpreted as malā'ika, since malā'ika do not procreate because they have no females among them. Some say that the jinn are a species and that Iblīs is one of them. There is no doubt that they are his descendants for this is stated in the Qur'ān [?], nor that those of them which are unbelievers are called Shayātīn." This account is also translated in A. S. G. Jayakar, Damirī's Ḥaṣāt al-Ḥayawān: A Zoological Lexicon, Vol. I (Bombay: D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., 1906), p. 464. See also note 22 below.

16 Theodor Nöldeke, Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft (Strassburg, 1910), p. 47.
gaghîr (in this case, "paltry" or "base") in the parallel passage, 7:13/2. Iblîs is not only cursed by Allah; he is also insulted, so that his banishment is the humiliation of an "outcast". This significance of rajîm is seen in the treatment which Muḥammad received when he was "stoned" by the people of at-Ta'if—that is, he was rejected and pronounced an "outcast" by the ritual curse of stoning. This same meaning may be seen in the expression shaytân rajîm in 15:17; these shayātîn are "outcasts", that is, malā'ika who previously had been "cast down" from heaven.

This conclusion is supported by the use of the designation shaytân mārid in the parallel context in 37:7. The question arises: against whom had these shayātîn rebelled? Against Allah—because at one time they had been his malā'ika. Does this explain the meaning of the statement by the jinn in 72:9: "We used to sit there on seats listening; but now anyone listening finds a shihâb waiting for him"? Were these jinn at one time on the High Council? Regardless of how this verse is interpreted, both the jinn and the shayātîn in the various versions of the

17See Eichler, pp. 75-6.

18For the historical setting of this event, see W. Montgomery Watt, Muḥammad at Mecca (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), pp. 138-40.

19See Jung, pp. 67-9. Ibn Mas'ūd is reported to have read la'în in place of rajîm in 15:17—see Jeffery, Materials, p. 52.

20Eichler, p. 30, suggests that both the jinn and the shayātîn in the shooting-star myth are nature-demons which are vestiges of pre-Islamic Arab religion. The jinn-demons of this type, Eichler calls Dschinnmittelwesen.
shooting-star myth appear to be fallen-angels, and therefore constituents of the company called the *junūd Iblīs*. 21

**Conclusions**

The relationships among the various spirit-beings which appear in the myths discussed in these last four chapters are not clearly distinguished in the Qurʾān. Each of these four myths is known to have existed in the ancient Near East long before the time of Muḥammad, and although the Qurʾānic accounts have distinctive characteristics, they clearly reflect older versions of the same myths. The independence of these myths is also apparent, even when they appear together in the Qurʾān. For instance, the Qurʾānic account of the objection of the *malāʾika* to the creation of man appears as a complete story, and it is only from its position in relation to the Iblīs-myth that the *malāʾika* in the latter are considered to be the same as the *malāʾika* which appear in the former. Iblīs appears as a fallen-angel, but can only be assumed to be the leader of a group of *malāʾika* which rebel against Allah, since the rebel in the Iblīs-myth appears alone. 22

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21 There is no Qurʾānic evidence for Eichler's assertion that Iblīs also attempts to get back into heaven (pp. 31-2). For legends of other fallen-angels who attempt to return to heaven, see Ginzberg, V, 169; and for legends pertaining to rebellious stars, see ibid., pp. 40, 154, and 158.

22 Ad-DamIrī, p. 262 (Jayakar, p. 466), presents the following account of the opinion of certain leading Muslim
In the Qur'ānic context where the rebel Iblīs appears as the leader of the junūd Iblīs, the identity of these "hosts" is not indicated—that is, whether they are malāʾika or jinn. Where certain "rebels" are mentioned in the shooting-star myth, they are explicitly said to be shayātīn; however, these rebels are clearly the same as those which in other accounts of the same myth are called "jinn". The attempts of these jinn or shayātīn to enter (or re-enter) paradise supports the conclusion that they are the "hosts of Iblīs" who are also fallen-angels. When these contexts are seen together, Iblīs appears as a distinct "personality" with certain salient traits.

Shayātān, however, is a much more shadowy character when he appears as the tempter in the Shayātān-myth, where in fact he may be interpreted simply as a symbol of evil since Adam and his wife indicate no awareness of his presence. Where Iblīs is forthright, arrogant, and openly rebellions (and appears as a savants: "Scholars differ as to whether Iblīs is one of the malāʾika of the tribe called al-Jinn, and also whether his name is a Persian or an Arabic word. Ibn ʿAbbās, Ibn Masʿūd, Ibn al-Musayyab, Qatāda, Ibn Jarīr, az-Zajjāj, and Ibn al-Anbārī all state that Iblīs is one of the malāʾika of the tribe called al-Jinn, and that his name in Hebrew was ʿAzāzīl, and in Arabic, al-ʿārith. He was one of the treasurers of al-Janna, and the chief of the malāʾika of the sky of this world. He was its sultan and also the sultan of the earth. He was the most ambitious and the most learned among all the malāʾika, and he was in charge of everything between heaven and earth. Thus he considered himself worthy of great respect, and it was this which caused him to become arrogant, so that he rebelled against Allah and refused to obey him. Therefore Allah transformed him into a shayṭān, cursed (rajīm) and outcast (malkūn)."
dominant character in the myth), Shayṭān appears as the whisperer, who is cunning, illusive, and subtle. That is, Iblīs appears as the arrogant fallen-angel, and Shayṭān appears as the cunning serpent. Although Iblīs and Shayṭān are identified to some extent when the two myths appear together in the Qur'ān, still each retains his individual characteristics. However, since Iblīs appears only in the Iblīs-myth and in two other contexts which are Meccan or early Medinan, some of his traits may be transferred to Shayṭān in later Medinan contexts where all evil appears to be centered in a single personality.

23 On the dates of 26:95 and 34:20/19, see Nöldeke-Schwally, pp. 126, 158; and Bell, Qur'ān, pp. 353-7, 420-3.

24 See Chapter XIV.
PART TWO

CONCERNING THE LEGENDS OF THE PROPHETS
CHAPTER VI

GUESTS OF IBRĀḤĪM AND LŪṬ

As in the case of the Qurʾānic development of the Iblīs-myth and its ultimate combination with the Shayṭān-myth, so also there is a clear Qurʾānic development in the Lūṭ-cycle prior to, and following, its initial appearance with the "Ibrāḥīm-saga" (the story of Ibrāḥīm and his celestial guests). The earliest accounts in the Lūṭ-cycle are five occurrences of the "Lūṭ punishment-story" in sūras 37, 26, 54, 7, and 27.¹ The earliest occurrence of the Ibrāḥīm-saga (which in v. 24 is called the ḥadīth ḍayf Ibrāḥīm al-mukramīn) occurs in Sūra 51 and contains a reference to the family of Lūṭ, although Lūṭ is not mentioned by name. Next, in sūras 15 and 11 appear the two fullest accounts.

¹The chronological order of these accounts has been determined on the basis of a careful comparison of the contexts and does not harmonize completely with the conclusions of Nöldeke (according to whom these five sūras have the following places in the chronological order of sūras: 50, 56, 49, 87, and 68), nor with the order of Blachère (52, 58, 50, 89, and 51). Whereas these scholars have attempted to establish the relative dates of the entire sūras (a task which Bell has successfully shown to be hopeless), in the present study only the chronological order of the individual units under discussion has been considered. The results of this study tend to support the conclusions reached by Bell regarding the dates he assigns to the various Ibrāḥīm/Lūṭ accounts.
of the "Lūt-saga" (the story of the mission of celestial messengers to the family of Lūt), occurring in parallel form with two accounts of the Ibrāhīm-saga.² Finally, in Surah 29 the Lūt punishment-story appears again (vv. 28/7-30/29),³ followed by a shortened version of the Ibrāhīm-saga (vv. 31/0-32/1—in which the primary element of the saga is omitted), and ending with a shortened version of the Lūt-saga (vv. 33/2-35/4).⁴ This final account is little more than a series of quotations from the earlier Qur'ānic narratives in the Ibrāhīm/Lūt cycle.⁵

Although the primary purpose of this chapter is to determine the nature and role of the celestial guests in the Ibrāhīm/Lūt sagas, some attention must be devoted to the accounts of the

²Although in the Qur'ān more emphasis is devoted to the Lūt-cycle than to the Ibrāhīm-saga, it seems that Bell over-emphasizes the dominance of the former when he states in his Introduction, pp. 123-4, that the story of the visit of the angels to Ibrāhīm (in Surahs 11, 15, and 29) "is related as an introduction to the story of Lot".

³Based upon 7:80/78-82/0 and 27:54/5-56/7, with some revisions.

⁴Based upon 11:77/9 and 7:83/1—an element of the Lūt punishment-story which has been incorporated into the Lūt-saga. Verse 35/4 is a concluding sign-passage.

⁵Regarding the relative dates of these four Ibrāhīm/Lūt accounts, Blachère places them 49, 59, 77, and 83 in his chronological order (following Nöldeke's order: 39 [with the Ibrāhīm-saga later than the majority of the sura], 57, 75, and 81). Lichler, p. 81, considers the accounts in Surahs 51 and 15 to be "early Meccan", and those in Surahs 11 and 29 "late Meccan". Bell, however, places all four later, concluding that those in Surahs 51 and 15 are "late Meccan" or "early Medinan", and those in Surahs 11 and 29 he regards as "Medinan, though perhaps with Meccan elements" and "Medinan, but partly founded on earlier material" respectively.
Lūṭ punishment-story for two reasons: (1) it is later assimilated into the Lūṭ-saga, and (2) a reference to the celestial guests appears in an early account of the Lūṭ punishment-story in Sūra 54.

The Lūṭ Punishment-Story

The earliest account of the Lūṭ punishment-story appears in 37:113-8 among a group of six prophet-stories which deal with Nūḥ, Ibrāhīm, Mūsā and Hārdūn, Ilyāsīn (Ilyās), Lūṭ, and Yūnūs. The fact that the Lūṭ account appears out of chronological order and separate from the Ibrāhīm account indicates that the relationship between these two prophets was either unknown at this early stage or at least considered not to be significant. In the next three occurrences (in 26:160-73, 54:33-40, and 7:80/78-84/2), the Lūṭ punishment-story appears within the group of punishment-stories which D. M. Mueller has identified as the mathānī. 6

The first three accounts of the Lūṭ-story contain introductory (and sometimes concluding) formulae which appear in the

6 For full references and a survey of the literature on this Qur’ānic concept, see Joseph Horovitz, "Jewish Proper Names and Derivatives in the Koran", HUCA, II (1925), 194-5. A later discussion appears in Bell, Introduction, pp. 119-28. In Sūra 26 the punishment-stories deal with Mūsā, Ibrāhīm, Nūḥ, Hūd and the people of ʿĀd, Ṣāliḥ, and the people of Thamūd, Lūṭ, and Shuʿayb and the people of the Grove (Midian). In Sūra 7 the last five of these appear in the same order, and in Sūra 54 the first four of these five appear in the same order (here the story of Shuʿayb is omitted).
other prophet-stories in each set. In these cases the form of the Lūt-story is made to conform to that of the other stories in each series. So also in Sūra 7, the structure of the story is based upon the form of the other four punishment-stories in the set, but no introductory or concluding formula appears. This account in Sūra 7 (which is repeated with minor variations in 27:54/5-58/9) shows the final form which the story developed prior to its incorporation with the Lūt-saga:

80 And Lūt, when he said to his qawm:7 "What, will you continue such indecency as has never been committed by anyone before?
81 You approach men lustfully rather than women! You are indeed a people given to excess!"
82 But the only answer of his qawm was that they said [to one another]: "Turn them out of your town! Yes, they are people (unās) who make a show of purity!"8
83 So we delivered him and his family (ahl), except his wife9 she was among those who remained.
84 And we rained a rain upon them. Now consider the fate of sinners!

The terms qawm, ahl, and āl occur fairly consistently in the accounts in the Lūt-cycle: qawm refers to the people of Lūt, especially (if not exclusively) those who are destroyed after Lūt and his family leave; āl Lūt and ahl refer to Lūt's own family, except that the expression ahl al-madīna in 15:67 (and a parallel usage without the term madīna in 29:31/0) is equivalent to the expression qawm Lūt (see 26:160, 54:33, 11:70/3, and 11:74/7). The expression qawm mujrimīn in 51:32 and 15:58 is also equivalent to qawm Lūt (if this latter expression is taken to exclude the āl Lūt).

This reply agrees with the more explicit statement which occurs in the parallel passage in 27:56/7, but is softened in the later parallel verse, 29:29/8: "But the only answer of his qawm was that they said: 'Then bring us the punishment of Allah, if you speak the truth.'"

In the earliest two accounts, the person excepted is referred to simply as 'ajūz (an old woman)—see 37:135 and 26:171. In all later accounts she is called "Lūt's wife"—see 7:83/1, 27:57/8, 15:60, 11:81/3, 29:32/1, and 29:33/2.
A parallel verse in 54:37 states: "Even his ḍayf they solicited of him. Thus, we blotted out their eyes, saying: 'Now taste my punishment and my warnings!'" This latter verse contains the only reference to the celestial guests in those Qur'ānic accounts which have been designated "the Lūṭ punishment-story". In the accounts in sūras 7 and 27 (which are clearly later than the account in Sūra 54), the impression is given that it is Allah who delivers the family of Lūṭ and then rains punishment upon the remainder of the city. A study of the context of 54:37 reveals that the reference to the ḍayf is a later addition to the story—no doubt influenced by the Lūṭ-saga. Thus, the celestial guests play no essential part in the Lūṭ punishment-story. The question of the relationship between the two Lūṭ stories will be discussed later.

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In addition to the fact that the ḍayf and the attempt of the men of the city to get to them are not mentioned in any of the other accounts of the Lūṭ punishment-story, and the clear indication of a later form of the story in the reference to "blotting out the eyes" of the assailants, there is a conspicuous duplication of the exclamation, "Now taste my punishment and my warnings!", which is repeated in v. 39 (this statement appears as a refrain at the end of each punishment-story in the set in Sūra 54). It is also significant that Lūṭ is called a rasūl amin only in 26:162, and he is said to be one of the mursalūn only in 37:133 (and indirectly in 26:160); thus, Lūṭ is said to be a rasūl only in the accounts where the celestial guests are not mentioned.
The Ibrāhīm-Saga

After its initial appearance in 51:24-37, the Ibrāhīm-saga occurs twice with the two full accounts of the Lūt-saga (in 15:51-60 and 11:69/72-76/8) before its final appearance in 29:31/0-32/1. The final Qur'ānic form of the full account of the Ibrāhīm-saga appears in Sūra 11:

69 Our rusul came to Ibrāhīm with the good news. They said: "Peace!" He answered "Peace" and hastened to bring a roasted calf.
70 Then, when he saw that their hands were not reaching towards it, he mistrusted them and was afraid of them. They said "Do not be alarmed; we have been sent to the qawm of Lūt."
71 And his wife, who was standing by, laughed; therefore, we gave her the good news of Ishaq, and after Ishaq, Yaṣṣūb.
72 She said: "What, shall I bear [a child] when I am old and my husband here is an old man? Surely this is a strange thing."
73 They said: "Do you marvel at Allah's command? The mercy and blessings of Allah be upon you, O people (ahl) of the house! Surely, he is Ḥamīd, Majīd."
74 Then when the alarm had gone from Ibrāhīm and the good news had come to him, he began to dispute with us concerning the qawm of Lūt.
75 Ibrāhīm was gentle, compassionate, repentant.
76 "Ibrāhīm, turn away from this, for your Lord's command has surely come, and there is coming upon them a punishment that cannot be turned back."

In this account certain "messengers" (rusul)11 come to Ibrāhīm greeting him with the traditional Arabic "Salām", and the greeting is returned by Ibrāhīm who (in typical oriental

11In the parallel account in 15:51 these rusul are called qayf, a singular form which appears as a plural in the Ibrāhīm/Lūt accounts (as is indicated in the use of plural verbs such as dakhlu in 15:52).
fashion) sets about at once to provide a feast. Then, after the meal has been prepared and set before the guests, Ibrāhīm is astonished to see that they do not eat and he immediately becomes suspicious and afraid—interpreting their action (in accordance with Arab custom) as a refusal to accept his hospitality. In order to alleviate the discomfort of their host, the guests inform Ibrāhīm that he is not to be alarmed since they are on a mission to the people of Lūt (presumably to bring punishment), and the wife of Ibrāhīm responds with laughter and is then told that she is to have a son in her old age. Later, Ibrāhīm is informed that the people of Lūṭ are to be punished, and the host

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12 In 15:52 Ibrāhīm does not respond with the salutation "Peace", but says: "Behold, we are afraid of you!" Also, no reference is made to the preparation of a meal or the guests' refusal to eat.

13 Eichler, p. 81, maintains that the fact that the guests do not eat "is without doubt an indication of their heavenly origin" (tr. from the German). This same view is expressed by most of the commentators, but that this idea is not exclusively Arab is shown by the following excerpt from a Jewish legend translated from the Hebrew by Ginzberg, I, 243: "Abraham himself served his guests, and it appeared to him that the three men ate. But this was an illusion. In reality the angels did not eat, only Abraham, his three friends, Aner, Eshcol, and Mamre [see Gen. 14:13], and his son Ishmael partook of the banquet, and the portions set before the angels were devoured by a heavenly fire." See also ibid., V, 236, for discussion and survey of literature on this point.

14 In 15:54 it is Ibrāhīm who expresses surprise when the announcement is made that an elderly couple are to have a son (although he does not react with laughter like his wife does in the accounts in sūras 51 and 11).
pleads with his guests (or with Allah?) in behalf of Lūṭ's people, but is informed that his objections are of no avail.

The task of determining the nature and purpose of the rusul in this account is impeded by certain problems in the narrative. After the statement that the rusul have come with "good news" (al-bushrā), Ibrāhīm soon begins to fear his guests and then learns that they have come to bring punishment to the people of Lūṭ. A clear indication of an incongruity in the narrative is the laughing response of Ibrāhīm's wife when she hears that the rusul are on a mission to the people of Lūṭ. Both of these problems stem from the misplacement of the reference to Lūṭ in v. 70/3—as is clear from the order of events in the accounts in sūras 51 and 15. In 51:28-9, after Ibrāhīm sees that his guests are not eating, the story continues: "He then

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15Reference is made to this plea in 29:32/1, but not in the accounts in sūras 51 and 15. That this plea in behalf of the people of Lūṭ takes place at a later time (or in a different place) is indicated by the blessing pronounced upon the household of Ibrāhīm, for it is at this point that the host and his guests leave the household. This blessing is not a reference to the Ka'ba as R. Paret suggests (Festschrift to E. Littmann, p. 130), but refers simply to the household of Ibrāhīm. The accounts in sūras 51 and 15 must be interpreted in the same manner, with the question asked by Ibrāhīm, "What is your business, mursalūn?", marking the beginning of a new scene. This sequence of events is clearly seen when the Qur'ānic accounts are compared with the more detailed account of the same saga which appears in Gen. 18.

16In the account in Sūra 11 the "good news" (that Ibrāhīm and his wife are to have a son) is given—although later in the narrative. The incongruity of the introductory statement "our rusul came to Ibrāhīm with the good news" (which appears in both Sūra 11 and Sūra 29) is even more striking in 29:31/0-32/1 where the only news given to Ibrāhīm concerns the destruction of the people of Lūṭ.
became afraid of them, but they said: 'Do not be alarmed!' And they gave him the good news of a wise boy. Then his wife came forward laughing, and she smote her face and said: 'An old woman, barren!'" Thus, the laughter is in response to the statement that an old woman is to have a son, and this is the "good news" which the rusul have brought to Ibrāhīm and his wife, who are not informed until later that the rusul have also come on a mission of punishment to the people of Lūt.

Just who are these guests who are called "our messengers" (rusulunā) in 11:69/72 and 29:31/07? Does the designation "honoured guests" (dayf al-mukramīn) in 51:24 suggest that they are celestial beings? Also, is their refusal to eat an indication that they are malāʾika, and if so, why is this designation not used in any of the accounts in the Ibrāhīm/Lūt cycle? In addition to these more important questions, others also arise: Does it not seem strange that the rusul allowed a feast of roasted calf to be prepared and served before them, and then sat in silence refusing to eat? Finally, what is the meaning of the phrase "he disputed with us" (yuqāḍilunā) in 11:74/7? Does Ibrāhīm dispute with the rusul or with Allah? These questions

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17 As is stated by Eichler, p. 81.

18 Ibn Masʿūd is reported to have read yuqāḍiluhum instead of yuqāḍilunā making it clear that Ibrāhīm disputes with the rusul and not with Allah—see Jeffery, Materials, p. 47. This is not the case, however, in the account in Gen. 18, where Yahweh appears with two angels in the Abraham portion of the story, but remains behind when the two angels proceed to visit Lot, and it is with Yahweh that Abraham pleads in behalf of the people of Lot.
and several others are resolved when the various Qur'ānic accounts are compared with the longer (and much more detailed) account of the saga which appears in Genesis 18.\textsuperscript{19}

The Lūṭ-Saga

As has been mentioned above, reference is made to the Lūṭ-saga near the end of the account of the Ibrāhīm-saga in Sūra 51, where the people of Lūṭ are called qawm mujrimin (a people of sinners).\textsuperscript{20} However, the narrative does not state that the mursalūn visited Lūṭ (who is not mentioned by name), nor is the nature of the sin of the people mentioned. The full Lūṭ-saga occurs only in 15:61-77 and 11:77/9-83/4, and there are significant differences in the order of events and in certain details. Following is the account of the Lūṭ-saga which immediately follows the version of the Ibrāhīm-saga quoted above from Sūra 11:

\textsuperscript{19}For a discussion of the relationship between the Qur'ānic Ibrāhīm-saga and midrashic forms of the same story, see Sidersky, p. 46, who concludes: "Il est probable que Mahomet avait entendu ce récit dans les milieux juifs, avec la remarque du Midrash qu'il avait rapportée inexactement." For Jewish forms of the legend and bibliography on the topic, see Ginzberg, I, 241, 289, 302; III, 66, 142; V, 234-5; and VI, 47, 60, 206.

\textsuperscript{20}A progression is apparent in the guests' statement regarding the object of their mission: in 51:32 they say: "We have been sent to a people of sinners"; in 15:58-9 they say: "We have been sent to a people of sinners, except the family of Lūṭ"; and in 11:70/3 they say: "We have been sent to the people of Lūṭ".
When our rūsul came to Lūṭ, he was troubled on their account, and he was too weak to protect them. 21 He said: "This is a day of distress!"

And his gawm came rushing towards him—they had long been in the habit of doing evil deeds. He said: "My gawm, these are my daughters—they are purer for you. Now fear Allah and do not humiliate me concerning my qayf. Is there not a right-minded man among you?"

They said: "Now you know that we have no right to your daughters, and you know very well what we desire."

He said: "If only I had the power to suppress you, or could take refuge with some powerful leader!"

[The qayf] said: "Lūṭ, we are rūsul from your Lord. They will not reach you! Now set out with your family (ahl) during the night, and let none of you turn around, except your wife; 22 what happens to them will also happen to her. Surely, the morning is their appointed time! Is the morning not near?"

So when our command came, we turned it upside down and rained down upon them stones of baked clay, one after another, [each] marked by your Lord himself [with the name of the person it is to strike down]. Nor are [the gawm of Lūṭ] far [different] from the evildoers [among you Meccans]!

In this account, when the rūsul come to Lūṭ, he is immediately concerned for their safety. 23 When the men of the city come running towards Lūṭ demanding that he hand over his guests (whom Lūṭ calls qayf at this point), he refuses and offers his...

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21 Lit. "his power was straitened concerning them", qāqa bi-him dharān, an idiom which sometimes means simply "he felt uneasy concerning them".

22 At this point in 11:81/3 a significant omission is reported in the reading of Ibn Mas'ūd who is said to have read fa-asri bi-ahlika bi-qīṭ'īn mina-l-layli illā-mra'ataka (omitting the statement wa-lā yaltafit minkum ābad), thus indicating that Lūṭ's wife is excepted from the instruction to leave during the night—see Jeffery, Materials, p. 48. Thus, Ibn Mas'ūd's reading of 11:81/3 alters the meaning so that this verse now agrees with 7:83/1, 27:57/8, 15:60, and 29:33/2 where Lūṭ's wife is explicitly said to remain behind.

23 The guests are regarded as handsome young men and are obviously desired by the men of the city for homosexual purposes. Specific references occur in 26:165-6, 7:81/79, 27:55/6, and 29:28/7-29/8, and statements in the other accounts are also sufficiently clear to indicate the intentions of the men.
daughters instead. At this point Lūṭ is apparently overpowered by the men; the scene then changes to a situation where Lūṭ is safe (inside the house?) and his guests inform him at this time that they are rusul from Allah. Then they instruct him to take his family and leave during the night since the city is to be destroyed at dawn.

The order of events in the parallel account in Sūra 15 is different in that Lūṭ is informed of the nature of his guests at the very beginning, and he is also informed that he is to leave with his family during the night since the city is to be destroyed. Then the men of the city (ahl al-madīna) come to Lūṭ's home seeking his guests, and (knowing that he entertains celestial messengers and that the city is about to be destroyed) he offers his own daughters to the mob, saying that the men can do as they please with them. Clearly, the order of events in the account in Sūra 11 is to be preferred over that in Sūra 15.

Significant for determining the purpose of the celestial guests in the Lūṭ-saga is the question of who delivered the family of Lūṭ and who destroyed those remaining in the city. In the five early accounts of the Lūṭ punishment-story there are clear indications that it is Allah who both delivers and destroys.²⁴

²⁴The phrases "My Lord, deliver me and my family" in 26:169, "a blessing from us" in 54:35, and "we decreed that she should tarry" in 27:57/8, clearly show that it is Allah who delivers and destroys in these three contexts; also, in 37:134-6 and 7:83/1-84/2 Allah must be seen as the "speaker" who both delivers and destroys. In 54:34 the means of destruction is specified: "We loosed against them a squall of pebbles", and in 7:84/2 and 27:58/9 Allah says: "We rained down a shower of stones upon them".
However, in the earliest account of the Ibrāhīm-saga, the mursalūn are said to inflict punishment upon the people of Lūṭ, for when Ibrāhīm asks his guests (in v. 31): "What is your business, mursalūn?", they reply (in following two verses): "We have been sent to a people of sinners, to loose stones of clay upon them". Then, the statement in v. 35, "So we delivered such believers as were in it", seems to follow the form of the Lūṭ punishment-story and is thus interpreted as being spoken by Allah. Therefore, in the account in Sūra 51, Allah is said to deliver the family of Lūṭ, but the mursalūn are said to destroy those remaining in the city.

The narrative in 29:32/1-34/3 gives the opposite impression, however, for the rusul say to Ibrāhīm in v. 32/1: "... we shall surely deliver [Lūṭ] and his family, except his wife", and to Lūṭ in v. 33/2: "Fear not, neither sorrow, for we shall surely deliver you and your family, except your wife". Then, v. 34/3 is most likely, however, spoken by Allah: "We shall send down wrath out of heaven upon the people of this city for their ungodliness!" If this last verse is indeed spoken by Allah, then in the account in Sūra 29 it is the rusul who deliver the family of Lūṭ, but Allah who inflicts the punishment. In the two longer accounts of the Lūṭ-saga in sūras 15 and 11, the narrative makes it clear that it is the guests who deliver the family of Lūṭ, and the statement of punishment is best interpreted as being spoken by Allah: "We turned it [the firmament] upside down and
rained upon them stones of baked clay." Thus, whereas it is clearly Allah who delivers and destroys in the Lūť punishment-story, the references to deliverance and punishment are not so consistent in the Ibrāhîm/Lūť sagas. At this point it is sufficient to note that in the various Qur'ānic accounts in the Ibrāhîm/Lūť cycle, the celestial guests appear as messengers of good news, protectors of Allah's people, deliverers from destruction, and agents of divine punishment.

After a careful comparison of the nine accounts in the Lūť-cycle (which have been cited above), certain questions concerning the celestial guests remain unresolved: why are they sent on this special mission to the people of Lūť when celestial messengers are not sent to assist prophets in the other punishment-stories? Why are the guests called rusul and mursalûn rather than mala'ika, and is this related to the fact that Lūť is...

2515:74 and 11:83/4, the latter verse being translated by Rodwell: "And when our decree came to be executed we turned those cities upside down ..." This interpretation is also followed by Yusuf Ali; however, there is no indication in the context that the pronominal suffix hā refers to "cities", and the idea of opening up the firmament (like when the doors of heaven are opened so the rain will come down) fits the context much better.

26Just to summarize and list the designations of the guests in the Ibrāhîm/Lūť accounts: in the Ibrāhîm-saga they are called qayfî in 51:24 and 15:51, rusulûnâ in 11:69/72 and 29:31/0, and al-mursalûn in 51:31 and 15:57; in the Lūť accounts they are called qayfihi in 54:37, qayffî in 15:68 and 11:78/80 (in all cases meaning Lūť's guests), rusulûnâ in 11:77/9 and 29:33/2, rusul in 11:81/3, and al-mursalûn in 15:61. There is no evidence to support Eichler's suggestion, p. 81, that the Qur'ānic term mursalûn in these accounts is a literal translation (by Muḥammad)
never called a nabi or a rasul in any of the accounts of the Lūt-saga? Does the statement in 15:72: "They wandered blindly in their dazzlement" indicate that the ḍayf inflicted some injury upon the men of the city? Other questions which are not specifically related to the task of determining the nature of these ḍayf include: are the banāt who are mentioned in 11:78/80 and 15:71 Lūt's own daughters, or are these references to "young women of the city" as some commentators suggest? Related to this is the question of the meaning of the men's reply in 11:79/81: "We have no right to your daughters". These questions (along with related problems in the texts) suggest that a story which is known in more detail is being summarized in these Qur'ānic accounts, since parts of the narratives are ambiguous and contain

of the term malā'īkām which occurs in the parallel account in Gen. 19. In the two earliest accounts of the Lūt punishment-story, the term al-mursalūn appears in reference to Lūt himself—in both cases it is part of an introductory formula which is used of other prophets in each series of punishment-stories. The survey of the usage of the three designations given above makes it clear that Eichler is mistaken when he concludes, p. 81, that the term ḍayf appears as the "early Meccan" designation, whereas rasul and mursalūn are "late Meccan" designations of the guests. Finally, in answer to the question raised in the text, Eichler may be correct in suggesting that the absence of the term malā'īka in the Qur'ānic accounts may be influenced by the fact that the guests are called "men" in the accounts in Genesis and also in the Midrashim (note however that the term malā'īkām does occur twice in Gen. 19). Regarding this popular legend-cycle, see Ginzberg, I, 253-5, 351, and V, 241, 290.

27 According to 54:37 it is Allah who inflicts this injury: "And they attempted to seduce his ḍayf, but we blotted out their eyes." For evidence that it is Allah who is "speaking" in this passage, see vv. 34-6 (esp. the phrase "a blessing from us").
allusions to details which are known only in non-Qur'ānic accounts of the saga. 28

Conclusions

Concerning the nature and appearance of these guests, it is significant that they are not immediately recognized as supernatural beings by the other characters in the stories. Even if their refusal to eat is interpreted as an indication that the guests are celestial messengers, still the fact that Ibrāhīm has a meal prepared for them before becoming aware of their supernatural character indicates that in external appearance they are like men. 29 This physical characteristic of the guests is even more evident in the Lūt-saga where Lūt is anxious for their safety in the face of the intentions of the male inhabitants of the city. In the parallel account in Genesis 19, the handsome physical appearance of the guests is related to their mission—to test the lustful desires of the men of the city. This element of trial is not apparent, however, in the Qur'ānic accounts.

28 There are clear indications of a close relationship between the Qur'ānic accounts of the Lūt-saga and the parallel Genesis account. In this particular case, the more detailed OT narrative resolves several questions raised by rather obscure allusions in the Qur'ānic accounts. For a discussion of the Christian colouring of the Qur'ānic Lūt-saga, see Dawid Künstlinger, "Christliche Herkunft der Kurānischen Lōtlegende", RO, VII (1931), 281-95.

29 For a discussion of the "appearance" of these guests, see Eickmann, p. 49.
At the same time, the Qur'anic accounts contain clear indications that these messengers possess supernatural powers and must be considered to be "spirit-beings", although they are never called malā'ika or jinn. In addition to the references discussed above in which their powers of deliverance and destruction are mentioned, indications of superhuman power may also be seen in 11:81/3 where the guests rescue Lūt and protect him from the men of the city, and possibly in 15:72 in the reference to the "blind dazzlement" of the men who seem to have been overpowered by the guests.30

The discussion above has shown that the purpose of the mission of these celestial quests in not always clear in the Qur'anic accounts. The purpose of the visit to Ibrāhīm must be to announce the forthcoming birth of a son;31 however, in the account in Sūra 29 even this basic element of the story is omitted. Regarding the mission to the people of Lūt, the primary objective appears to be to deliver Lūt and his family (except his wife), although in some accounts the aspect of punishment is emphasized. It has also been shown above that the tasks of deliverance and chastisement are attributed both to Allah and to these guests (in the various Qur'anic accounts in the Ibrāhīm/Lūt cycle).


31 Cf. the role of the celestial messengers in the contexts discussed in Chapter IX.
In the parallel account in Genesis 18-19, Yahweh is not clearly distinguished from the angels who appear with him; it is only when the two angels leave Abraham to visit Lot, leaving Yahweh with Abraham, that the identity of the three guests becomes evident. Then, even when it is clear that only the two angels visit Lot, their identity is not completely separated from the concept of Yahweh; that is, the identity of Yahweh is not clearly differentiated from the appearance of his power through the medium of angels. In the Qur'anic accounts, however, there is no question of confusing the identities of Allah and his messengers; although these celestial guests are indeed extensions of Allah's power, they are clearly distinguished from his being. The attribution of certain acts both to Allah and to his messengers is more closely associated with what Old Testament scholars call "corporate personality"; that is, acts for which Allah is responsible and which ultimately are in his power are attributed to him although they are performed by his agents. If this interpretation of the Ibrāhīm/Lūt sagas is valid, then the problem regarding the deliverance of the family of Lūt and the destruction of those who remained in the city is thus resolved, and the celestial guests are to be seen as having the twin roles of deliverance and chastisement.

32 In Gen. 19:13 the angels say to Lot: "We are about to destroy this place . . . Yahweh has sent us to destroy it"; then, in the following verse Lot pleads with his sons-in-law: "Up, get out of this place; for Yahweh is about to destroy the city."
CHAPTER VII

THE SULAYMĀN LEGENDS

Of all the illustrious sages noted for wisdom and splendour, Solomon, son of David, king of Israel, gained a unique position in the imagination of the people of the Near East, and, as the subject of countless legends, became the epitome of all the wisdom and power of the East. In later Muslim legends, Sulaymān became the hero of numerous fanciful and fabulous tales which are embellished with all the characteristics of eastern folklore. Considering the extent of his popularity both in Arabia and throughout the ancient Near East, Sulaymān receives relatively little attention in the Qur'ān. Although the Qur'ān contains fragments and hints of at least six, and possibly twelve or more, Solomonic legends and fables, most of these legendary and fabulous elements appear as parts of two or three longer stories. References to certain Shayāṭīn who work for Sulaymān as "builders and divers" appear in sūras 38 and 21. Sūra 38 contains the story of Sulaymān's excessive admiration for horses, and also a reference to one of the many Solomonic throne-legends.1 Another reference to a throne-legend occurs in

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1 See discussion and bibliography in Grünbaum, pp. 199 and 210-11.
Sūra 34 in a story which has several significant parallels with the account in Sūra 38, with the striking difference that the builders are called "jinn" in the later context. These two throne-references may possibly refer to the same legend, although Muslim commentators strongly reject this interpretation. Then, in Sūra 27 occurs the story of Sulaymān and the Queen of Sābā—the only Solomonic legend which appears in the Qur'ān as a complete story.

The First Throne-Legend

The earliest Qur'ānic throne-legend concerning Sulaymān and the spirit-world occurs in 38:30/29-40/39, a passage which is not easily interpreted and which may contain elements of two or three earlier stories. The reference to the throne in v. 34/3 is variously interpreted by the commentators, and the reference to Sulaymān's dominion over natural and spiritual powers (vv. 36/5-38/7) appears as a separate pericope in Sūra 21 and as part of another throne-legend in Sūra 34. The reference to Sulaymān's excessive admiration for fine horses (vv. 31/0-33/2) appears nowhere else in the Qur'ān.² so that

²In Sanhedrin 20, Solomon's wealth of horses is interpreted by the Talmudic writers as a breach of the commandments of the Torah, as references to his commerce in horses recorded in 1 Kg. 10:28-11:13 are seen to violate regulations in Dt. 17:16-17. For an example of the most flagrant misinterpretation of a Qur'ānic text, mixed with an obvious lack of respect for historical evidence, see Yusuf Ali's treatment of this legend in 38:30/29-40/39.
this account in Sūra 38 can be compared with related Qur'ānic legends, it is given here in full:

30 And to Dāwūd we gave Sulaymān, an excellent servant! Indeed, he was penitent.
31 When his well-bred steeds\(^3\) were brought to him in the evening, he said: "Surely I have loved the love of good things more than the remembrance of my Lord until [the sun] has disappeared behind the veil.
32 Bring them back to me!" And he began to stroke their shanks and necks.
33 Surely we tried Sulaymān when we set upon his throne a [mere] body—then he repented.
34 He said: "My Lord, forgive me and grant me a kingdom such as may not fall upon anyone after me. Surely you are al-Wahhab."
35 Then, we subjected to him ar-rifḥ, which ran gently at his command, wherever he chose [to go],
36 and the shayāṭīn, every builder and dover,
37 and others bound together in fetters.
38 [Then we said to Sulaymān:] "This is our gift—bestow or withhold without reckoning."
39 Surely he had a nearness to us and an excellent resort.

This account reflects several aspects of pre-Islamic accounts of the life and legend of Sulaymān, but appears to be a unified story in its present form, having the following general outline: an introductory statement indicates the theme of the story—that Sulaymān was a repentant servant of Allah; the reason given for this repentance is that Sulaymān loved the good things of this life (notably fine horses) more than the "remembrance" (dhikr) of his Lord;\(^4\) after Sulaymān is tested (fatana) by having

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\(^3\)Ar., gāfināt, lit. horses which stand with three legs placed firmly on the ground, with the fourth slightly raised or with the hoof resting lightly on the ground—said to be a sign of good breeding.

\(^4\)The term dhikr may indicate that Sulaymān has missed the evening prayer while attending to his horses. There is no evidence to support Geiger's interpretation (p. 149) of the
a body (jasad) placed upon his throne, he repents, asking for a kingdom which is greater than any that will come after him; in answer to his request, Sulaymān is given control over ar-rīḥ and certain shayātīn including "every builder and diver" (kull bannā' wa-ghawwāq), and others who are bound in fetters (muqarrānīna fī-l-agfād).

Both az-Zamakhshārī and al-Bayḍāwī give the following story as an explanation of the throne-legend in Sūra 38. After capturing the city of Sidon and slaying its king, Sulaymān married the king's daughter, Jirādā, who became his favourite. Because of her constant bereavement at her father's death, Sulaymān ordered the shayātīn to make an image of himself for her comfort; however, as was her custom, she began to worship it. When Sulaymān learned about this idolatry, he broke the image and punished the woman, and then went into the desert where he repented and asked forgiveness from Allah. This part of the story has the purpose of explaining Sulaymān's need for repentance, but it effectively explains away the guilt by placing the blame on the foreign wife. The remainder of the story seems to be a separate legend—which explains the presence of the jasad statement in v. 33/2, fa-ṭaffiqa masuḥan bi-s-sūqi wa-l-aʾnāq, when he writes: "When he repented, he gave up his useless extravagances, and had his horses disabled"—interpreting the verb masāḥa to mean "to mutilate" rather than "to stroke".

5 This request should be compared with the well-known vision of Solomon which is recorded in 1 Kg. 3:5-14.
on Sulaymān's throne. The powers which Sulaymān possessed over the natural and spiritual orders emanated from his magic signet ring which he habitually entrusted to a concubine named Amina whenever he performed his ablutions. One day when she had the ring a shaytān named Ṣakhr approached her in the shape of Sulaymān and he took the ring from her and used its powers to usurp Sulaymān's kingdom, sitting on his throne in the shape he had borrowed, and he made whatever changes he desired in the laws of the land. Meanwhile, finding himself changed in outward appearance and thus not recognized by his subjects, Sulaymān wandered about begging for alms until forty days had passed; then the shaytān left the throne and cast the ring into the sea. From here it was swallowed by a fish which was caught and brought to Sulaymān for his meal. From the ring which was found inside, Sulaymān was restored to his throne and Ṣakhr was thrown into Lake Tiberias.6 Al-Bayḍāwī concludes by saying specifically that the term jasad in 38:34/3 refers to this Ṣakhr who possessed a "body" (jīsm) but no "spirit" (rūḥ).7

Concerning Sulaymān's extensive powers mentioned in vv. 36/5-38/7, it is most natural to interpret ar-rūḥ as referring to the wind (the usual meaning of this term). Although some of the older connotations of rūḥ may have remained in the term rūḥ,

6Zam., IV, 94; Bq., II, 187.

7Bq., II, 187. A different account of how Solomon lost his throne to the chief of the demons appears in Ginzberg, IV, 168-9; see also Jung, p. 179.
there is no evidence to support Geiger's conclusion that ar-rāḥ "here probably means the spirits of the air, like ṭūḥāth". He is comparing an Arabic singular form with the plural form of a Hebrew term which is more akin to another Arabic noun, ṭūḥ.
Also, the term ar-rāḥ in 38:36/5 should be interpreted in light of the clearer context in 34:12/1, where it is stated that ar-rāḥ travelled a month's (journey) in the morning and the same in the afternoon. Since the purpose of the reference is to cite Sulaymān's extraordinary powers, and in light of well-known extra-Qur'ānic legends, the most natural interpretation is that "the wind" carried Sulaymān wherever he wanted to go, travelling a month's (camel?) journey in the course of a single morning, and making the return trip (or proceeding another month's journey) in the afternoon.

Although 38:37/6-38/7 may be interpreted as stating that the "builders and divers" were also "bound together in fetters", it is most natural to restrict the phrase muqarranīna fī-l-ṭāfād to the "others" (ākharīn), suggesting that the enslavement of the shayāṭīn mentioned in v. 37/6 is based upon some power other than ṭāfād--a point which will be discussed in the following section. In this account in Sūra 38 there is no indication as to what the shayāṭīn build or what they accomplish by diving for Sulaymān. The term ghawwās is often associated with diving for pearls (an idea which is in harmony with Sulaymān's

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8Note, p. 146.
reputation for wondrous powers), but it may refer to some more mundane task like supplying fish for royal feasts. Whatever the precise nature of their labour is in this account, it is most unlikely that these shayātīn (which appear to be nature-demons of some sort) can be identified with the shayātīn who appear in the shooting-star myth which is discussed in the previous chapter. 9

The Second Throne-Legend

The Sulaymān legend which appears in Sūra 34 contains several parallels with the legend in Sūra 38, including (in addition to the description of the purpose of ar-riq already discussed) another vague throne-reference, and a more detailed account of the construction projects of Sulaymān's builders--who in this legend are called "jinn":

12 And to Sulaymān [we subjected] ar-riq. Its morning course was a month's [journey] and its evening course was a month's [journey]. And we made the 'Ayn al-Qitr to flow for him. And some of the jinn worked under his supervision 10 by the permission of his Lord--but whoever among them swerved away from our command, we caused to taste the punishment of as-Sa'īr!

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9 For a discussion of nature-demons in the Qur'ān, see Eichler, pp. 18-23.

10 Ar., bayna yadayhi (lit., "between his hands") meaning "in front of him". Ibn Mas'ūd is reported to have read min taḥtī yadayhi, a stronger idiom meaning "under his power". Also, in the following phrase, Ibn Mas'ūd is reported to have read bi-amri rabbihī instead of the weaker expression bi-idhni rabbihī--see Jeffery, Materials, p. 76.
fashioning for him whatever he desired [including] māḥāriḵ, statues, basins as large as pits, and anchored pots. "Family of Dāwūd, work in thankfulness, for few of my servants are thankful!"

And when we decreed that he should die, nothing indicated to them that he was dead until a creature of the earth devoured his staff. Then, when he fell down, the jinn saw clearly that, had they only known the unseen, they would not have remained in humiliating punishment.

According to v. 13/2 the jinn build four types of objects for Sulaymān: (1) māḥāriḵ (the plural of māḥrāb), shrines or places of prayer; (2) tamāthil, statues or images; (3) jīfān ka-l-jawāb, basins as large as pits; and (4) qudūr rāsiyāt, anchored (cooking?) pots. The fact that their construction is ascribed to the jinn seems to be an indication that these objects are unusual in some way—an impression which is supported by the expression jīfān ka-l-jawāb (if this is correctly rendered "basins as large as pits"). If these objects can be identified with certain spectacular structures reported to have been in the Solomonic temple, then some indication may also be found to explain their association with the jinn in the Qur'ānic account.

According to the records in the Old Testament books of Kings and Chronicles, Solomon employed an artisan named Hir'am

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11 At this point Ibn Mas'ūd is reported to have added: "and they continued to work for him for a year"—see ibid.

12 Ubayy ibn Ka'b is reported to have read al-ins (the men) instead of al-jinn—see ibid., p. 157.

13 In place of the TR reading, Ibn 'Abbās is reported to have read: "the men saw clearly that if they were jinn knowing the unseen, they would not have remained in humiliating punishment"—see ibid., p. 204.
from Tyre to do the skilled art work (in gold, silver, bronze, stone, coloured fabrics, fine linen, all sorts of engraving, etc.) which embellished the temple.\textsuperscript{14} In addition to the two great bronze pillars (called Jachin and Boaz) which stood before the temple,\textsuperscript{15} Hiram of Tyre is reported to have constructed the "molten sea"\textsuperscript{16} ten huge lavers (each with a capacity of approximately two hundred gallons) which were carried upon ten ornate trolleys,\textsuperscript{17} and a large bronze altar (twenty cubits square and ten cubits high) which was probably in the shape of a bowl resting on a ziggaret-type foundation.\textsuperscript{18} Significant archaeological discoveries during the present century have inspired considerable interest in attempts to reconstruct the Solomonic temple, and

\textsuperscript{14}For a discussion of the problem of the contradiction of names in the two accounts, 1 Kg. 7:13-14 and 2 Chr. 2:13-14, see Ginzberg, VI, 295, n. 61.

\textsuperscript{15}1 Kg. 7:15-22. For studies of these pillars based upon the evidence of recent archaeological expeditions, see the following: R. B. Y. Scott, "The Pillars Jachin and Boaz", \textit{JBL}, LVIII (1939), 143-9; W. F. Albright, "Two Cressets from Marisa and the Pillars of Jachin and Boaz", \textit{BASOR}, LXXXV (1942), 18-27; and H. G. May, "The Two Pillars Before the Temple of Solomon", \textit{BASOR}, LXXXVIII (1942), 19-27.


\textsuperscript{17}1 Kg. 7:27-39. For a drawing and description of one of these lavers with its ornate trolley, see P. L. Garber, "Laver", \textit{IDB}, III, 76-7.

\textsuperscript{18}2 Chr. 4:1
much attention has been devoted to these objects which are described in Kings and Chronicles.\textsuperscript{19}

The structures mentioned in the Qur'ānic account in 34:13/2 are clearly associated with the Solomonic temple/palace complex.\textsuperscript{20} The \textit{mağārib} may be places of worship within the temple, but more likely are the shrines which were built for the foreign wives of Sulaymān.\textsuperscript{21} The \textit{tamāthil} may be either statues located at various places within the temple, or images associated with the \textit{mağārib}.\textsuperscript{22} The \textit{jīfān ka-l-jawāb} could be the "molten sea", but this expression is also an excellent description of the gigantic lavers.\textsuperscript{23}

\textsuperscript{19}See discussion and bibliography in W. F. Stinespring, "Temple, Jerusalem", \textit{IDB}, IV, 534-60.

\textsuperscript{20}See Bq., II, 14; Grünbaum, p. 202; and Gustav Weil, \textit{The Bible, the Koran, and the Talmud; or Biblical Legends of the Mussulmans, Compiled from Arabic Sources, and Compared with Jewish Traditions} (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1846), p. 185.

\textsuperscript{21}See 1 Kg. 11:1-8.

\textsuperscript{22}In the story related above from Bq., II, 187, the \textit{shayāṭīn} make an image (\textit{gūra}) of Sulaymān: \textit{fa-amara-sh-shayāṭīna fa-maththallū lahā ṣūratahu . . . fa-kasara-g-ṣūra}.

\textsuperscript{23}The expression \textit{ayn al-qīṭr} in 34:12/1 may be translated "molten spring", in which case it resembles the "molten sea" of the Solomonic temple. Bq., II, 139, suggests that the expression may mean that melted copper (\textit{nuḥās}) was made to flow to Sulaymān from its mine (\textit{ma'qām}). He then adds the interesting note: "Therefore, its name is a spring, and it is the one in the Yemen." In the Targum Sheni on the Book of Esther, the name of the city in Sabā' where the Queen has her capital is Qitor, and this city is said to have been located in the region which later became known as the Yemen. It is thus suggested that the expression \textit{ayn al-qīṭr} in 34:12/1 should be rendered "the spring
Finally, the expression qūdūr rāsiyāt could also refer to the lavers, but is a vivid description of the altar (which was indeed "anchored" and was used for burning sacrifices—hence the term qūdūr, which usually means "cooking pot"). Although there can be no certainty regarding such identification, the similarities are sufficiently clear to indicate a close relationship between the objects mentioned in 34:13/2 and the structures reported to have been built by Hiram of Tyre.

The interesting development of the temple-building legend-cycle has its roots in the Old Testament records in the books of Kings and Chronicles. According to 1 Kings 5:13-18, King Solomon raised a levy of thirty thousand men from Israel for forced labour, and they were sent to the Lebanon to work for a month in relays of ten thousand. There were also seventy thousand "burden-bearers" and eighty thousand "hewers of stone in the hill country", besides three thousand three hundred officers who were overseers. Then, the record concludes: "At the king's command, they quarried out great, costly stones in order to lay the foundation of the house with dressed stones. So Solomon's builders and Hiram's builders and the men of Gebal did the hewing and prepared the timber and the stone to build the of al-Qitr", and that it should not necessarily be interpreted as referring to "melted copper". See Paulus Cassel, The Second Targum on the Book of Esther (trans. from the Aramaic and included with notes as an appendix to An Explanatory Commentary on Esther), trans. from the German by Aaron Bernstein (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1888), pp. 276-7.
house [i.e., the temple]."24 The following midrashic account shows an early stage in the development of this legend-cycle:

According to the measure of the zeal displayed by Solomon were the help and favor shown by God. During the seven years it took to build the Temple, not a single workman died who was employed about it, nor even did a single one fall sick. And as the workmen were sound and robust from first to last, so the perfection of their tools remained unimpaired until the building stood complete. Thus the work suffered no sort of interruption. After the dedication of the Temple, however, the workmen died off, lest they build similar structures for the heathen and their gods.25

The idea that silence was maintained in the area of the temple during its construction appears in 1 Kings 6:7: "When the house was built, it was with stone prepared at the quarry; so that neither hammer nor axe nor any tool of iron was heard in the temple, while it was being built." This interesting verse gave rise to numerous legends regarding mysterious stone-cutting implements, the most well-known being the "shamir"26 which is considered to be a worm in the following quotation from a midrashic legend:27

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24 This account is corroborated by two other reports, in 2 Chr. 2:2 and 2 Chr. 2:17-18, where the same numbers are given for the burden-bearers and stonecutters, but the number of overseers is 3,600 in both accounts (instead of 3,300), and the levy from Israel is not included. See the table and discussion in J. M. Myers, "Solomon", IDB, IV, 403.

25 Translated from the Hebrew in Ginzberg, IV, 155; see also notes, ibid., VI, 295.

26 For the same concept in later Muslim legend, see Weil, pp. 178-80.

27 Note that the dābbat al-arg (creature of the earth) in 34:14/3 is considered to be a worm by some; see Geiger, p. 149, and Watt, Companion, p. 196. Bell, Qur'ān, p. 422, suggests, however, that this creature is "usually said to be the white ant".
The shamir was made at twilight on the sixth day of creation together with other extraordinary things. It is about as large as a barley corn, and it possesses the remarkable property of cutting the hardest of diamonds. . . . The shamir was also used for hewing into shape the stones from which the Temple was built, because the law prohibited iron tools to be used for the work in the Temple. The shamir may not be put in an iron vessel for safekeeping, nor in any metal vessel, it would burst such a receptacle asunder. It is kept wrapped up in a woollen cloth, and this in turn is placed in a lead basket filled with barley bran. The shamir was guarded in Paradise until Solomon needed it. He sent the eagle thither to fetch the worm. With the destruction of the Temple the shamir vanished.28

It is at this point that the idea of the assistance of demons enters the Solomonic temple-building legend-cycle. In the Testament of Solomon29 a "green stone" (rather than the worm) is used in the construction of the temple, and it is associated with Beelzebul, the chief of the demons, who is known as Asmodeus in the midrashic legends.30 In a legend which appears in several forms (including later Muslim versions), Asmodeus is called upon by Solomon for assistance in securing the shamir (now considered to be a stone) which is kept by a bird in a mountain hiding-place.31

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28Ginzberg, I, 34.

29A pseudepigraphic work of Jewish origin, but influenced by Christian ideas and possibly revised by Christians, so that it is difficult to distinguish between the Jewish and the Christian elements.

30No satisfactory explanation has been given for the name Asmodeus. It appears in the Talmud in Gitṭin 66b (Soncino ed., p. 326). For Asmodeus as chief of the demons, see Ginzberg, IV, 100, 132, 166, and 169.

31For a discussion of the relationship between the "green stone" in the Testament of Solomon and the shamir, see Ginzberg, VI, 292, n. 56.
(In some versions, this bird is called the "hoopoe", equivalent to the Arabic hudhud which appears in the tale of Sulaymān and the Queen of Sabā'. ³²) In this legend the chief of the demons assists Solomon in obtaining the magic stone, but not in the actual construction of the temple. ³³

Then, in a further development of this legend-cycle within the midrashic sources, the demons appear as the builders of Solomon's temple:

The demons were of greatest service to Solomon during the erection of the Temple. It came about in this wise: When Solomon began the building of the Temple, it once happened that a malicious spirit snatched away the money and the food of one of the king's favorite pages. This occurred several times, and Solomon was not able to lay hold on the malefactor. The king besought God fervently to deliver the wicked spirit into his hands. His prayer was granted. The archangel Michael appeared to him, and gave him a small ring having a seal consisting of an engraved stone, and he said to him: "Take, O Solomon, king, son of David, the gift which the Lord God, the highest Zeboi, hath sent unto thee. With it thou shalt lock up all the demons of the earth, male and female; and with their help thou shalt build up Jerusalem . . . ." ³⁴

It is then stated that Solomon used the magic power of the signet ring (the stone of which may be equivalent to the shamir) to subjugate all of the demons whom he forced to assist in the construction of the temple.

The Qur'ānic accounts do not indicate the precise means of Sulaymān's power over the shayātīn and jinn; the narratives state

³²See Ginzberg, VI, 299, n. 85.
³³Ibid., IV, 165-9.
³⁴Ibid., p. 150.
only that this power is given by Allah. The statement in 34:14/3 that the jinn would not have been compelled to continue working had they known that their master was dead suggests that they are not enslaved in fetters and driven by overseers, but are mesmerized in some way so that they are under the personal control of Sulaymān. The same conclusion can be drawn concerning the shayātīn who in 38:37/6 are said to be "builders and divers". Although it is not necessary to assume some magic power like that of the signet ring in the midrashic legends, the subjection of the jinn in 34:14/3 is clearly dependent upon some personal power invested in Sulaymān.

It is clear that these two Qur'ānic legends in sūras 38 and 34 are forms of the widespread Solomonic temple-building legend-cycle, and that the use of the term shayātīn in the earlier account reflects the form of the story as it circulated in the Near East prior to the time of Muḥammad. The substitution of the Arabic term jinn in the later Qur'ānic version indicates that this popular Arab conception of the spirit-world

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35For the signet ring in later Muslim legends, see Weil, pp. 175-6.

36For discussion and bibliography regarding Solomon's power over the spirits and demons, see Ginzberg, VI, 289, n. 38, and 291, n. 49. See also Cassel, pp. 268-70, and Weil, pp. 174-5.

37See Sidersky, pp. 115-6.
is being identified with (if not transformed to) the conception of the spirit-world which existed at that time in the neighbouring countries. 38

The Legend of the Queen of Sabāً

The Qur'ānic version of the well-known legend of Sulaymān and the famed Queen of Sabāً, which occurs in 27:16-44/5, is one of the longest stories in the Qur'ān. Unlike the Ibrāhīm/Lūṭ sagas which are discussed in the previous chapter, the account of the visit of the Queen of Sabāً which appears in Sūra 27 manifests little resemblance with the Old Testament form of the story—although all of the Qur'ānic elements occur in Targums and later midrashic legends. Since this Qur'ānic legend has received considerable attention from Western writers, and since the spirit-beings fulfill almost incidental roles in the narrative, the story of the Queen of Sabāً will not be treated in detail. Only those portions which deal with the jinn as part of Sulaymān's armies, and the ʿīfrīt who volunteers to undertake a special mission will be discussed.

The only specific reference to the jinn as part of the armies of Sulaymān occurs in the introduction to the story:

And Sulaymān was Dāwud's heir, and he said: "Men, we have been taught the language of birds, and we have been given [abundance] of all things. Surely, this is a clear bounty [from Allah]."

And to Sulaymān were gathered his armies--jinn, men, and birds--and they were lined up in ranks [for inspection].

Then follows the short, two-verse ant-pericope (after which the sūra is named) which is clearly a separate fragment which breaks the continuity of the narrative. Verse 20 continues from v. 17:

And when he reviewed the birds, he said: "How is it that I do not see the hudhud? Is he not here? Surely I will punish him severely, or slay him, unless he brings me a clear excuse!"

It is clear from these two brief quotations that in this portion of the legend the birds (and the hudhud in particular) play a more significant part in the story than do the jinn--who seem to be mentioned almost parenthetically.

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39 This short pericope reflects a well-known Talmudic ant-fable which is based upon Proverbs 6:6-11, which begins: "Go to the ant, O sluggard; consider her ways, and be wise." See Geiger, p. 150, and Angelo S. Rappoport, The Folklore of the Jews (London: Soncino Press, 1937), pp. 30-1. A considerably lengthened version of the ant-fable in 27:18-19 appears as a later Muslim legend; see Weil, pp. 180-2. For another example of Muslim modernist attempts at de-fabulization, see Muḥammad ʿAlī on 27:18, n. 1847.

However, the context of the later reference to an 'ifrit may contain a more enlightening allusion to the role of the jinn in Sulaymān's armies. When the hudhud (which is said to be missing in vv. 20-1) returns, he reports to Sulaymān that he has discovered a wealthy nation in Sabā' ruled by a woman, and that she and her people worship the sun instead of Allah. Sulaymān responds to this news by sending a letter to the people of Sabā', demanding in the name of Allah that they surrender. Fearing that the forces of Sulaymān may attack her country, the Queen of Sabā' sends her envoys with presents to assuage the powerful king:

36 But when [the envoys) came to Sulaymān, he said: "What, do you offer me wealth when that which Allah has given me

41 This part of the narrative and nearly all that follows in the account in Sūra 27 appear also in the Targum Sheni on the Book of Esther. For a later Muslim, expanded version of this legend, see well, pp. 189-205, where the "glass pavilion" episode occurs as a test to see whether or not the queen is a female jinn (jinn are believed to have hairy legs). In earlier Jewish sources the Queen of Sabā' does appear as a female demon--see bibliography in Ginzberg, VI, 292, n. 55. For the same idea in Arab legends, see Grünbaum, p. 219.

42 Ar., ā'tūnī muslimīna (come to me in surrender) may imply submission to Allah. However, Sulaymān appears more as a king than a prophet in this account, and the occasional references to Allah (vv. 24, 30, 43, and 44/5), although all related to submission, are outweighed (or at least counterbalanced) by the image of Sulaymān as a powerful ruler demanding political surrender. It is true, however, that the religious overtones are stronger in the Qur'ānic version than in older versions of the legend, including the close parallel in the Targum Sheni.

43 Ar., jā'ā (he came); however, this verb clearly refers to the mursalūn who are mentioned in the previous verse, and the fact that there are more than one envoy is indicated by the pl. verb tumiddūna in the speech of Sulaymān. Note that Ibn Mas'ūd and Ibn Dharr are reported to have read jā'ū (they came) at this point--see Jeffery, Materials, p. 69.
is better than what he has given you? No, it is you who rejoice in your gift!

37 Go back to them! We will surely come against them with armies which they have no power to resist, and we will expel them, abased and completely humbled!

38 He said: "Council, who among you will bring me her throne before they come to me in surrender?"

39 An i�़ीt from among the jinn said: "I will bring it to you before you rise from your place. I possess the strength for [the task] and I am trustworthy."

40 The one who has knowledge of the book said: "I will bring it to you within the twinkling of an eye. Then when [Sulaymān] saw it placed firmly before him, he said: "This is by the grace of my Lord. ..."

What is the meaning of the statement in v. 37 that Sulaymān will send against the people of Sabā' "armies which they have no power to resist"? This verse must refer to v. 17 above where it is stated that Sulaymān's armies consist of "jinn, men, and birds". This conclusion is supported by the contents of the letter from the king as reported in the parallel account in the Targum Sheni:

And what was written in the letter? "From me, King Solomon! Peace be with thee, peace with the nobles of thy realm! Know that God has appointed me king over the beasts of the field, the birds of the air, the demons, the spirits, and the spectres. All the kings of the East and the West come to bring me greetings. If thou wilt come and salute me, I shall show thee great honor, more than to any of the kings that attend me. But if thou wilt not pay homage to me, I shall send out kings, legions, and riders against thee.

44Ar., irjis ilayhim, with the sg. imperative verb. Here Ibn Māsūd and Ibn 'Abbās are reported to have read the pl. form irjisū--see Jeffery, Materials, p. 69 (note that for both verbs Jeffery has initial fatḥa instead of kasra).

45 Ibn Masūd is reported to have read at the beginning of this statement: "I will look in the book, my lord, and then I will bring to you..."--see Jeffery, Materials, p. 70. A similar reading is ascribed to 'Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib--ibid., p. 189.
Thou askest, who are these kings, legions, and riders of King Solomon? The beasts of the field are my kings, the birds my riders, the demons, spirits, and shades of the night my legions. The demons will throttle you in your beds at night, while the beasts will slay you in the field, and the birds will consume your flesh."\textsuperscript{46}

Although there can be no certainty regarding an interpretation of 27:37 based on this legend and the earlier reference to Sulaymān's armies of "jinn, men, and birds", it seems best to conclude that according to the Qur'ānic account the armies of Sulaymān contain a special company of jinn possessing a distinctive power which instills fear in the minds of the king's opponents. The fact that this company of jinn serve as an army is sufficient evidence to indicate that they are to be feared.

This conclusion is supported by the fact that an "ifrīt\textsuperscript{47} appears among this company of jinn. Although the text does not state specifically that the jinn mentioned in 27:39 are the same as those which appear in v. 17, there is certainly no evidence to conclude otherwise. On the contrary, it seems almost certain that the "council" in v. 38 is in this case a "council of war".\textsuperscript{48}

\textsuperscript{46}Ginzberg, IV, 144. See also Grünbaum, pp. 212-13, for a German trans. with notes. For the Aramaic text and a French trans., see Sidersky, pp. 124-6.

\textsuperscript{47}Instead of "ifrīt, Ibn Mas'ūd is reported to have read "ifrāt, and Ubayy ibn Ka'b, "afrit or "afrina--see Jeffery, Materials, pp. 70, 153. On the meaning and derivation of this term, see ar-Rāghib, pp. 126-7; Lisān, VI, 263; and Jeffery, Foreign Vocab., p. 215.

\textsuperscript{48}On Sulaymān as a warrior-king, see Zam., IV, 95 and Bq., II, 187; and for traditions on the subject, see Bukh., II, 364, and III, 455.
If this interpretation is valid, then the 'ifrīt appears as an officer of the company of jinn, and this explains the presence of an 'ifrīt at a meeting of Sulaymān's council. Note that the offer of the 'ifrīt to undertake a special mission for Sulaymān is given in response to a question specifically addressed to the "council", indicating that if the 'ifrīt is not a member of this council at least he is present at its deliberations.

Conclusions

The references to ar-rah in 38:36/5 and 34:12/1 support the conclusion that both the shayṭān and the jinn in these two accounts are to be seen as nature-demons which have come under the control of man. Although they are related to other shayṭān and jinn who appear in the shooting-star myth, there is the significant difference that those in the Sulaymān legends do not serve to explain current, physical phenomena--for both the temple and the objects mentioned in 34:13/2 did not exist at the time when these accounts first appeared in the Qur'ān. After the destruction of the Solomonic temple, its fame spread throughout the ancient Near East, and its size and grandeur gradually became exaggerated in popular folklore as well as in rabbinic

49 On the other hand, Ubayy ibn Ka'b and Ibn Khuthaym are reported to have read mina-l-jinnī ēkhar (among the other jinn) in 27:39--see Jeffery, Materials, p. 153.

50 See Eichler, p. 20.
writings. This development no doubt influenced the fact that the skilled art work of Hiram of Tyre later became attributed to spirits. However, the magnificence of the structures is not the dominant theme in the Qur'anic accounts, where the emphasis is upon the subservience of the spirit-beings to Sulaymān.

Although outside the Qur'ān the 'ifrīt is seen as a particularly evil character, a representative of an ominous class of jinn, there is no indication of a sinister nature in the 'ifrīt which appears in this Qur'ānic legend. He claims to possess magical powers (a claim which is not refuted by Sulaymān), and the text reveals that a supernatural act occurs (the transfer of the queen's throne from Sabā' to the court of Sulaymān), but it is not clear whether this act was performed by the 'ifrīt or by the person mentioned in v. 40. Although he may be the object of fear to the king's opponents, in this legend the 'ifrīt clearly

51 Ibid.
52 For an excellent summary of the literature on this topic, with complete bibliographical details, see Eichler, pp. 13-14.
53 Bq., II, 68, identifies this 'ifrīt with the chief of demons named Šakhr who appears in the legend which is summarized above (from Bq., II, 187). Bq. also states that this Šakhr is sometimes known by the name Dhaqwān.
54 This omission in the narrative became the source of considerable debate among later Muslim theologians; see Richard J. McCarthy, The Theology of al-Ash'arī (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1953), pp. 90-1, where articles 150-2 of al-Ash'arī's Kitāb al-Luma` are translated.
serves under Sulaymān—if not as a faithful servant, at least as one who is under the control of his master.

Like the shayātīn and jinn who appear as builders in the two Sulaymān legends in sūras 38 and 34 (and are mentioned in sūra 21), the jinn who appear as part of Sulaymān's armies (including the īfrīt) must be seen as nature-demons which have come under the control of man.55 In the Qurʾān there are no indications that Sulaymān's powers over the spirit-world are based upon magic; on the contrary, statements in each of the three legends clearly indicate that Sulaymān's special powers have been granted as a gift from Allah.

55 There is no convincing evidence to support the suggestion of W. Robertson Smith, Lectures on the Religion of the Semites (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1889), pp. 120, 126ff., where he argues that the Qurʾānic and Muslim views concerning the jinn are nothing more than vestiges of ancient Arab totemism. His conclusions appear to reflect the popular interest in totemism during the late nineteenth century, more than a study of the sources. For a discussion of this question based upon sociological research in North Africa, see Edward Westermarck, Pagan Survivals in Mohammedan Civilization (London: MacMillan and Co., Ltd., 1933), esp. pp. 16-21.
CHAPTER VIII

THE LEGEND OF HĀRŪT AND MĀRŪT

Survey of the Qur’ānic Context

Among all the Qur’ānic stories and allusions referring to the many widely circulated Solomonic legends of the ancient Near East, one of the most difficult to interpret strictly on internal evidence is the reference to Hārūt and Mārūt in 2:102/96, which occurs near the end of a long series of arguments addressed primarily to the Jews of Medina. This wider context is clearly early Medinan, dating from the period when Muḥammad and his followers were deeply involved in controversy with the Jews. The immediate context of the Hārūt and Mārūt pericope includes vv. 100/94-103/97:

100 Is it [not the case] that whenever they make a covenant, a party of them cast it aside? Indeed, most of them do not believe!
101 Now, when a rasūl from Allah has come to them confirming what is with them, a party of those who have been given the book cast the book of Allah behind their backs as if they did not know!
102 And they follow what the shayātīn recited over the kingdom of Sulaymān. And Sulaymān did not disbelieve, but the shayātīn disbelieved, teaching the people as-sīḥr and what
was recited\(^1\) by Hārūṭ and Mārūṭ, the malakayn bi-Bābil. But these two\(^2\) did not teach anyone until they first said: "We are just a temptation, so do not disbelieve [in Allah]!"

From the two of them [the \textit{shayātīn}] learned the means by which to separate a man and his wife (but they did not harm anyone thereby, except by the permission of Allah); but they learned only what harms people, and not what helps—knowing well that whoever buys [their \textit{sīHR}] has no share in al-Ākhira. How evil was that for which they sold themselves! If only they knew!

If only they had been faithful and godfearing, a reward from Allah would have been better! If only they knew!

According to the present order of these verses, the following is the most natural interpretation of the narrative. Muḥammad has been sent by Allah to confirm previous revelation to Jews and Christians. However, a party of these choose to reject the message delivered by Muḥammad, and refuse to confirm that what he teaches is in their scriptures. Instead, they follow what the \textit{shayātīn} used to recite to the people in the time of Sulaymān. These \textit{shayātīn} had taught sorcery (\textit{sīHR}) and also what they had learned from Hārūṭ and Mārūṭ, the malakayn bi-Bābil (two angels in Babylon), including the means by which to cause discord between a man and his wife. But the \textit{shayātīn} learned from the malakān only the means to harm people, and not the means to aid them, and they attempted to persuade the people to use magic and sorcery, knowing that whoever practises these arts

\(^1\)Following a reading attributed to Ubayy ibn Kaʻb who is reported to have read \textit{mi yutla} instead of the TR reading \textit{ma unzila} (what was sent down)—see Jeffery, Materials, p. 119.

\(^2\)Ubayy ibn Kaʻb is reported to have read \textit{yu'allimu Hārūtu wa-Mārūtu} instead of the TR reading \textit{yu'allimāni}—see ibid. (Note that this reading does not alter the meaning in any way.)
will not go to paradise. In the same way that people in Sulaymān's
day accepted the sinister arts taught by the shayātīn, so also
some of Muḥammad's opponents in Medina prefer these to the teach-
ing of the rasūl of Allah.

According to the reconstruction of this text suggested
by Bell, certain significant changes occur in the development of
the narrative. The Jews of Medina (or some of them—a party of
those to whom the book of Allah has previously been given) reject
the teaching of Muḥammad and prefer instead to follow: (1) what
the shayātīn used to recite during the time of Sulaymān, and
(2) what was recited by (or sent down upon) Hārūt and Mārūt.
Thus, the Jews learn from the malakān what separates a man from
his wife, and what injures and does not profit, although they
know that they will have no share in al-Ākhira for following the
teachings of Hārūt and Mārūt. Regardless of how this narrative
is interpreted, certain identities in v. 101/95 are clear:
(1) the expression rasūlun min ʿindi-llāh refers to Muḥammad,
and (2) the expression farīqun mina-lladhīna ʿūtū-l-kitāb refers

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3In place of the TR reading wa-mā hum bi-ḍārrīna (but
they [the shayātīn] did not harm), Ibn Masʿūd is reported to have
read wa-mā humā bi-ḍārraynī (but they [the malakān] did not harm)
—see ibid., p. 27. This reading supports neither this order of
events suggested by Bell's reconstruction, nor that summarized
above, and must be considered to be an inferior reading compared
with the corresponding reading in the TR.

4Bell, Qurʾān, p. 14. Bell suggests that even after
explanatory additions were made, v. 102/96 was still found to be
unsatisfactory and eventually was replaced by v. 103/97—ibid.,
note 5.
to some or all of the Jews of Medina.\(^5\)

A close examination of the context reveals several significant indications of the nature and role of these malakān. The description of Hārūt and Mārūt as al-malakayn bi-Bābil does not necessarily mean that they are Babylonian—just that they were in Bābil. The next statement given concerning the pair seems peculiar indeed: Hārūt and Mārūt are said to be teachers stationed in Bābil, but they preface their teaching with a warning that they serve as a temptation to unbelief (in Allah). The most natural interpretation of this statement is that these malakān have been placed in Bābil by Allah for the purpose of teaching some form of unbelief in order to test the people’s loyalty to Allah. But why are they forced to remain there teaching something which apparently they prefer not to teach? And what precisely do they teach? The presence of the term qibr in the verse is sufficient to indicate that sorcery or magic of some sort is involved—although it is not necessary to conclude that Hārūt and Mārūt taught these sinister arts (what they taught may simply be related to magic). The only explicit indication of their teaching is the phrase mā yufarrīqūna bihi bayna-l-mar‘i wa-zawjihi (that by which they separate a man from his wife). This need not necessarily be magic. The only other

\(^5\)Who at this time are apparently not seen to be a distinct religious body, but parts of a larger group which includes Christians and in later contexts is referred to as Ahl al-Kitāb (note that this designation does not appear in this context).
internal indications of what the malakān taught are the statements mani-shtarāhu mā lahu fī-l-ākhira (whoever buys it has no share in the hereafter), \(^6\) and labiša mā sharaw bihi anfusahum (how evil is that for which they sell themselves).

**Classical Interpretations**

The writers of the classical tafāsīr have recorded a wide variety of interpretations of the Hārūt and Mārūt pericope. At-Ṭabarī relates more of these interpretations than the other writers, including several which are questionable and others which contradict certain statements in the context. For instance, before defending the orthodox position that Hārūt and Mārūt are indeed "angels", at-Ṭabarī relates a contrary opinion in which the pair are said to be men, and the term al-malakayn is said to refer to Jibrīl and Mīkāl. Furthermore, according to this interpretation, the shayāṭīn teach magic to the two men Hārūt and Mārūt, who in turn teach it to mankind.\(^7\) Then, after stating the contrary opinion that Hārūt and Mārūt are "angels" who teach magic to mankind,\(^8\) at-Ṭabarī relates the following story on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās.

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\(^6\) The Qur'ānic usage of the verb Ḭishtarā (to buy) suggests that this term is not to be taken literally in 2:102/96. For instance, see 2:16/5, 86/0, 90/84, 175/0; 3:177/1; 4:44/7; and 9:111/2.

\(^7\) ibid., p. 341.

\(^8\) ibid., pp. 341-2.
Allah opened up the heaven so the malāʾika could watch the deeds of mankind. When they observed the evil of man, they asked Allah how it was that man, to whom they had been made to prostrate, could be doing such evil deeds. Allah only replied that the malāʾika would do the same deeds if they were living among mankind; but the malāʾika insisted that they were not capable of such evil. Thus, they were commanded to elect representatives from among themselves to go down to the earth, and they elected Hārūt and Mārūt who then descended to the earth. Allah then commanded them not to associate any other deity with himself, not to steal or commit fornication, nor to drink wine or to murder. Soon a beautiful woman appeared to them, whose name was Badukhut, and when they saw her they desired to commit fornication with her. She agreed to submit to them if they would associate other deities with Allah, drink wine, take the life of an innocent man, and prostrate before an idol. They replied that they must refuse to associate any other with Allah—but they still desired her. Then she said: "Not until you drink wine!" This they did until they were intoxicated, and when a beggar came by they killed him. As soon as they had done this evil deed, Allah again opened up the heaven so that the other malāʾika could see what had been done, and the malāʾika in heaven repented that they had doubted Allah's wisdom. Then Allah instructed Sulaymān ibn Dāwud to grant Hārūt and Mārūt a choice between punishment in this world or in the next, whereupon
they chose the punishment of this world, and they were placed in chains in Bābil. 9

Az-Zamakhsharī and al-Bayḍāwī interpret the phrase mā tatlū ash-shayātīnu ʿalā mulki Sulaymān (what the shayātīn recited over the kingdom of Sulaymān) as referring to certain books of magic and witchcraft which the shayātīn had learned from the malakān in Bābil, and then taught to the kahana (pl. of kāhin). 10 Also, these commentators associate this magic taught by the shayātīn with the power which Sulaymān possessed over the jinn, men, and wind. 11 Concerning the phrase wa-mā unzila ʿalā-l-malakayn bi-Bābila Hārūta wa-Mārūt, az-Zamakhsharī writes: "This was the art of magic, a trial for mankind from Allah. Whoever learns it from them and then practises it is a kāfir. Whoever avoids learning it, or learns it not to practise it but to guard himself from it, is a mu′min." 12 Neither of these two commentators includes the numerous embellishments which this legend receives in the Jewish versions (discussed below); al-Bayḍāwī does mention (without further comment) that the term al-malakayn (the two angels) was sometimes read al-malikayn (the two kings). 13

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9Ibid., p. 343. See Jung, pp. 305-6. For several other versions of this legend, see Tab., I, 344-7.

10Zam., I, 172; Bq., I, 76.

11Ibid.

12Zam., I, 172.

13Bq., I, 76. For a discussion of the views of al-Balkī and Kazwīnī on this topic, see Jung, pp. 298-301.
Possible Parallels in Persian and Jewish Legends

Since the early years of Islam, the Hārūt and Mārūt pericope has been interpreted in light of certain popular legends which circulated for centuries in the ancient Near East. Most of these legends developed in midrashic circles as explanations of certain Old Testament texts, but they are also well known in Christian and later Muslim sources. Although the similarities between these legends and the Qur'ānic reference to Hārūt and Mārūt have long been recognized, only in recent years have phenomenological studies been made of the characters in these sources. Before summarizing the development of the fallen-angel legend-cycle which is related to the Hārūt and Mārūt pericope, a brief discussion will be given regarding two ancient, Persian spirits whose names bear striking similarities to those of the Qur'ānic pair.

1. Haurvatāt and Ameretāt

The history of the development of the personification of the ancient Persian abstract nouns haurvatāt and ameretāt into spiritual beings can be traced only vaguely in the Persian texts. Haurvatāt (completeness) is sometimes identified in the texts with huyyati (the good life) and eventually came to designate "all the pleasures of this life". The relationship between this meaning and the contemporary Parsee conception of Haurvatāt as the deity of the waters is not altogether clear. Ameretāt (immortality) gradually acquired the temporal meaning "longevity" (possibly
under the influence of its association with Haurvatāt) and is considered in some places to be the "Guardian of fodder herbs".14

The two spirits Haurvatāt and Ameretāt are sometimes considered to be jinn who increase the tastiness of food, and also provide pleasant food for the inhabitants of paradise.15 These two life-loving spirits of ancient Iran seem not to be directly associated with the widespread myth of sexual intercourse between divine and human beings, which is known, however, in certain Persian texts.16 Also, there are no indications that these two spirits are connected with sorcery or magic, or any other characteristic which would associate them with the character of the Qur'ānic Hārūt and Mārūt.17

14Jung, pp. 180-1.

15An interpretation of Bundehesh which is reported by Jung, p. 181.

16For translations of two such texts, Rivāyet Yasna 915.46 and Vendidad III.24, see Jung, pp. 180-1.

17The association of Hārūt and Mārūt with these two Persian spirits was recognized in the West as early as 1847 by Boetticher (Horae aramaicae--see Jeffery, Foreign Vocab., p. 283) and was then developed and defended by P. de Lagarde, Gesammelte Abhandlungen (Leipzig, 1866), pp. 15, 169, where it is stated that the Persian pair were later known as Khurdād and Murdād. This identification is also accepted by Rudolph, pp. 67, 75; and E. Littmann, "Hārūt and Mārūt", Festschrift Friedrich Carl Andreas zur Vollendung des Siebzigsten Lebensjahres (Leipzig, 1916), p. 84. See other references in Jeffery, Foreign Vocab., p. 283, n. 4. A serious objection to de Lagarde's identification of Hārūt and Mārūt has been raised by Halévy, JA, Ser. 9, XIX (1902), 146ff., where it is emphasized that Haurvatāt and Ameretāt are "good angels" where the Qur'ānic pair are "evil angels". See also "Conclusions" and notes 45 - 49 below.
2. The benê hā-ʾelōhîm and the benôth hā-ʾadham

A curious and much-disputed account in Genesis 6:1-4 appears to be the basis for a wealth of post-exilic Jewish legends which deal with unusual relations between women and spirits or angels. In its present context in Genesis 6, this mythological fragment appears in an aetiological legend which seems to explain the origin of the giants (here referred to as Nephilim) who were believed to have roamed the earth during the antediluvian era:

1When men began to multiply on the face of the ground, and daughters were born to them, 2the benê hā-ʾelōhîm saw that the benôth hā-ʾadham were fair; and they took to wife such of them as they chose . . . . 4The Nephilim were on the earth in those days, and also afterward, when the benê hā-ʾelōhîm came in to the benôth hā-ʾadham, and they bore children to them. These were the mighty men that were of old, the men of renown. 

The mythological significance of the designation benê hā-ʾelōhîm (sons of God, or sons of the gods) is not immediately apparent from its context in Genesis 6:1-4, but is abundantly clear after comparison with other contexts where this expression occurs in the Old Testament. In Psalm 89:7 the "sons of God" are called benê ʾélîm (divine beings, or sons of gods); in Psalm 82:6 they are called benê ʾelyôn, and in Psalm 82:1 they are

18In this quotation the transliterations of the Hebrew have replaced the expressions "sons of God" and "daughters of men" which appear in the RSV— from which the quotation is taken.

19In addition to the references cited below in the text and those listed in note 22, see also Dan. 3:25, 28; 4:9, 18; and 5:11.

20Elyôn being an ancient name for the god of Melchizedek, identified with Yahweh Elohim by Abraham in Gen. 14:18-22.
simply designated 'elōhīm (gods): "God ('elōhīm) has taken his place in the divine council (ba-‘adat 'el); in the midst of the gods ('elōhīm) he holds judgment". Phenomenologically the benē ha-'elōhīm appear to be identified with the gebā' haš-šāmain (host of heaven) which appear in 1 Kings 22:19.

Thus, the benē ha-'elōhīm which appear in the Old Testament seem originally to have been divine beings who made up the "heavenly council"—an august assemblage which is later seen to contain angels rather than gods. In the context of Genesis 6:1-4, the benē ha-'elōhīm already appear as angels, and must be

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21 For a discussion of the mythological significance of the names 'elōhīm and 'elyôn in Ps. 82, see Julian Morgenstern, "The Mythological Background of Psalm 82", HUCA, XIV (1939).

22 Kluger, p. 101, comes to the following conclusion: "The benē ha-'elōhīm constitute, in their homogeneous multiplicity, the 'host of heaven'; gebā' haš-šāmain. The fact that these two concepts can even be equated is shown in 1 Kings 22:19, where, in the vision of Micaiah ben Imlah, the heavenly court assembly is called gebā' haš-šāmain in the same situation where Job 1:6 and 2:1 speaks of the benē ha-'elōhīm. We can see that probably behind this heavenly host were originally ancient astral deities, since various passages speak of the sun, moon, and stars as the gebā' haš-šāmain, to whose worship men should not let themselves be seduced." For additional contexts of these concepts, see Dt. 4:19; 17:3; 2 Kg. 17:16; 21:3,5; 23:4; Zeph. 1:5; Jer. 8:2; 19:13; and Job 31:26-8.

23 That this expression in Gen. 6:1-4 was considered to refer to angels in the middle of the third century B.C. is shown in the fact that the Septuagint renders it ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ. The parallel to Gen. 6:1-4 which appears in Enoch 6 (dating from the first half of the second century B.C.) also interprets the benē ha-'elōhīm as angels: "And it came to pass when the children of men had multiplied that in those days were born unto them beautiful and comely daughters. And the angels, the children of the heaven, saw and lusted after them..."—Charles, p. 191. According to R. de Vaux, La Genèse, 2nd ed. (Paris: Les Éditions...
classified as "fallen-angels". This pericope became the basis for a legend-cycle which reaches its zenith in the apocryphal writings of the third to the first centuries B.C. and also in the Midrashim. Of these legends, the ones which are of most interest in relation to the Qur'ānic malakān Hārūt and Mārūt are those which relate the activities and punishment of the two fallen-angels Shemḥazai and 'Aza'el.

3. Shemḥazai and 'Aza'el

According to the account in the Midrash Abkir, the two angels Shemḥazai and 'Aza'el were members of the heavenly council in the days of Noah, when the people of the earth began to serve idols. The two angels reminded Elohim that they had questioned him concerning the nature of man even before Adam was created; then, they requested permission to go down to the earth and live among men. This request was granted; then, as soon as the two angels saw the beauty of the daughters of man (benōth hā-'ādhām),

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24 However, see Jung, pp. 187-93, where it is argued that the benê hā-'elōhim are not fallen-angels.

25 Cf. the Qur'ānic High Council myth in 2:30/28-33/1 which is discussed above in Chapter II.
they were unable to restrain their passion. One of the angels, Shemḥazai, immediately was attracted to a girl named Istahar who promised to surrender herself to him if first he would teach her the Ineffable Name whereby he was able to ascend back to heaven. When he taught her the Name, she immediately pronounced it and then ascended to heaven without fulfilling her promise to the angel. Then, because she had kept herself from sin, she was placed among the seven stars, and was eternally fixed among the constellation Pleiades. When the two angels saw how Shemḥazai had been tricked, they began taking whatever women they desired. Two sons were born to Shemḥazai, and 'Aza'el began to devise all kinds of cosmetics and ornaments whereby women tempt men into sin. Then, another angel was sent down to earth to inform Shemḥazai and 'Aza'el that a flood was about to be sent over the earth, and Shemḥazai repented and hanged himself between heaven and earth with his head down—where he is still suspended in repentance as a sign to all mankind. 'Aza'el, however, did not repent, but continued to lead men astray by means of women's cosmetics and other sensual allurements.26

In another version in the Deuteronomy Rabba, these two angels are called 'Uza and 'Aza'el. After leaving the heavenly council and coming down to the earth where they lust after the benōth hā-ʾāḏāhām, they are punished together, both being suspended

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26Ginzberg, I, 147-51; see also Jung, pp. 194-6.
between heaven and earth in repentance. In a parallel version in Enoch 8, these two angels are called Semjāzā and 'Azāzēl. Here it is said that Semjāzā taught "enchantments and root-cuttings", while 'Azāzēl taught men how to make swords, knives, shields, etc., and also "the use of antimony, and the beautifying of the eyelids, and all kinds of costly stones, and all colouring tinctures." Then, this account of the fallen-angels continues: "And there arose much godlessness, and they committed fornication, and they were led astray, and became corrupt in all their ways." 

The close relationship between the account of the benē hā-'elōhīm in Genesis 6:1-4, the accounts of Shemḥazai and 'Azāzēl, and the narrative in the Book of Enoch is clearly seen in Enoch 9, where the inhabitants of the earth plead with the Most High:

Lord of lords, God of gods, King of kings, . . . . Thou seest what Azāzēl hath done, who hath taught all unrighteousness on earth and revealed the eternal secrets which were (preserved) in heaven, which men were striving to learn; And Semjāzā, to whom Thou hast given authority to bear rule over his associates. And they have gone to the daughters of men upon the earth, and have slept with the women, and have defiled themselves, and revealed to them all kinds of sins. And the women have borne giants, and the whole earth has thereby been filled with blood and unrighteousness.

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27See Jung, p. 195.

28Charles, p. 192.

29Ibid., p. 193. All of the essential elements of this legend-cycle appear in chapters 6 to 10 of the Book of Enoch. Regarding the relationship between Gen. 6:1-4 and passages in
It is clear that the setting of the initial activities of the two fallen-angels is antediluvian; however, the various accounts also emphasize that this pair remain on the earth to influence the lives of men. In Enoch 10 these two angels are bound "for seventy generations in the valleys". In some accounts both of the angels are chained to the "mountains of darkness" where they remain in order to "teach witchcraft to those who seek them". In other accounts 'Azāzēl is associated with the scapegoat which is released on the Day of Atonement, and is thus considered to be chained "in the desert".

4. The Two Fallen-Angels and Sulaymān

Whereas the Shemḥazai and 'Aza'el legend-cycle is antediluvian, in the Qur'ānic account Hārūt and Mārūt are clearly associated with Sulaymān. Thus, before the Hārūt and Mārūt pericope can be interpreted in light of the Shemḥazai and 'Aza'el legends, some relationship must be established between Sulaymān

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the Book of Enoch, see the excellent summary in Ginzberg, V, 153-6 (n. 57), which also includes references to parallel accounts in other Jewish and Christian sources; see also Sidersky, pp. 23-4.

30Charles, p. 194.

31Ginzberg, V, 170. Note that this version agrees with the Greek myth of the Titans.

32For a phenomenological examination of the 'Azāzēl ritual in the OT, see Kluger, pp. 47-50.

33Ginzberg, I, 148, 150; see also the legends cited above where only Shemḥazai is hanged upside down, and others where both angels are suspended between heaven and earth.
and these two fallen-angels. Such a relationship is clearly confirmed by the following midrashic legend in which it is first stated that Solomon invented incantation formulae for the purpose of alleviating disease and exorcising demons, and that as personal attendants he had spirits and demons which could be sent on missions which they completed instantaneously. Then the legend continues:

As the spirits were subservient to him, so also the animals. He had an eagle upon whose back he was transported to the desert and back again in one day, to build there the city called Tadmor in the Bible. This city must not be confounded with the later Syrian city of Palmyra, also called Tadmor. It was situated near the "mountains of darkness," the trysting-place of the spirits and demons. Thither the eagle would carry Solomon in the twinkling of an eye, and Solomon would drop a paper inscribed with a verse among the spirits, to ward off evil from himself. Then the eagle would reconnoitre the mountains of darkness, until he had spied out

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34 This legend contains several interesting similarities with Qur'ānic accounts of Sulaymān's activities. Note for instance the striking parallel between this reference to a one-day journey into the desert and back (with Sulaymān riding on the back of an eagle) and the statement in 34:12-1: "And to Sulaymān [we subjected] the wind. Its morning course was a month's [journey] and its evening course was a month's [journey]"; see the interpretation of this verse on p. 119 above. Immediately following this reference to ar-raf in 34:12/1 is the statement: "And we made the 'Ayn al-Qīţr to flow for him" This interesting reference should be compared with the statement which immediately precedes the portion of the 'Azza and 'Azza'el legend quoted here: "He [Solomon] could grow tropical plants in Palestine, because his ministering spirits secured water for him from India."

35 See reference in note 31 above.

36 Cf. similar statement in 27:40, where the throne of the Queen of Sabā' is miraculously transferred.
the spot in which the fallen angels "Azza and "Azzael lie chained with iron fetters—a spot which no one, not even a bird, may visit. When the eagle found the place, he would take Solomon under his left wing, and fly to the two angels. Through the power of the ring having the Holy Name graven upon it, which Solomon put into the eagle's mouth, "Azza and "Azzael were forced to reveal the heavenly mysteries to the king.39

The fallen-angel "Azza in this account is clearly the same as the one called "Uza, "Uzza, Shemḥazai, and Semjāzā in other forms of the legend; and "Azza'el is the same fallen-angel who in other accounts is called "Aza'el and "Azāzēl.40 The similarities between this account and those cited above are sufficiently obvious to establish the conclusion that a relationship between Solomon and

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37Cf. 38:38/7.

38The supernatural powers associated with the Ineffable Name appear in the Shemḥazai and "Azza'el legend summarized above, and also in later Muslim legends where it is associated with the ism al-a'żam and the ninety-nine names of Allah. See also Rappoport, p. 47.


40For the identity of "Azza with Shemḥazai, see Ginzberg, V, 152 (n. 56), where the identity of "Azza'el and "Azāzēl is also discussed. The following are additional references to these angels in the legends translated by Ginzberg, and in his notes: for "Azza as one of the fallen-angels, see III, 472; IV, 150-2, 170-1, 416; VI, 124, and 291; for "Azza'el as one of the fallen-angels, see I, 124; IV, 150; V, 152, 170-1; VI, 124, and 291; for "Uzza as one of the fallen-angels, see I, 152; V, 170; as one who taught men the magic arts, I, 124; as the guardian angel of Egypt, III, 17, 23-5; VI, 8, and 293-5.
the two fallen-angels in the Shemḥazai and ʿAzāʾel legend-cycle was well established prior to the time of Muḥammad.41

Conclusions

Since the Hārūt and Mārūt pericope occurs within a series of Qurʾānic arguments directed against the Jews of Medina, it is not surprising to find close parallels between this Qurʾānic account and earlier Jewish legends. In this respect it is significant that in the context of the Hārūt and Mārūt pericope it is stated that the Jews have claimed that certain things taught by Muḥammad do not appear in their scriptures; this statement probably refers to certain passages in the Qurʾān which are alleged to be in the Book of Allah which, according to the Qurʾān, had previously been sent down to Jews and Christians. Thus, there appears to be internal Qurʾānic evidence to support the conclusion that Muḥammad did not know that certain Qurʾānic legends such as the Hārūt and Mārūt pericope appear in the Midrashim rather than the scriptures of the Jews. The manner in which Hārūt and Mārūt are mentioned

41 Note that in the version of this legend quoted above from at-Ṭabarī, the setting of the activities of the two fallen-angels is in the time of Sulaymān rather than Nūḥ; this development in the legend-cycle appears to be Islamic, based upon 2:102/96 where Sulaymān is mentioned in the context of Hārūt and Mārūt. Zam., I, 172, and Bq., I, 76, also assign this story to the time of Sulaymān.
in the Qur'ān seems to imply that their identity was known by those to whom this account was first addressed.  

Although there is not sufficient evidence to establish an "identity" between the Qur'ānic Hārūt and Mārūt and the two fallen-angels of the midrashic legends, Shemḥazai and 'Aza'el, there is ample justification for concluding that phenomenologically the roles of the two pairs are essentially the same.  

The malakayn bi-Bābil are thus seen as fallen-angels who are stationed "in Bābil" (although they are not necessarily Babylonian), and they warn against disbelief in Allah. The context of the Hārūt and Mārūt pericope does not state specifically that these malakān taught as-siḥr, but that the shayāṭīn in the days of Sulaymān taught as-siḥr and also "that which was recited by [or, sent down upon] al-malakayn bi-Bābil".  

Thus, the phrase describing what they taught, mā yufarriqūna bihi bayna-l-mar'ī wa-zawjīhi (that by which they separate a man from his wife), may indicate nothing more than the use of cosmetics and/or

42 According to Bell's reconstruction of 2:102/96, the purpose of later additions and revisions was to explain the identity of Hārūt and Mārūt. This would suggest that this pair were known to certain people in Medina (possibly only the Jews), but not to the majority of Muslims.  

43 See Geiger, pp. 83-5; and Horovitz, Koran. Unters, p. 147.  

certain enticements to marital infidelity—the specialties of the fallen-angel ‘Aza’el, according to the accounts quoted above.

What has been concluded regarding the relationship between Ḥarūt and Mārūt and the two fallen-angels Shemḥazai and ‘Aza’el cannot be said of the relationship between the Qur’ānic pair and the Persian spirits Haurvatāt and Amerētāt, since in the case of the latter there is no indication of association with marital infidelity (or sexual allurements or promiscuity), no suggestion that they are fallen-angels, no association with Babylon. Thus, there is little phenomenological relationship between these two pairs.

Regarding the question of etymology, several other identifications of Ḥarūt and Mārūt have been suggested, including "Khīlīt and Millīt", "Orīochn and Marīochn", and the Aramaic terms for "mischief and rebellion". In addition to these, Jung has related the names to the verbs warada and marada; Margoliouth has identified Ḥarūt with Iannes, and Mārūt with Iambres; and Wensinck has suggested Aramaic and Syriac influences.

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45 For references and discussion, see Horovitz, Koran. Unters., pp. 146-8, and Jeffery, Foreign Vocab., pp. 282-3.
46 p. 303
48 A. J. Wensinck, EI1, II, 273.
of any more convincing evidence in support of the Persian theory, and since several of the alternative suggestions possess equal merit, the conclusion of G. Vajda cannot be accepted when he writes: "As regards the names Hārūt and Mārūt, it is hardly possible to discover any etymology (contrary to the opinion of A. J. Wensinck in BI1) other than Haurvatāt and Ameratāt".49

Regarding the identity of the shayātīn which appear in 2:102/96, it can only be said that there is no indication in this specific context to suggest that they are "human devils" who are adversaries of Sulaymān.50 However, before this possibility can be rejected, this context must be compared with other contexts in which the term shayātīn occurs. Thus, a phenomenological conclusion regarding the shayātīn in 2:102/96, as well as statements concerning the relationship between Iblīs and the two fallen-angels Hārūt and Mārūt, will be reserved until after other related contexts have been discussed.

49"Hārūt wa-Mārūt", BI2, III, 237.

50This interpretation is suggested by Rz., I, 441.
PART THREE

CONCERNING MARYAM, YAḤYĀ, AND ĪSĀ
CHAPTER IX

EVENTS RELATED TO THE BIRTHS OF MARYAM, YAḤYĀ, AND ’ĪSĀ

A study of the contexts of the Qur’ānic accounts of the events related to the births of Maryam, Yaḥyā, and ’Īsā leads to definitive conclusions regarding the entire pneumatology of the Qur’ān. The account of the birth of Maryam which appears in Sūra 3 contains a particularly significant reference to ash-Shayṭān ar-Rajīm. This account will be compared with related contexts in the Iblīs-myth and the shooting-star myth so that phenomenological conclusions can be drawn regarding this striking designation of the "adversary". The parallel accounts of the events related to the births of Yaḥyā and ’Īsā which appear together in sūras 3 and 19 offer an excellent

1As has often been mentioned by Western scholars, this account of the birth and childhood of Mary does not appear in the canonical gospels of the New Testament, but was known as early as the second century when it appeared in the apocryphal Book of James (now generally known as the Protevangelium), which is trans. in M. R. James, The Apocryphal New Testament (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924), pp. 38-49. Variations of the same story also occur in apocryphal works which are somewhat later, and are based upon the Protevangelium; for references to parallels between the account in Sūra 3 and these early Christian works, see Blachère, pp. 865-6.
illustration of a basic principle of interpretation adopted in
the present study—the "principle of concurrence".

Maryam Protected From ash-Shayṭān ar-Rajīm

The account of the birth of Maryam, the mother of Īsā,
and her early life in the temple (here called the miḥrāb) under
the care of Zakariyyā occurs in the Qur'ān only in 3:35/1-37/2,
where it appears as part of a longer Īsā narrative:

35 [Remember] when the wife of Īmran said: "My Lord, I vow
to you in dedication what is in my womb; accept it from me.
Surely you are as-Samī', al-ʿAlīm.
36 Then when she had given birth to her she said: "My Lord, I
have given birth to a female" (Allah knew very well what
she had given birth to—the male is not like the female),
"and I have named her Maryam and I commend her and her seed
to your protection from ash-Shayṭān ar-Rajīm."
37 Then her Lord graciously accepted her and caused her to grow
up well—Zakariyyā taking charge of her. Whenever Zakariyyā
entered the miḥrāb to see her, he found provisions with her.
He said: "Maryam, how does this come to you?" She answered:
"From Allah—surely Allah provides for whomever he chooses
without reckoning."

2 This parenthetical statement seems to be necessitated
by the fact that the mother of Maryam has "informed" her Lord
that she has given birth to a female. It is interesting to note
that in the parallel in Protevangelium v.2 (James, p. 41) the
mother is speaking to her midwife and it is the midwife who
states that the child is female: "And her months were fulfilled,
and in the ninth month Anna brought forth. And she said unto
the midwife: What have I brought forth? And she said: A female."

3 Ar. ḫasan (also means "beautiful, handsome").

4 In the parallel in Protevangelium viii.1 (James, p. 42)
Mary is fed by an angel: "And Mary was in the temple of the
Lord as a dove that is nurtured: and she received food from the
hand of an angel."
The surprise or disappointment which the mother expresses in v. 36/1 suggests that she had anticipated the birth of a son, and that the term muḥarrar (consecrated to Allah) in v. 35/1 is an indication of her intention to dedicate the child to the special service of the temple. Thus, the request for the protection of the child from ash-Shayṭān ar-Rajīm may be interpreted as a new petition in lieu of the prospect of temple service (which normally was restricted to boys); thus this reference to the adversary would be seen as part of a common formula used for seeking protection for newborn children. However, since this is the only Qur'ānic occurrence of this formula, and since it includes the expression wa-dhurriyyatahā (referring to Īsā), it seems best to interpret the narrative as indicating that the mother knows all along that Maryam will be accepted for service in the temple. According to this interpretation, the formula 'Idahu bi-ka wa-dhurriyyatahā mina-sh-shayṭāni-r-rajīm in v. 36/1 may be seen as referring to a unique protection which is requested (and granted) especially for Maryam and her son Īsā.

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5This interpretation is accepted by Bq., I, 153. For English trans. and notes, see D. S. Margoliouth, Chrestomathia Baidawiana: The Commentary of al-Baiqāwī on Sura III Translated and Explained for the Use of Students of Arabic (London: Luzac & Co., 1894), p. 26.

6This point is discussed in Bq., I, 152 (Margoliouth, p. 26).

7This interpretation is supported by the well-known tradition which relates that Muḥammad once said: "Every child is touched by Shayṭān when it is born, so that it begins to cry--
The term *rajîm* (stoned, or cursed) appears in the Qur'ān only six times—twice in reference to Iblīs, and four times in conjunction with the term *shaytān*. As stated above, in 38:77/8 and 15:34 the context of the term *rajîm* suggests that it means the "curse of an outcast" when Allah says to Iblīs *fa-khruj minhā fa-innaka rajîm*. In the shooting-star myth in 15:17 the expression *kulli shaytānin rajîmin* may mean "every stoned shaytān". This indefinite form occurs in one other context in the Qur'ān, 81:25: *wa-mā huwa bi-qawli shaytānin rajîmin* (nor is it [the Qur'ān?] the word of any shaytān rajîm). If the purpose of the *shaytān* in the shooting-star myth is to overhear revelation, then 81:25 is best interpreted as referring to this myth, and the term *rajîm* in this context will have the same meaning as in 15:17.

The expression *ash-shaytān ar-rajîm* which occurs in 3:36/1 is distinct from those in 15:17 and 81:25 in two respects: (1) it is definite, suggesting that it designates a specific personality, and (2) the context in which it appears suggests that this adversary is to be feared—"that is, the designation except for Maryam and her son." This tradition is recorded by Bukh., and Muslim, and is accepted by Bq., I, 153; however, Zam., I, 356-7, regards it as valid only for allegorical interpretation.

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8Chapter V, pp. 90-1.

9Eichler, p. 75; see also Watt, Companion, p. 127.

10See p. 88 above.
itself seems to connote fear. Significantly, these two distinctions are also characteristic of the one other Qur'anic occurrence of the designation *ash-shaytān ar-rajīm*, in 16:98/100: *fa-idhā gara'ata-l-Qur'āna fa-斯塔idh bi-llāhi mina-sh-shaytāni-r-rajīm* (when you recite the Qur'ān, seek Allah's protection from ash-Shaytān ar-Rajīm). An additional similarity between these two Qur'anic contexts in which *ash-Shaytān ar-Rajīm* appears is that in each the adversary appears in a *ta'awwudh*-formula.\(^{11}\)

Regarding the relationship between Iblīs and the adversary called *ash-Shaytān ar-Rajīm*, it is significant that Iblīs is also one to be feared, and he is the only other character in all the Qur'ān who is specifically said to be rajīm. Although Iblīs and Shaytān are not always phenomenologically identical in the Qur'ān (as is shown above in the study of the Iblīs-myth and the Shaytān-myth), the designation *ash-Shaytān ar-Rajīm* does seem to suggest the character of Iblīs, who is also rajīm and who is the permanent tempter of mankind. Thus, both in their roles and in at least one "essential" aspect, Iblīs and *ash-Shaytān ar-Rajīm* appear to be phenomenologically identical.

**Malā'ika Announce the Birth of Yaḥyā**

The two parallel accounts of the events surrounding the birth of Yaḥyā are recorded in 19:2/1-15 and 3:38/3-41/36. The

\(^{11}\)The term *ta'awwudh* designates the act of taking refuge in Allah, usually performed with the use of special formulae.
malāʾika who announce to Zakariyyā that he is to have a son named Yaḥyā appear only in the account in Sūra 3, which is clearly later than the parallel account in Sūra 19. In order to demonstrate as clearly as possible the "principle of concurrence" by which these contexts are interpreted, these two accounts are presented together in parallel columns:

Sūrat Maryam

2 The mention of the mercy of your Lord to his servant Zakariyyā.

3 When he called upon his Lord secretly, saying: "My Lord, the strength has gone from my bones and my head glistens with white, and I have never been unsuccessful in my prayer to you.

5 Now, I fear [for the fate of] my relatives after I am gone—and my wife is barren. So grant to me from you an heir who will be my inheritor and the inheritor of the family of Yaʿqūb. And make him well-pleasing, my Lord."

7 "Zakariyyā, we bring to you good news of a boy, whose name is Yaḥyā. No namesake have we ever given before him." 13

Sūrat Al ʿImrān

38 Then Zakariyyā prayed to his Lord, saying: "My Lord,

grant to me from you a good heir. Surely you are one who hears prayer."

39 Then, while he was standing praying in the miḥrāb, the malāʾika called to him: "Allah brings to you good news of Yaḥyā, confirming a word from Allah, a leader who abstains, a prophet who is upright."

12 Bell concludes that both are Medinan in their present forms: regarding the account in Sūra 19, he states "Medinan, perhaps founded on an earlier version"—Qurʾān, p. 285; regarding the parallel account in Sūra 3, he concludes, "c. year II, but revised, perhaps twice, later"—ibid., p. 48.

13 This is a literal trans. of the Ar., lam najʿal lahu min qablu samiyyan. There is clearly some connection between this statement and the following episode in the parallel account...
He said: "My Lord, how can I have a son when my wife is barren, and I have reached old age?"

9 He said: "Thus it shall be! Your Lord says: 'That is easy for me since I have created you before when you were nothing.'"

10 He said: "My Lord, grant to me a sign." He said: "Your sign is that, although you are without fault, you will not speak to anyone for three nights."

11 Then, he came out to his people from the mihrāb and signalled to them: "Give glory at dawn and evening."

in Lk. 1:59-63: "And on the eighth day they came to circumcise the child; and they would have named him Zechariah after his father, but his mother said, 'Not so; he shall be called John.' And they said to her, 'None of your kindred is called by this name.' And they made signs to his father, inquiring what he would have him called. And he asked for a writing tablet, and wrote, 'His name is John.' And they all marveled."

Bḥ., I, 577, interprets the Qur'ānic statement literally, and concludes that Yaḥyā is thus a foreign name. However, the same term samī appears later in the same sūra (in v. 65/6) in a rhetorical question regarding Allah: hal ta'lamu lahu samiyyan (lit., do you know any namesake of his), which seems to mean "Do you know anyone worthy of his name?" or "Do you know anyone equal to him?"

If this meaning is implied in v. 7, then it is possible that another well-known description of John the Baptist is also involved—i.e., the statement in Mt. 11:11 where Jesus is speaking to the crowds concerning John: "Truly, I say to you, among those born of women, there has risen no one greater than John the Baptist."

14 Ar., thalātha layāl; cf. thalāthata ayyām (three days) in the parallel account in 3:41/36.

15 Note that the phrase "and give glory at evening and dawn" is spoken by Allah to Zakariyyā in 3:41/36, whereas the similar statement in 19:11/2 is spoken by Zakariyyā to his people. For references to parallels between this account and the apocryphal gospels, see Nöldeke-Schwally, pp. 8-9, and Blachère, pp. 226-7.
The dramatic form of the account in Sūra 19 is fairly consistent: here the narrative is a private conversation between Zakariyyā and rabbahu (his Lord), taking place in the mihrāb. Verse 7 is not preceded by the customary qāla (he said), and may be interpreted as being spoken by the malā'īka. However, the following points should be noted: (1) in all other cases in this account the qāla appears (suggesting that both speakers are "masculine singular"), (2) Zakariyyā consistently addresses the other speaker as rabbi (my Lord), and (3) the malā'īka are not mentioned anywhere in this account. Therefore, it is best to regard Allah as the speaker of the statement in v. 7: inna nubashshiruka bi-ghulām (we bring to you good news of a boy); and the dramatic form of this account is thus seen to be consistent, the only two characters being Zakariyyā and "his Lord".

The dramatic form of the account in Sūra 3, on the other hand, is not so clear. As in the parallel account in Sūra 19, Zakariyyā consistently addresses the other speaker as rabbi. However, 3:39/4 is explicitly stated by the malā'īka, and instead of inna nubashshiruka, the malā'īka say to Zakariyyā: anna-llāha yubashshiruka (Allah brings you good news). Thus, Zakariyyā prays to rabbi (v. 38/3) but is answered by the malā'īka (v. 39/4); again Zakariyyā addresses rabbi (v. 40/35), and this time is answered not by the malā'īka but by huwa (v. 40/35)—in the verb qāla); finally, Zakariyyā once
more addresses rabbi and is answered by huwa (v. 41/36). The special sign granted to Zakariyyā clearly indicates that the second speaker in this last verse is Allah.

How then are these accounts to be interpreted? The common subject and certain details of the two accounts (the prayer for a son, the announcement that a son named Yahyā is to be born to the old couple, Zakariyyā's objection that he and his wife are too old, and the "sign" of temporary aphonia) make it certain that both refer to the same episode and cannot be interpreted as referring to separate events. Also, in spite of the common order of events and certain similarities in details, several significant differences in vocabulary and in other details clearly indicate that these are distinct (if not independent) accounts of the same episode. Some commentators attempt to reconcile the differences by suggesting that the term malā'ika in v. 39/3 refers to a single speaker, Jibril. However, this method of interpretation seems to indicate a certain lack of respect for the integrity of the text—since the text is interpreted as saying something which clearly it does not say.¹⁶

¹⁶E.g., Bq., I, 154, states that by the term malā'ika is meant "some of the class of malā'ika, as in the expression 'Zayd rides the horses' meaning some of them", and Bq. concludes: "The one who spoke to [Zakariyyā] was Jibril only." In support of this interpretation is the fact that Ibn Masʿūd is reported to have read fa-nādāhu Jibrīl yā-Zakariyyā instead of the TR reading fa-nādat'hu-l-malā'ikatu wa-huwa qā'im—see Jeffery, Materials, p. 33. Others who are said to have read fa-nādāhu include: Ḥamza, al-KisāʾI, Ibn ʿAbbās, and Sulaymān ibn Mihrān al-Aʾmash—see ibid., p. 196 (the first two in this list are recorded in Bq., I, 154).
since this question of interpretation is related to the clearer example of "concurrent accounts" presented in the following section, conclusions regarding the malāʿika in 3:39/3 will be reserved until after these other two accounts have been discussed.

The Rūḥ and Malāʿika Announce the Birth of ʿĪsā

The two Qurʾānic accounts of the events related to the birth of ʿĪsā ibn Maryam directly follow the accounts of the birth of Yaḥyā in sūras 19 and 3 which are discussed above. Although both of the ʿĪsā accounts have been revised and neither can be dated with precision, it is clear that the one in 19:16-33/4 is earlier (in its present form) than the parallel account in 3:42/37-51/44.17 As in the previous section, both of these accounts are presented in parallel columns; but, because of their length, certain portions are omitted.18

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17Later portions of the two accounts show clear signs of interfluence; e.g., the almost parenthetical passage, 19:34/5-36/7, seems to be a later addition, based upon 3:45/0-51/44, although the final form of the latter may be even later than the final form of the former. Note that the last part of 19:35/6 appears verbatim in 3:47/2, and that 19:36/7 appears also at the end of the speech of ʿĪsā in 3:49/3-51/44. For Bell's reconstruction of this speech of ʿĪsā, see his Qurʾān, pp. 49-50.

18The portion of the narrative which tells of the birth of ʿĪsā at the foot of a palm tree, and of the child's speaking soon after its birth (19:22-33/4) does not appear in the parallel account in Sūra 3, nor in any of the canonical gospels of the NT, although these elements of the story are well known in the second-century apocryphal gospels (see Pseudo-Matthew xx, in James, p. 75). "It is possible that the phrase "the one who was below her" in 19:24 refers to a midwife (see Protevangelium xix, in James, p. 46). For additional references to parallels between these Qurʾānic accounts and the apocryphal gospels, see Blachère, pp. 228-30, 867-71.
Surat Maryam

16 And mention in the book Maryam--when she withdrew from her family to a place in the East, then she separated herself from them with a curtain. Then we sent to her our ruḥ, who presented himself to her as a bashar sawī.

18 She said: "I take refuge in ar-Raʾṭān from you, if you are devout!"
19 He said: "I am only a rasūl of your Lord, giving you [good news of] a blameless boy."
34 This is ʿĪsā ibn Maryam, the gwāl of truth, concerning which they doubt.

20 She said: "How shall I have a son when no mortal has touched me, nor have I been unchaste?"
21 He said: "Even so, your Lord has said: 'That is easy for me. We will make him a sign to mankind and a mercy from us. Thus it has been decreed!'"
35 When he decrees anything, he simply says to it 'Be', and it is.
36 Surely Allah is my Lord, and your Lord--so serve him. This is a straight path.

Surat Al-ʾImrān

42 And when the malāʾika said:

"Maryam, Allah has chosen you and has purified you--he has chosen you above all women. Maryam, be obedient to your Lord, prostrating and bowing before him."

45 When the malāʾika said:

"Maryam, surely Allah brings to you good news of a kalima from him whose name is al-Masīḥ, ʿĪsā ibn Maryam. He will be highly honoured in this world and the next, being among the mugarrabin.
46 He will speak to men in the cradle and when he is grown, and he will be righteous."
47 She said: "My Lord, how shall I have a son when no mortal has touched me?"
48 He said: "Even so, Allah creates what he wills.

When he decrees anything, he simply says to it 'Be', and it is. . . .

51 Surely Allah is my Lord, and your Lord--so serve him. This is a straight path."
As in the Yaḥyā account in Sūra 19 (discussed above), the dramatic form of the 'Īsā account in 19:16-21 is seen to be both consistent and unambiguous. In vv. 16-17 the narrator is clearly Allah, who refers to the messenger as rūḥanā (our spirit). Maryam is frightened when this rūḥ first appears (indicating a visible appearance), but is immediately reassured by this "handsome man" (bāshar sawī) who informs her that he is a rasūl sent by her rabb. Maryam then addresses a question to the rūḥ (v. 20), and he answers by quoting her rabb. In this account the rūḥ is a "messenger" (rasūl) who seems to have a physical appearance since he is seen by Maryam who carries on a conversation with him. Maryam is not speaking to Allah (as in prayer), but to a messenger who has come to visit her.¹⁹

The dramatic form of the parallel account in Sūra 3 is clearly different. Here the text states that Maryam is addressed by certain malāʾika, who do not appear to her in any visible form (not even in an apparition). Maryam does not fear the malāʾika, nor is there any indication that she is aware of their presence. She is only aware that a message has been delivered to her, and,

¹⁹The expression ukhta Ḥārūn (sister of Aaron) in 19:28/9 probably refers to the position of Maryam as one dedicated to the service of the temple (miḥrāb, "sanctuary" in the Qur'ānic accounts). In the OT, Aaron is the founder of a branch of the Jewish priesthood, and priests are called "sons of Aaron" (see R. Abba, "Priests and Levites", IDB, III, 876-89, esp. 884). Cf. expression "daughters of Aaron" in reference to Elizabeth in Luke 1:5: "There was a priest named Zechariah, of the division of Abijah; and he had a wife of the daughters of Aaron, and her name was Elizabeth." On this point, see Blachère, p. 229 (note to v. 28/9).
in responding to the announcement of the good news that a son is
to be born, she addresses not the mala'i'ka but rabbi (my Lord).
Here, as in the case with Zakariyya in vv. 38/3-41/36, it seems
that Maryam is in the mihrab praying.20 Since Maryam specifically
addresses rabbi in v. 47/2, the verb qala (which introduces the
answer to her question) must be regarded as referring to Allah.21
In the parallel account in 19:20, this same question is addressed
to the bashar saw who answers it in the following verse. Note
that both answers begin with qala ka-dhaliki, but in Sura 19 it
is clear that Allah is not speaking.

How then are these two parallel accounts to be interpreted?
The common subject and certain details which appear in both (the
announcement that the virgin Maryam is to bear a son, her question
regarding the possibility of such a feat, and the assurance that
Allah has the power to create whatever he wills) make it certain
that the two accounts refer to the same episode. However,

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20It is possible to interpret 3:42/37-43/38 as occurring
earlier than the events which follow (e.g., at the time when she
first entered the mihrab); however, this would place the event
out of order in the broader narrative of the sura. See discussion
in Bq., I, 155 (Margoliouth, p. 33), and note in Blachère, p. 868.

21As interpreted by Arberry who translates qala in 3:47/2
as "God said". Note that in 3:42/37 Ibn Mas'ud and 'Abdallah ibn
'Umar are reported to have read qala instead of qalati (Jeffery,
Materials, p. 33), and if qala were also read in v. 45/0 (see ibid.)
then the narrative form would be consistent throughout. Still,
the term qala in v. 47/2 must be interpreted as referring to Allah
(because of the address, rabbi, which appears in the preceding
question).
significant differences in dramatic form and in other details make it equally clear that these two accounts are separate (although not independent, since each shows signs of later development under the influence of the other). The classical commentators regard the ṭūḥ who appears as a bashar sawī to be Jibrīl. This opinion is no doubt based upon the fact that Jibrīl is named as the messenger in the parallel accounts in the Gospel of Luke and in the apocryphal Gospels. Although the context in which the ṭūḥ appears in Sūra 19 contains no explicit indication for such an identity, it can be said that there is no clear internal evidence against interpreting this ṭūḥ as Jibrīl.

However, even if the ṭūḥ who appears as a bashar sawī is interpreted as Jibrīl, this is not sufficient reason also to identify the malāʾīka in 3:42/37-51/44 with Jibrīl. It is interesting that al-Bayḍāwi does not identify these malāʾīka with Jibrīl, although he does offer this interpretation regarding the malāʾīka which appear in v. 39/3 (in the Yaḥyā account).


23See Luke 1:26 and Protevangelium xii.2 (James, p. 43).

24Duncan Black Macdonald, "The Development of the Idea of Spirit in Islam", AO, IX (1930-1), 309, accepts the general interpretation that ṭūḥ in 19:17 refers to Jibrīl, but adds the comment: "but strictly the Qurʾān says only that this was a messenger (rasūl) and a personality".

25I, 155-6 (Margoliouth, pp. 33-5).

26See note 16 above.
The dramatic form in 3:42/37-47/2 seems to be influenced by the dramatic form of the previous part of the narrative (vv. 38/3-41/36) where Zakariyya is praying in the mihrab when malā'ika are sent with an answer to his prayer. The same inconsistency of dramatic form occurs in both of these accounts in Sūra 3. There is no internal evidence to suggest that the term malā'ika in either of these accounts in Sūra 3 should be interpreted as a reference to Jibrīl.

Conclusions

Is it necessary, or even advantageous, to interpret these accounts in such a way that the rūh in Sūra 19 is identified with the malā'ika in Sūra 3? Evidence presented above indicates that the narrative in 3:35/1-51/44 forms a consistent account of the events related to the births of Maryam, Yaḥyā, and 'Īsā, and that the narrative in 19:2/1-33/4 relates a separate account of the Yaḥyā and 'Īsā events. In this latter account the rūh of Allah appears to Maryam as a "handsome man", whereas in Sūra 3 malā'ika address Zakariyya and Maryam who appear to be praying to Allah, and neither indicates any awareness of the presence of the malā'ika.

Two or more independent accounts in the Qur'ān are said to be "concurrent" when they "run along together" describing the same event, but include differences in order, key terms, or other details. In order to maintain that differences exist,
there must be clear evidence that the varying accounts refer to the same episode or series of events. When these circumstances exist, any attempt to harmonize the evident differences often leads to a distortion of the meaning of the individual contexts; the purpose of attempts at harmonization is usually to prove or disprove certain theological beliefs or doctrines. It is a basic element of the phenomenological approach to the interpretation of the Qur'ān that such tendentious motives not be allowed either to obscure the "appearance" or to influence the "description".

The effect of this "principle of concurrence" is that significant differences are allowed to stand, as various accounts are permitted to "speak for themselves". Allowing differing accounts to "run along together" without attempting to obscure evident distinctions obviates the error (common even among western writers) of making invalid identifications. For instance, in the accounts discussed in this chapter, it is not valid to conclude that the rūḥ is one of the malā'ika, or that the malā'ika are arwāḥ or rusul. According to this approach, "concurrent accounts" are seen to be "complementary" rather than "contradictory". 27

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27 Cf. W. H. Walsh's "perspective theory" quoted above in Chapter I, note 31. One obvious difference between these two concepts is that Walsh's "perspective theory" refers to differing descriptions (or, histories) which are based upon the same data, whereas the method of interpretation which is here called the "principle of concurrence" involves differences within the data itself.
Even when corresponding characters perform identical roles in concurrent accounts, these characters are not to be identified phenomenologically, since there is a significant distinction between function and essence. The **rūḥ** in the account in Sūra 19 and the **malāʾika** in the corresponding account in Sūra 3 have identical roles as messengers from Allah who deliver good news of the forthcoming birth of a son. This same role is seen in the mission of the **rusul** in the Ibrāhīm-saga; and just as these **rusul** are not to be identified with the **malāʾika** who address Maryam in Sūra 3, so also the **rūḥ** in Sūra 19 is not to be identified with these other messengers. Further conclusions regarding the spirit-beings in this chapter will be stated after related contexts have been discussed.28

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28The term **rūḥanā** in 19:17 is discussed further in the following chapter where it is compared with the **rūḥ** contexts which are associated specifically with ʿĪsā ibn Maryam.
CHAPTER X

*Īsā* IBN MARYAM AND THE RŪH

In all but seven of the twenty-five times that the name *īsā* occurs in the Qur'ān it appears as part of the fuller name *īsā* ibn Maryam. The appellative "ibn Maryam" appears not as a title, a qualification, or a description, but must be considered to be part of the name by which Jesus is known in the Qur'ān. It is significant that all contexts in which *īsā* appears seem to be fairly early Medinan (although some are no doubt based upon earlier, Meccan material). Thus, the Qur'ānic passages in

1 The only Qur'ānic occurrences of the name *īsā* without "ibn Maryam" are five times when the name appears in a list of prophets (2:136/0, 3:84/78, 4:163/1, 6:85, and 42:13/1) and in two other contexts (3:52/45-59/2 and 43:63). In all other contexts in the Qur'ān, the full name *īsā* ibn Maryam appears. The fact that "Maryam" is seen as part of *īsā*’s full Qur'ānic name may explain why the mother of *īsā* is named in the Qur'ān, while no other woman has this honour. On the name *īsā* ibn Maryam, see Bṣ., I, 156 (Margoliouth, p. 35), and Jeffery, *Foreign Vocab.*, pp. 218-20.

2 Of the four occurrences of the name *īsā* in contexts which are traditionally considered to be Meccan--19:34/5, 43:63, 42:13/1, and 6:85--only the last one is considered by Bell as possibly Meccan (Qurʿān, pp. 122-3). However, it seems that Bell is mistaken in separating vv. 84-7 from 75-83 which are clearly Medinan. The phrase "And we gave him" which occurs at the beginning of v. 84, refers back to "We gave to Ibrāhīm" in v. 83.
which *Iṣā is named either date from (or were revised during) those early years in Medina when Muḥammad was seeking to attract the Christians and Jews.³ In fact, the development of the Qurʾānic *Iṣā material closely parallels and reflects the historical events in the lives of Muḥammad and his contemporaries in Medina during the period when the Muslims were seeking their identity among the religious communities of the Near East.

Although the term ʿrūḥ appears in the Qurʾān only twenty-one times, it has a wide scope of uses and meanings: it is both definite and indefinite, personal and impersonal; it is associated with creation, revelation, miracles, judgment, and the deliverance of messages from Allah; it appears in the expressions ʿrūḥ al-qudus and ar-ʿrūḥ al-amīn, and also there is the ʿrūḥ of Allah (appearing as ʿrūḥanā [our spirit] and ʿrūḥī [my spirit] in contexts where Allah is the speaker, and as ʿrūḥīni [his spirit] in one context which refers to Allah). The term ʿrūḥ is especially associated with Adam, Zakariyyā, Maryam, *Iṣā, and indirectly (through references to revelation) with Muḥammad.⁴


⁴For an excellent summary of the Qurʾānic usage of the term ʿrūḥ and the expression ʿrūḥ al-qudus, see Macdonald, "Idea of Spirit", pp. 308-14. For the development of these ideas in later Islamic thought, see ibid., pp. 314-51, and E. E. Calverley, "Doctrines of the Soul (Nafs and Rūḥ) in Islam", MW, XXXIII (1943), 254-64. See also notes 26 and 27 below.
With this broad scope of possible meanings, the term ṭūḥ is not easily interpreted when it is associated with ‘Īsā. Also, it is possible that in the ‘Īsā passages the term ṭūḥ may possess connotations of certain Christian doctrines, and therefore it may have a special meaning which is not found in other Qur’ānic contexts. In the passages where it is associated with ‘Īsā, the term ṭūḥ appears in the following contexts: (1) the ṭūḥ of Allah (rūḥanā) announces the forthcoming birth of ‘Īsā, and is breathed into Maryam; (2) the ṭūḥ al-ṣudūs supports ‘Īsā ibn Maryam; and (3) a ṭūḥ from Allah (rūḥun minhu) appears to be identified with "al-MasĪḥ, ‘Īsā ibn Maryam, the rasūl Allāh".

The ṭūḥ of Allah in the Annunciation and Conception of ‘Īsā

As was seen in the previous chapter, the ṭūḥ of Allah appears to Maryam in 19:16-19, one of the two Qur’ānic accounts of the Annunciation. In this context, the ṭūḥ of Allah (who in all passages related to Maryam—but in no other context in the Qur’ān—is called rūḥanā, "our spirit") is clearly a personal being, described as a bashar sawf who at first frightens Maryam and then converses with her. The other two Qur’ānic occurrences of the expression ṭūḥinā seem to refer not to some personality, but to some substance "breathed into Maryam" at the time of the conception of ‘Īsā; however, as is seen below, there is considerable difference of opinion regarding the interpretation of these contexts. In the earliest of these two, 21:91, neither Maryam
nor 'Isā is named, and it is only the proximity of this otherwise isolated pericope to a brief account of the unusual circumstances surrounding the birth of Yaḥyā, the son of Zakariyyā, and the occurrence of a later, similar reference, which confirm that this verse refers (in some way) to the conception of 'Isā ibn Maryam:

And [remember] her who guarded her private part; then, we breathed some of our rūḥ into her, and made her and her son to be a sign for all peoples.5

This statement in 21:91 must be compared with the later verse, 66:12, which includes more details and also an interesting and significant change of pronoun:

And Maryam, the daughter of Ḳurayy, who guarded her private part (farjahā); then, we breathed some of our rūḥ into it [or, him]. And she confirmed the truth of the words (kalimāt) of her Lord and his books (kutub) and became one of the devout.

In 21:91 the rūḥ of Allah is breathed fīhā (into her), clearly meaning "into Maryam"; still there is the question of the nature or identity of this rūḥ which is breathed into Maryam.

In the second context, however, the rūḥ is breathed fīhi (into it, or, into him). The following comparison shows the context of this significant difference in the pronominal suffixes which appear with the preposition fī:

21:91 wa-llatī aḇaẖanat farjahā, fa-nafakhnā fīhā min rūḥinā
66:12 allatī aḇaẖanat farjahā, fa-nafakhnā fīhi min rūḥinā

5Then follow three short verses which seem to have been added later (in Medina) and which do not add to the understanding of the verse.
The pronominal suffix in *fihi* is usually interpreted as referring to the term *farjahl*—which is only euphemistically rendered "private part". Thus, al-Bayda'awi writes: "fa-nafakhnā *fihi*, i.e., into her *farj*"; and O'Shaughnessy translates this statement in 66:12: "We breathed into them [the generative parts] some of our spirit". Further depreciating the significance of the change of pronominal suffix, O'Shaughnessy states regarding 66:12: "This verse is probably not Medinan, but a mere repetition of a Meccan text [21:91]." This opinion is supported by the fact that Ibn Mas'ūd is reported to have read *fiḥā* instead of *fihi* in 66:12. Thus, it is possible that *fihi* is a later reading and that originally these two parallel accounts were identical in this respect.

However, a comparison of 21:91 and 66:12 with related Qur'ānic contexts, in which Allah breathes his *rūḥ* into Adam,

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6 The Arabic term *farj* means "opening" or "gap".
7 II, 343.
8 p. 53
9 Ibid., note 173.
10 See Jeffery, Materials, p. 103 (this variant reading is mentioned in Bd., II, 343).
11 Bell, *Qur'ān*, p. 591, regards the dating of 66:10-12 as "uncertain", but states regarding these verses "in language they seem much earlier" than the late Medinan context (ibid., p. 589). Sprenger, p. 233, takes the opposite view, suggesting that the parallel verse, 21:91, is later than the context in which it now stands.
leads to a different conclusion. The following comparison shows these five related contexts in chronological order:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verse</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>38:72</td>
<td>wa-nafakhtu fihi min rūḥī</td>
<td>(fihi, into Adam)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15:29</td>
<td>wa-nafakhtu fihi min rūḥī</td>
<td>(fihi, into Adam)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21:91</td>
<td>fa-nafakhnā fīhā min rūḥinā</td>
<td>(fīhā, into Maryam)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32:9/8</td>
<td>wa-nafakha fīhi min rūḥī</td>
<td>(fīhi, into Adam)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66:12</td>
<td>fa-nafakhnā fīhi min rūḥinā</td>
<td>(fīhi, into Adam)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Except for the occurrence of rūḥanā in 19:17 (discussed above), these five contexts contain the only Qur'ānic references to Allah's rūḥ—that is, in constructions with a possessive pronominal suffix. In all five contexts, Allah's breathing of his rūḥ into someone is related to a special act of creation; thus, in these contexts, the rūḥ of Allah may be regarded as his "creative spirit".12 Regarding the rūḥ in 66:12, ar-Rāzī states that it is "something breathed into man which spreads through his body like wind".13 Like the rūḥ which is breathed into Adam in the three contexts given above, the rūḥ in 21:91 and 66:12 is the "creative spirit" by which Allah animates, and in these two verses it is ‘Īsā who is "brought to life" or, to be more precise, who is "conceived". Thus, the best interpretation of fīhi in 66:12 is "into him"—that is, "we breathed some of our rūḥ into

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13 VIII, 177.
"Isā". This interpretation is supported by al-Bayḍawi's statement on 21:91 (although he does not give this interpretation in his comments on 66:12), where he says: "fa-nafakhnā fīhā, into 'Isā into her, i.e., we animated him in her womb (abyaynāhu fī jawfīhā)".

However, the clear anthropomorphism which results from this interpretation leads the writers of the classical tafsīr to suggest that the rūḥ in these contexts is a personality, Jibrīl, who acts as intermediary in bringing about the creation of Adam and 'Isā. This interpretation requires that the verb nafakha be taken in an intransitive sense, which yields an awkward (although not impossible) reading of the Arabic text.

The possibility that the rūḥ in 21:91 and 66:12 might be Jibrīl is suggested by the occurrence of rūḥānā in 19:17; however, the context of the latter is sufficiently different from that of the other two that the term rūḥānā (and rūḥinā) need not be interpreted to be the same in all three cases. At-Ṭabarī does

14 On the significance of the partitive min rūḥinā (some of our spirit), see O'Shaughnessy, pp. 27-31, where parallels with Syriac literature are discussed.

15 I, 623. See also Rz., VI, 130.

16 Tab., XXVII, 99; Zam., III, 133; Rz., VI, 130; Bq., I, 623.

17 O'Shaughnessy, p. 31, states regarding this interpretation of nafakha: "The fact that in all other places where this verb occurs in the Koran it is either intransitive or passive seems the only point in favor of what otherwise seems an interpretation based only on Moslem doctrinal prejudices of a later age."
not suggest the Jibril interpretation for the term ṭūḥ in 21:91, and both ar-īRāţī and al-Bayţāwī offer additional interpretations for the term both here and in 66:12.18 Thus, the Jibril interpretation of the ṭūḥ in the five parallel contexts quoted above seems to be an accommodation to later Muslim theological doctrine, since, after allowing for this possibility, the commentators tend to prefer the evident meaning of the texts—that Allah breathes his creative ṭūḥ into Adam and ʻĪsā.19

ʻĪsā ibn Maryam Supported by the ṭūḥ al-Qudus

The Arabic substantive qudus (holiness) appears in the Qurʾān only in the expression ṭūḥ al-qudus (spirit of holiness)20 which occurs four times: 16:102/4, 2:87/1, 2:253/4, and 5:110/09. In the last three of these contexts the ṭūḥ al-qudus is associated with ʻĪsā ibn Maryam. In the earliest of these three, 2:87/1 (which seems to be an isolated pericope based on the account of the Annunciation in 3:42/37-49/3), Allah's support of ʻĪsā with the ṭūḥ al-qudus is mentioned with certain "clear signs":

18Tab., XVII, 60; Rz., VI, 130, VII, 176-7; Bd., I, 623, II, 343.

19See Eichler, pp. 123-7. There is no evidence to support the contention of Torrey, p. 76, that in the Qurʾān the term ar-ṭūḥ is associated with the worship of ʻĪsā.

20See Eickmann, pp. 16-18; Eichler, pp. 123-4; and Jeffery, Foreign Vocab., p. 232.
And we gave to Mūsā the Kitāb, and we sent other rasūl after him one after another. And we gave the clear signs (al-bayyināt) to ʿĪsā ibn Maryam and we supported him with the rūḥ al-qudus. Then, whenever a rasūl comes to you with that which you do not like, you become arrogant, and you brand some as liars, and some you kill.

The second sentence in this verse, "And we gave al-bayyināt to ʿĪsā ibn Maryam and we supported him with the rūḥ al-qudus", is repeated verbatim in 2:253/4. In neither of these verses does the context make clear the meaning of the expression rūḥ al-qudus. In the final context, however, this expression is followed by an explicative statement which elucidates the meaning of this mysterious rūḥ. Here the expression occurs in a longer ʿĪsā narrative in 5:110/09-19 which begins:

110 When Allah said: "ʿĪsā ibn Maryam, remember my blessing on you and your mother, when I supported you with the rūḥ al-qudus [so that] you spoke to people while in the cradle and as a grown man, and when I taught you the Kitāb, the Ḥikma, the Tawrāt, and the Injil, and when you were creating the likeness of a bird out of clay by my permission and you breathed into it and it became a bird by my permission, and when you were healing the blind and the leprous by my permission, and when you were causing the dead to come forth by my permission, and when I restrained the Bani Isrā‘īl from you when you came to them with the clear signs (al-bayyināt); but those who disbelieved said: 'This is nothing but plain magic.'"

Apparently this long verse, 5:110/109-10, includes an elaboration of the "clear signs" (al-bayyināt) which are mentioned in 2:87/1 and 2:253/4. It is clear that the rūḥ al-qudus is related to the bayyināt; possibly Allah's support of ʿĪsā ibn Maryam with the rūḥ al-qudus is in some way equivalent to the granting of the "clear signs".
In all three of these contexts ʻĪsā ibn Maryam is said to be "supported by the rūḥ al-qudus". The Qur'ānic usage of ayyada, the term translated here as "support", is seen most clearly in 61:14: "Those who believed we supported against their enemy, and they became masters." In other Qur'ānic contexts, "Allah supports with legions" (9:40), and "Allah supports with his help" (3:13/1, 8:26, 62/4). In 58:22, the ninth and final context of the verb ayyada, the believers are supported with a rūḥ from Allah, whereas ʻĪsā ibn Maryam is supported by the rūḥ al-qudus. In all Qur'ānic contexts of the verb ayyada it is Allah who "supports", and he supports the believers against their enemies. It is clear that the rūḥ al-qudus which supports ʻĪsā is a rūḥ sent by Allah and is in some way Allah's rūḥ. Thus, it is related to (although not identical with) the "creative rūḥ" which Allah breathes into Adam and ʻĪsā. The references to the Kitāb, the Ḥikma, the Tawrāt, and the Injīl suggest that the rūḥ al-qudus in 5:110/109-10 is related to revelation; however, 21 O'Shaughnessy, p. 45, comes to the following interesting conclusion: "This strengthening by Allah assumed a hierarchy of forms: the believing Jews who accepted Jesus as their prophet Allah simply strengthened, no means being mentioned (Koran 61,14); he strengthened Moslems by his assistance (Koran 3,11; and 8,26) and by an indefinite spirit from him (Koran 58,22); Mohammed he strengthened by his assistance (Koran 8,64) and by invisible hosts (Koran 9,40); but Jesus and him alone Allah strengthened by the spirit of holiness (Koran 2,81 and 254; and 5,109)." There is no evidence to support the suggestion of W. G. Shellabear, "The Meaning of the Word 'Spirit' As Used in the Koran", MW, XXII (1932), 360, that the support of ʻĪsā ibn Maryam with the rūḥ al-qudus refers to "the testimony of all the four Gospels that the Spirit descended upon Jesus at the time of his baptism".

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it is equally evident that this expression involves more than this one "sign" which was granted to Ḥisā. 22 Along with other interpretations, al-Bayḍāwī suggests the possibility that the ṭūḥ al-qudus in this context and in 2:87/1 may be identified with Jibrīl; 23 however, there is no evidence in any of these three contexts to support such a conclusion. 24

Is it possible that the ṭūḥ al-qudus which is mentioned in the Qurʾān in connection with Ḥisā ibn Maryam may be influenced by, or even be identified with, the Christian concept of the Holy Spirit? It should be noted that in the Qurʾān the definite article never occurs with ṭūḥ in the expression ṭūḥ al-qudus, so that this Qurʾānic expression does not correspond exactly with the Christian, Arabic substantive ar-ṭūḥ al-qudus which is usually used in reference to the Holy Spirit. However, both expressions occur in ancient Arabic MSS.; for instance, the Arabic MS. of the Schatzhöhle begins bismi-l-abb wa-l-ibn wa-r-ṭūḥ al-qudus, al-ilah al-wāḥid, but then contains the expression ṭūḥ al-qudus several

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23 I, 71 and 279.

24 The other context in which the expression ṭūḥ al-qudus appears (16:102/4) will be discussed in a later chapter.
times in the text.²⁵ It has often been noted that the Qur'ānic expression is the exact equivalent of the ordinary Christian Syriac designation for the Holy Spirit. Macdonald concludes:

The coincidence between rūḥ al-kudus and the Christian doctrine of the Holy Ghost cannot be accidental. The Arabic is an exact translation of the normal Syriac expression for the Holy Ghost . . . . But Christian Arabic-speakers use generally (Lane, Lexicon, p. 1180c) the phrase al-rūḥ al-kudus, in which kudus may be regarded as grammatically a badal to rūḥ, and the meaning apparently is "the spirit who is (specifically) holiness." By this, oriental Christians avoid the possibility, certainly in Muḥammad's mind, that the phrase can indicate any sanctified spirit. That is, the Qur'ānic phrase was the current Arabic translation of the Syriac which reached Muḥammad; and, later, Arabic-speaking Christians apparently produced a different phrase in order to avoid the implications which Muḥammad had introduced.²⁶

There can be little doubt that the Qur'ānic expression rūḥ al-qudus is related in some way to the rūḥ al-qudus which is the Christian designation for the Holy Spirit.²⁷ However, Qur'ānic denials of the Christian doctrine of the Holy Trinity,

²⁵Bezold, pp. 3, 5, 21, etc. On p. 11 the following trinitarian formula occurs: wa-qāla Allāh al-abb wa-l-ībn wa-r-rūḥ.


²⁷Eichler, p. 127, concludes that the Qur'ānic expression rūḥ al-qudus is borrowed from Christianity, and on p. 124 he even identifies the Qur'ānic and Christian expressions, and suggests
such as that in 5:73/7-75/9, make it clear that at the time when these denials were first made, this doctrine was seen as pertaining to Allah, 'Īsā, and Maryam. That is, at the time when 5:73/7-75/9 was first recited, the rūḥ al-qudus was not seen as being involved in the controversy regarding the Christian belief in the Holy Trinity. The Qur'ānic references to the rūḥ al-qudus and 'Īsā occur at the same time as the early denials of the Holy Trinity, with the most significant indication of this development being 4:171/69 which is discussed in the following section.

At this point it is sufficient to conclude that the rūḥ al-qudus which is associated with 'Īsā ibn Maryam in the Qur'ān cannot be identified with Jibrīl, nor with the Holy Spirit as understood by Christians as one member of the Holy Trinity, but is to be regarded simply as Allah's rūḥ, and is thus in some way related to his "creative rūḥ" which is breathed into Adam and 'Īsā.

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28 See Bell's reconstruction of this passage in Qur'ān, p. 104, where he concludes that it is "probably fairly early Medinan, but at least twice revised". Note that according to his reconstruction the references to Maryam drop out in the revisions.
"Isa ibn Maryam, a Ruḥ from Allah

The latest Qur'anic context in which the term Ruḥ appears with the name "Isa ibn Maryam is 4:171/69, a more complex passage which demonstrates an interesting development of ideas arising during the period in Medina when the attention of the Qur'ān has turned from the Jews to the Christians.29 A relatively late date for the passage is suggested by the fact that the address Ahl al-Kitāb refers to Christians only, whereas in the early Medinan years this designation had included both Christians and Jews.30 Here, "Isa ibn Maryam is called not only al-masīḥ (the Messiah)31 and rasūl Allāh (the messenger of Allah), but more interestingly kalimatuhu (his word) and Ruḥun minhu (a spirit from him). All of this is said in the context of a firm denial of the Christian doctrine of the Holy Trinity, in 4:171/69:

Ahl al-Kitāb, do not go beyond the bounds in your religion, and say nothing about Allah but the truth. Al-Masīḥ, "Isa ibn Maryam, is [only] the rasūl of Allah, and his kalima which he committed to Maryam, and a Ruḥ from him. So

29Ibid., p. 90, where 4:171/69 is dated "possibly year II or III, added to later".

30This suggests that the passage is later than September, 625 A.D., although there is not sufficient evidence to conclude with Blachère, p. 956, that it must be as late as 631. Note that O'Shaughnessy, p. 58, also considers this passage "a later development of the Prophet's speculation" and he concludes: "It would seem to date from the final years at Medina, shortly before Mohammed's death".

31The term al-masīḥ occurs eleven times in the Qur'ān, always in Medinan contexts: 3:45/0; 4:157/6, 171/69-172/0; 5:17/9, 72/6, 75/9; and 9:30-1.
believe in Allah and his rasul, but do not say "Three." Stop! it is better for you! On the contrary, Allah is only One. Glory be to him [far from] having a son! To him belongs all things in the heavens and in the earth. And sufficient is Allah as a guardian. The designation of 'Isa ibn Maryam as a kalima and a ruh from Allah seems to be related to the Qur'anic statements regarding the conception of 'Isa in 21:91 and 66:12.\(^{32}\) That the designation of 'Isa as a kalima from Allah is related to 'Isa's conception is shown by the Qur'anic account of the Annunciation in 3:45/0-47/2, which begins: "When the malika said: 'Maryam, surely Allah brings to you good news of a kalima from him whose name is al-Nasîr, 'Isa ibn Maryam.'" Then, when she insists that she is a virgin, she receives the reply: "Even so, Allah creates what he wills. When he decrees anything he simply says to it 'Be'--and it is."\(^{33}\) The interesting statement that 'Isa is Allah's "word which he committed to Maryam" closely resembles a statement in an apocryphal account of the Annunciation: "And behold an angel of the Lord stood before her saying: Fear not, Mary, for thou hast found grace before the Lord of all things, and thou shalt conceive of his word."\(^{34}\)

\(^{32}\)According to Jeffery, Materials, p. 171, Ubayy ibn Ka'b is reported to have read the sg. kalima instead of the TR form kalamât in 66:12; the sg. form in this context would seem to refer to 'Isa as in 3:45/0 and 4:171/69.

\(^{33}\)Tab., VI, 21, suggests that 'Isa is called a kalima because he was created by Allah's command kun, "Be".

\(^{34}\)Protevangelium xi.2, trans. in James, p. 43.
Since 'Īsā is a kalima and a rūḥ from Allah, is it possible that the statement in 4:171/69 that 'Īsā is Allah's "kalima which he committed to Maryam" is equivalent to the statement in 21:91: "we breathed some of our rūḥ into her"? That is, is the rūḥ which is breathed into Maryam at the conception the same as the rūḥ in the later context, 4:171/69? Although at first this interpretation seems unusual, it explains why a rūḥ should be breathed into Maryam, for this "inbreathing" is the act of creation (or, in this case, conception) and the rūḥ is the new life which is to develop in her womb. It is precisely because the "inbreathing" is the act of creation that Jibril cannot be regarded as the agent who brings about the conception --for this would make Jibril the Creator.

Conclusions

When related to 'Īsā the term rūḥ is sometimes personal and sometimes impersonal; it is associated with creation (or conception), revelation, signs (or miracles), and the deliveryance of "good news" from Allah. In 19:17 the term rūḥanā refers

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35 See O'Shaughnessy, pp. 58-61, where other examples of this concept are discussed and compared with Qur'ānic ideas.

36 Ibid., p. 63, contains the following conclusion: "Thus the direct creation of Jesus by a creative command or word would explain his title 'a word' in Koran 4,169 and would also be the reason for his being called in the same verse 'a spirit' or creative breath (rūḥ) from Allah. For it was by a creative inbreathing that both Adam and Jesus, according to Koranic teaching, were brought into being."
to a personality whose identity is not explicitly indicated in the context, but, on the basis of comparisons with extra-Qur'ānic material, can be considered to be Jibrīl. In 66:12 the term ṭūbīnā refers to the "creative spirit" of Allah, which is breathed into Īsā just as in 38:72, 15:29, and 32:9/8 where the "creative rūḥ" is said to be breathed into Adam.

The rūḥ al-ḥudūs which in 2:87/1, 2:253/4, and 5:110/09 is said to "support Īsā ibn Maryam" also appears to be the "rūḥ of Allah", clearly related to, but not identified with, the Christian concept of the Holy Spirit. Allah supports other believers "with a rūḥ from himself" (58:22), but his support with the rūḥ al-ḥudūs is granted only to Īsā, where it is associated with al-bayyināt (the clear signs) which seem to be enumerated in 5:110. Finally, in 4:171/69 Īsā ibn Maryam is called ṭūbun minhu (a spirit from [Allah]), a designation which has been shown to be related to the creation (or conception) of Īsā. A comparison of the contexts in which the terms rūḥ and kalima are associated with Īsā leads to the conclusion that the rūḥ in 21:91 which is "breathed into Maryam" may be considered to be Īsā himself.
PART FOUR

CONCERNING MUHAMMAD AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES
CHAPTER XI

SPIRIT-CONCEPTIONS RELATED TO REVELATION

With the possible exception of the Judgment (the Last Day, resurrection, future life, etc.), the topic most often related to spirit-beings in the Qur'ān is revelation. Throughout the period of Muḥammad's ministry in Mecca, he constantly encountered accusations that he was majnūn or bihi jinnatun, or that his messages were inspired by Shayātīn. Related to these charges was the suggestion of his opponents that he was a shā'ir (poet), a kāhin (soothsayer), or a sābir (sorcerer). These accusations are repeatedly denied in the Qur'ān, where it is argued that Muḥammad's messages come from a higher source, and that it is the opponents of Muḥammad who are inspired by Shayātīn. Possibly related to these discussions are the two Qur'ānic passages which relate that a company of jinn hear the Qur'ān recited and believe, and then begin preaching to the other jinn.

During the period of these developments in Mecca, Muḥammad's antagonists also demand that mālā'īka be sent down to confirm the truth of his message. Parallel with these events is the gradual development of the idea that the Qur'ān was being sent down by a rūh, then by the rūh al-qudus, and finally, by
Jibril. The idea that shayṭān attempt to interfere with the process of revelation occurs in early Meccan contexts, but it is not until the Medinan period that opposition to inspiration becomes centered in Shayṭān.

**Muḥammad Accused of Being Majnūn**

One of the earliest Qurʾānic contexts in which it is asserted that Muḥammad is not majnūn is 81:19-29, which is also one of the most difficult to interpret. The four-verse oath which precedes this passage may also belong to the context, but has a different rhyme and its terms are obscure and do not add to the understanding of the passage which follows.

19 Surely this is the speech of a rasūl karīm,
20 having power and rank before the Lord of the Throne,
21 authority, and [he is] faithful.
22 Your companion is not majnūn.
23 He saw him on the clear horizon
24 and he does not withhold the unseen grudgingly.
25 Nor is it the speech of a shayṭān raǧīm.
26 Then where are you going?
27 Surely it is nothing less than a message to all beings,
28 to all who choose to go straight,
29 but you will not so choose unless Allah wills,
the Lord of all beings.

In his reconstruction of this passage, Bell suggests that the expression rasūl karīm (noble messenger) is a reference to Muḥammad, and that vv. 20, 21, 23, 26, 28, and 29 are all later additions made when the passage was revised so that this expression would be interpreted as referring to Jibril.1 Whether or not such

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1 Qurʾān, pp. 638-9.
a revision was made is difficult to determine; however, a com­parison of this context with other Qur'ānic passages in which a rasūl kārīm appears helps to understand this enigmatic expression. The following context closely resembles the passage quoted above, except that here, in 69:38-43, the expressions majnūn and shayṭān rajīm do not appear, and the terms shāʾir (poet) and kāhin (sooth­sayer) are contrasted with the rasūl kārīm:

38 No! I swear by what you see
39 and by what you do not see!
40 This is the speech of a rasūl kārīm,
41 and not the speech of a shāʾir (little do you believe!),
42 nor is it the speech of a kāhin (little do you remember!).
43 [It is] a sending down from the Lord of all beings.

Then, in the following four verses it is asserted that if Muḥammad should invent sayings of his own, then he would be seized and killed (by Allah or his malaʾika?) and no one would be able to defend him. Note that the oath in 69:38-9 corresponds to the oath in 81:15-18, and that 69:40 is a verbatim duplication of 81:19. Possibly more significant is the fact that 69:41a is a verbatim duplication of 81:25, except that the term shāʾir has replaced the expression shayṭān rajīm.2

In 69:40-2, the expression rasūl kārīm appears to be parallel to the terms shāʾir and kāhin; that is, all three occur in construct with the term gawl (speech), and all three refer (positively or negatively) to the speech or message of Muḥammad. This passage can be interpreted as saying that Muḥammad is not a

2For related usage in 15:17, see Chapter V, pp. 83-4, 90-1; and Chapter IX, pp. 162-3.
shā'ir or a kāhin, but a rasūl karīm. This interpretation is supported by the clear meaning of the third and final occurrence of the expression rasūl karīm in 44:17/6-20/19, where Mūsā is called both rasūl karīm and rasūl amīn. Thus, the expression rasūl karīm refers to a prophet (Mūsā) in 44:17/6; it appears to refer to a prophet (Muḥammad) in 69:40; and, if 81:19 is early Meccan (as it seems to be), then this third occurrence must also refer to a "human messenger", the Prophet Muḥammad. It is also significant that in the account in Sūra 44 the reference to Mūsā as a rasūl karīm occurs in the context of an accusation that this prophet is majnūn.

The term kāhin occurs in the Qurʾān only twice, in 69:42 (quoted above) and in 52:29 where it appears in a statement of assurance to Muḥammad, that he is neither a kāhin nor majnūn. Then in the following verse in a statement by Muḥammad’s opponents, he is called a shā'ir—a term which appears in parallel construction with the term majnūn in the previous verse. Muḥammad is also called a shā'ir (by his antagonists) in 21:5, and in the fourth and final Qurʾānic occurrence of this term in 37:36/5, the

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3 Also Ibn Masʿūd is reported to have read rasūl karīm in 44:13/2 instead of the TR reading rasūl mubīn—see Jeffery, Materials, p. 88.

4 Note that 69:43 specifically states that the tanzīl (sending down) comes from "the Lord of all beings", and no intermediary agent such as Jibril is mentioned in this early Meccan view of revelation. The term tanzīl acquired a technical meaning in later Muslim theology, but here means simply "something which is sent down"; see A. J. Wensinck, "Wahy", ET1, IV, 1091.
mujrimūn (sinners) say: "What, shall we give up our gods for a shā'ir majnūn?" Although the term shā'ir appears in contexts of derision, there is no indication that the expression shā'ir majnūn means "mad poet"; a more likely interpretation is "a jinn-possessed poet" or "a poet who is inspired by jinn". The occurrence of the expression shā'ir majnūn in 37:36/5 and the proximity of the terms majnūn and shā'ir in 52:29-30 suggest that in the latter context the statement, "you [Muḥammad] are neither a kāhin nor majnūn", may be interpreted "you are neither a kāhin nor a shā'ir". This interpretation would equate majnūn with that characteristic of the poet which led Muḥammad's opponents to accuse him of being majnūn, that is, the belief that the poet was "inspired by a jinn". 5

Another term associated in the Qurʾān with majnūn is sāḥir (sorcerer). In 51:39 the Pharaoh calls Mūsā "a sāḥir or majnūn", and later in v. 52 it is stated that "likewise, no rasūl ever came before them, but they said: 'A sāḥir or majnūn!'" In the Qurʾān the term sāḥir is usually associated with Mūsā, but in 38:4/3 Muḥammad's opponents call him "a lying sāḥir", and in

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5 On the relationship between majnūn and the kāhin and shā'ir, see: Pautz, pp. 46-53; Goldziher, Abhandlungen, I, lff.; Eickmann, pp. 50-2; Eichler, pp. 24-9; Bell, Introduction, pp. 9, 75-6; Tor Andrae, Mohammed the Man and His Faith (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1936), pp. 36-8; and Toshihiko Izutsu, God and Man in the Koran: Semantics of the Koranic Weltanschauung (Tokyo: Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies, 1964), pp. 168-75.
10:2, "a plain sähir". The particle which appears between sähir and majnûn in the only Qur'anic contexts where these two terms occur together suggests that these two designations are distinct, that is, that the latter is not necessarily a characteristic of the former.

The expression majnûn which appears consistently in the earlier Meccan contexts is replaced by the expression bihi jinnatun in the later contexts. The meaning of bihi jinnatun is seen in 23:70/2-1/3 where this expression is contrasted with "bringing the truth":

70 Or do they say bihi jinnatun? No, he has brought the truth to them, but most of them are averse to the truth!
71 If the truth were according to their desires, then the heavens and the earth and all beings in them would be corrupted. No, we have sent their admonition to them, but they have turned away from it!

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6 The term sähir refers to Mûsâ in 7:109/6; 112/09; 10:79/80; 40:24/5; 43:49/8; and 51:39. It refers to an Egyptian sorcerer in Mûsâ accounts in 20:69/72; 26:34/3; and 51:52. The dual form sähirûn occurs once—in 20:63/6 where it refers to Mûsâ and his brother Hârûn. The plural form always refers to the sorcerers of Pharaoh, the most common form being sähra, but in 10:77/8 the form sähirûn occurs as a rhyme-word. The relationship between magic, divination, and religion and the role of "diviners" and "sorcerers" in ancient Hebrew and pre-Islamic Arabian culture are discussed in Lecture VI of Alfred Guillaume's Prophecy and Divination Among the Hebrews and other Semites (London: Hodder and Stoughton, Ltd., 1938), pp. 233-89.

7 Bell suggests that all five of the contexts in which the expression bihi jinnatun occurs are Medinan: 7:184/3; 23:25, 70/2; 34:8, 46/5. Eichler, p. 23, however, following the dating of Nöldeke, remarks that this expression occurs only in "early suras" when Muḥammad himself feared that it may be a jinn who was inspiring his messages.
In this context, the accusation that Muḥammad is (bihi) jinnatun is disputed with the statement bal jā'ahum bi-l-haqq (no, he has brought the truth to them). This same contrast is seen even more clearly in 34:8: "Has he forged a lie against Allah, or is he (bihi) jinnatun? Certainly not! It is those who do not believe in al-Ākhira who are in error far [from the truth], and who will be punished." Verse 7 indicates that the dispute in this context concerns the Qurʾānic teaching regarding the resurrection, an idea which Muḥammad’s opponents maintain to be absurd and a lie (kadhib) which he has invented. The accusation that Muḥammad is not telling the truth appears to be synonymous with the charge that he is (bihi) jinnatun. That is, the accusation is that Muḥammad’s message is not one of truth from Allah, but one of lies inspired by the jinn; thus, the dispute concerns the "source" of Muḥammad’s inspiration.8

During this same time in Mecca, Muḥammad’s antagonists went a step further and suggested that his message was inspired by shayātīn. The denial of this charge in 26:210-12 appears to be a reference to the shooting-star myth: "It has not been brought down by the shayātīn. It would not suit them, nor are capable. They have surely been expelled from hearing." Then in

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8Cf. the definition given for majnūn in Watt, Companion, p. 127. Eichler, pp. 23-4, discusses the possibility that bihi jinnatun may mean "inspiration", and majnūn, "madness"; however, he rejects this possibility, concluding that the two expressions are synonymous in their Qurʾānic usages.
26:221-4 this charge is turned against Muḥammad’s opponents in a context which relates the shayātīn to the "liars" (kādhībūn) and "poets" (shuʿarāʾ) which are discussed above:

221 Shall I tell you on whom the shayātīn come down?
222 They come down on every erring impostor.
223 They whisper into their ears (yulqūna-s-samāʾ) but most of them are kādhībūn.
224 And the shuʿarāʾ--those who are misguided follow them!

Thus, the idea of inspiration through shayātīn is indirectly related to the Qur’ānic conception of majnūn.9

The foregoing discussion has shown that in the Qur’ān the term majnūn is associated with the speech of the shāʾir, the speech of the kāhin, and "false inspiration" through jinn and shayātīn. Thus, what conclusions can be drawn regarding the meaning of the term majnūn? Western writers tend to define the Qur’ānic majnūn as "mad", "insane", "crazy", etc.10 The only Qur’ānic context in which the term majnūn is associated with a term meaning "demented" is 68:1-6 where the word maftūn occurs;

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9The expressions majnūn and shaytān rajīm in 81:22-5 seem to mean that Muḥammad is inspired neither by a jinn nor by one of the shayātīn. According to the NT records, Jesus was also accused of having a "demon" or of being possessed by "the prince of demons" (Mk. 3:22-7; Jn. 7:20, 8:48, 10:20); however, these accusations appear to be related to his "folkloristic methods" of healing, rather than the style of his utterances—see S. Eitrem, Some Notes on the Demonology in the New Testament, 2nd ed. (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1966), esp. pp. 49-70.

10See Eickmann, p. 51; Eichler, p. 23; and Bell, Introduction, p. 31. The Qur’ānic usage of majnūn is well defined in Watt, Companion, p. 127: "dominated by jinn, who would not necessarily convey truth".
however, even here there is no conclusive evidence that majnūn means "mad" in the Qurʾān, since the term maftūn can be interpreted in this context as meaning "captivated" or "charmed" (by the jinn). In the Qurʾān, "madness" is not associated with the jinn, but with shayātīn, as in 6:71/0:11

Say: "Shall we call on others instead of Allah, on those who can neither profit nor harm us? And shall we be turned back on our heels after having received guidance from Allah, like one whom the shayātīn have caused to wander in bewilderment through the earth, even though his friends call 'Come back to us!', attempting in vain to guide him?" Say: "Surely, the guidance of Allah is the true guidance, and we are commanded to submit to the Lord of all beings."

Although in the Qurʾān the term majnūn may have some connotations of "madness", the essential meaning of this term is clearly "jinn-possessed"; and, since majnūn is associated with revelation, the more precise meaning is "inspired by jinn". The idea of jinn-inspiration is no doubt related to the poets, so that the well-known challenge in 17:88/90, "If men and jinn were to band together to produce the like of this Qurʾān, they could never produce its equal, even though they all helped one another", may be interpreted: "If the best poets and their inspirers were to band together for this special task . . . ." This is clearly a firm denunciation of those who accuse Muḥammad of being majnūn.

Two other Qurʾānic passages which are related to this topic, and which may also be considered to be replies to the accusation that Muḥammad was majnūn, are the accounts of a company

11 The same opinion is given in al-Ashʿarī's Maqālāt 56, and Iḥāna 54—see McCarthy, p. 252.
of jinn who hear Muḥammad’s preaching and believe, and then begin preaching to other jinn. The earliest of these is recorded in Sūra 72 (which is discussed above in relation to the shooting-star myth), where it seems that Muḥammad was not aware at the time that jinn were listening to his preaching. In 46:29/8-32/1, however, Muḥammad is reminded of a time when a company of jinn heard the Qurʾān and then began preaching to other jinn, as if Muḥammad should recall the incident. The fact that the speeches of the jinn in these two accounts differ may suggest that they are to be interpreted as referring to two different episodes. Eichler may be correct in suggesting that these two accounts are related to the Qurʾānic conception of "ancient peoples and their prophets", that is, that each nation has its own prophet and the jinn also

12 For a similar account in the NT, see 1 Pet. 3:18-4:6. An extensive study has been made of this text: William Joseph Dalton, Christ's Proclamation to the Spirits (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1965).

13 The account in Sūra 72 is said to have occurred on the trip back to Mecca after Muḥammad's unsuccessful attempt to win over the people of at-Ṭāʾif—See Tab., Ann., I, 1202. Several accounts of Muḥammad's preaching to the jinn are recorded by ad-Damīrī. On p. 255 an account is given on the authority of Ibn Mas'ūd stating that on one occasion Muḥammad went out to the desert to preach to a single jinnī. On pp. 255-6 an account is given on the authority of az-Zubayr ibn al-ʿAwwām stating that on one occasion after leading the prayer in the mosque at Medina, Muḥammad took a group of Muslims out to a plain beyond the mountains and there preached to a group of jinn. On p. 256, in another account from Ibn Mas'ūd, it is stated that the number of jinn on one occasion was fifteen. These accounts are translated in Jayakar, pp. 452-4.
have their own spokesmen. Also, the speeches which are here "put into the mouths of jinn" are like other sermons of Muḥammad which are related in the Qurʾān as if spoken by former prophets. It is significant that everything spoken by the jinn in these two speeches appears elsewhere in the Qurʾān in sermons and speeches where Muḥammad is the speaker. Whatever purpose these accounts have in the Qurʾān, they have the effect of refuting the accusation that Muḥammad is majnūn or bihi jinnatun. That is, Muḥammad is not inspired by the jinn; on the contrary, the jinn listen to the Qurʾān when it is recited by Muḥammad, and they become believers. The jinn are no longer seen as having power over men, or at least over Muḥammad, but come under the influence of the Qurʾān.

Malāʾika Demanded As Witnesses

During the same period in Mecca when Muḥammad's opponents were accusing him of being majnūn, they also demanded that

14p. 33. Ad-Damīrī, pp. 264–5 (Jayakar, p. 472), reports that according to Ibn Masʿūd those jinn who met Muḥammad were rusul from their tribe. However, ad-Damīrī insists that no rasūl was sent to the jinn before Muḥammad, since rusul are appointed only from among men, and according to Mujāhid, only men have rusul, whereas the jinn have "warners" (nudhur).

15See Eichler, p. 33.

16Ad-Damīrī, p. 255 (Jayakar, pp. 451–2), relates, on the authority of Bilāl ibn al-Ḥarīth, a story about two groups of jinn—a company of Muslim jinn and a company of unbelieving jinn—who asked Muḥammad for a decision regarding a division of property.
malā'ika be sent down to confirm the truth of the message delivered by Muḥammad. Both of these ideas appear in 15:6-9:

6 They say: "You upon whom the Dhikr is sent down, surely you are majnūn!
7 If you speak the truth, why do you not bring the malā'ika to us?"
8 We send down the malā'ika only with the truth, so they [the unbelievers] would have no respite [if they came].
9 It is we who have sent down the Dhikr, and surely we will watch over it!

In response to the plea that malā'ika be sent down, it is stated in this context that when malā'ika do come down, they will bring punishment upon the unbelievers. Note that v. 9 specifically states that it is Allah who sends down the Dhikr (one of the early Qur'ānic designations for the message delivered by Muḥammad), and no reference is made to any intermediary such as the rūḥ or Jibrīl.

In other contexts a single malak is demanded and the view is expressed that Muḥammad should have wealth and a garden if he is a true rasūl from Allah, as in 25:7/8-8/9: "They also say: 'What sort of rasūl is this who eats food and walks through the markets? Why has a malak not been sent down to him to be a warner with him? Or why has no treasure been bestowed upon him, and why does he have no garden from which to eat?" 17 Then, in

17 Cf. 6:50 where Muḥammad (?) is instructed to say: "I do not possess the treasuries of heaven... I am not a malak." In this context, Ibn Masʿūd, Saʿīd ibn Jubayr, ʿIkrima Abū ʿAbdallah, and al-Jaḥdarī are all reported to have read malik instead of malak—see Jeffery, Materials, p. 41. Two other similar contexts are 11:12 and 43:53 (the latter referring to Mūsā).
25:21/3 an additional demand is made: "Why have the malā'īka not been sent down upon us, or why do we not see our Lord?"18

In the later contexts, the form changes from a question asked by the unbelievers, to a stronger question asked by Allah (or possibly by Muḥammad), as in 6:158/9: "What, do they look for nothing less than that the malā'īka should come, or that your Lord should come, or one of his signs?", or in 2:210/06-211/07: "What do they look for except that Allah and the malā'īka should come in the clouds? ... Ask the Bānī Isrā'īl how many clear signs we gave them!" These contexts make it clear that the opponents of Muḥammad are demanding some clear sign to confirm that his message is true.

A series of replies develops in answer to these demands, possibly the earliest being the statement of the malā'īka (who must be considered to be the "speakers") in 19:64/5-65/6 which begins: "We do not come down except at the command of your Lord."19 A later reply occurs in 17:95/7: "If malā'īka were on the earth, walking about in peace, then we would have sent down a malak out of heaven as a rasūl." Possibly the latest reply to this demand (which shows the extent of the argumentation employed in response to the queries of the unbelievers) occurs in 6:9: "Had we sent down a malak we would have made him like a man, and

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18The longest list of these demands is recorded in 17:90/2-93/5.

19See Bell, Introduction, p. 61.
thus would have caused even more confusion in a confusing situation which they themselves have caused."

Although the appeal for malā'ika as witnesses to the Qur'ān may be interpreted simply as a demand which Muḥammad's opponents think he cannot fulfil,20 the attention devoted to this topic in the Qur'ān and the nature of the replies which are given at various times suggest that the people in Mecca and Medina in Muḥammad's day did associate the appearance of malā'ika with the coming of prophets. It is significant that the Qur'ān does not deny that Allah is able to send malā'ika; on the contrary, this possibility is affirmed in the replies to this demand, and also in later Medinan passages where malā'ika are said to have assisted the Muslims in battle.21

References to this appeal for malā'ika as witnesses appear throughout the Qur'ānic Meccan material and in several contexts which are early Medinan.22 The Qur'ānic accounts of the visit of celestial rusul to Ibrāhīm and Lūṭ appear to be early Medinan, thus dating from the time when the question of

20As is suggested by the list of demands in 17:90/2-93/5. See also Eichler, p. 94.

21See Chapter XIV below.

22These malā'ika contexts are: 2:210/06; 6:7-9, 109-12, 158/9; 11:12/5; 16:33/5; 17:90/2-96/8; 19:64/5; 25:7/8-8/9, 21/3; 41:14/3; and 43:53. Also cf. 4:166/4, 6:50, and 35:1.
malā'ika as witnesses was being resolved.23 This coincidence of time and topic may explain why the guests of Ibrāhīm and Lūṭ are never called malā'ika in the Qurʾān. Also, it is clear that the Qurʾānic accounts of the Annunciation are later (Medinan), and the fact that the messengers are not called malā'ika in the earlier account (in Sūra 19) may be connected with this demand for malā'ika as witnesses to the Qurʾān.24

Intermediary Agents Associated with Sending Down the Qurʾān

In early Meccan contexts and in others which may be as late as early Medinan, no intermediary agent is envisioned as associated with the inspiration of the Qurʾān. In 15:9 (which is discussed above), Allah states: "It is we who have sent down the Dhikr, and surely we will watch over it!" A significant passage in this respect is 4:163/1-170/68 which is an assurance to Muḥammad that his inspiration is genuine, beginning: "Surely we have inspired you (awḥaynā ilayka) just like we inspired Nūḥ and the nabiyyīn who came after him." Then, v. 166/4 states: "But Allah bears witness that what he has sent down upon you (anzala ilayka), he has sent it down with his knowledge. And the malā'ika also bear witness, but Allah is sufficient as a

23See Chapter VI above. Note that a reference to the demand for malā'ika as witnesses occurs in Sūra 15 with the first full account of the Ibrāhīm-saga (although the two accounts may not be connected in any way).

24See Chapter IX above.
In this passage the malāʾika are not associated with inspiration, but are only witnesses that Muḥammad's inspiration is from Allah.

In the first of the two well-known visions recorded at the beginning of the early Meccan Sūra 53, the one who inspires Muḥammad is described as "one might in power" (shādīd al-ḥawā'). Since this vision portrays the shādīd al-ḥawā' in anthropomorphistic terms, this expression is usually interpreted as referring to Jibrīl, who is associated with inspiration in later Qur'ānic contexts. However, v. 10 states: "Thus he inspired his servant with what he inspired (fa-awḥā ilā 'abdīhi mā awḥā'), and Muḥammad can hardly be called the "servant" ('abd) of Jibrīl. Also, the expression shādīd al-ḥawā' in 53:5 closely resembles other Qur'ānic designations of Allah, such as the statement in 51:58: "Surely Allah is ar-Razzāq, Dhū-l-Quwwa, al-Matīn." There is no reason to assume that Allah should not be described in anthropomorphistic terms in this early Meccan vision, and there is no literary evidence to suggest that this shādīd al-ḥawā' should be identified with Jibrīl.

25See Zam., IV, 418; and Bq., II, 292. Pautz, p. 41, discusses these two visions, accepting the view that they refer to Jibrīl. See also note 40 below.

26On these two visions in Sūra 53, see Richard Bell, "Muḥammad's Visions", MW, XXIV (1934), 149ff. Sprenger, pp. 229-35, also concludes that Jibrīl was not considered to be the intermediary agent of inspiration until after the Ḍījra.
What appears to be the earliest Qur'anic reference to an intermediary agent of revelation occurs in 26:192-6:

192 Surely it is the *tanzil* of the Lord of all beings,
193 brought down by the faithful *rūḥ* (ar-rūḥ al-amīn)
194 upon your heart, that you may be one of the warners
195 in a clear Arabic tongue.
196 Surely it is in the *zubur* of the ancients.

Here the revelation (*tanzil*) is brought down (*nazala*, lit., "sent down") by one who is called *ar-rūḥ al-amīn* (the faithful spirit). This is the only Qur'anic occurrence of the expression *ar-rūḥ al-amīn*, and the immediate context provides no indication either of its identity or of its meaning.27 The fact that Muḥammad is here accused of delivering "false messages", and the occurrence of the assurance *wa-mā tanazzalat bihi-sh-shayātīn* (nor has it been brought down by the *shayātīn*) in v. 210, suggest that the adjective *amīn* in the expression *ar-rūḥ al-amīn* means that the *rūḥ* is "faithful" in delivering the message of Allah, that is, that what Muḥammad recites is the "true message" from Allah. The term *amīn* is simply an adjective in the expression *ar-rūḥ al-amīn*, which is not a proper name or designation like *rūḥ al-quḍūs*.28

It is this *rūḥ* in 26:193 which is referred to in 17:85/7:

"They ask you concerning the *rūḥ*. Say: 'The *rūḥ* is of the

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27 Except for Zam., who does not explain the identity of *ar-rūḥ al-amīn*, the classical Muslim commentators are unanimous in interpreting this expression as referring to Jibrīl. See Ṭab., XIX, 62; Rz., VI, 364; and Bg., II, 60.

28 See O'Shaughnessy, p. 49 (including note 159).
command of my Lord. You have been given only a little knowledge about it." The expression which occurs here, *ar-rūḥ min amri rabbī*, is apparently accepted for a time as a sufficient answer to questions regarding the *rūḥ*, and it is repeated in later contexts in which the *rūḥ* is associated with revelation. The expression *ar-rūḥ min amrihī* occurs in 40:15, and *rūḥan min amrihā* occurs in 42:52. The context of this latter expression contains a significant late Meccan statement regarding the methods of Allah's revelation to Muḥammad:

51 It is not fitting that Allah should speak to any mortal except by inspiration (*wāḥy*), or from behind a veil, or by sending a *rasūl* to inspire whatever [Allah] wills, by his permission. Surely he is ‘Allī, Ḥakīm.

52 Thus we have inspired you with *rūḥan min amrihā*. You did not know the Kitāb or have faith until we made it a light whereby we guide whomever we will among our servants. Surely you will guide unto a straight path,

53 the path of Allah, to whom belongs everything in the heavens and in the earth. Surely all things come to Allah.

This statement clearly represents an intermediate stage in the development of the Qur'ānic conception of inspiration. In 42:51-2 there are apparently three methods of inspiration (although these verses could be interpreted differently): (1) Allah speaks to a prophet by means of *wāḥy*, that is, by "suggesting", or "giving rise to ideas", 29 (2) Allah speaks "from behind

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29 In this context, the term *wāḥy* does not have the special theological meaning which was attached to it in later discussions. For a survey of the Qur'ānic terms for revelation and inspiration, see Wensinck, "Wāḥy", p. 1091. Bibliography and summaries from later Muslim traditions are given in ibid., pp. 1091-3.
a veil" (min wardā'ī ǧāb), and (3) Allah sends a rasūl to inspire (yūbiya) whatever Allah wills. The expression rūḥān min amrīnā in v. 52 seems to be a reference to the rasūl mentioned in the previous verse. It is clear that the purpose of this statement is to deny the idea that Allah can be seen, suggesting that previously this idea was held by Muslims—and, indeed, seems to appear in the Qurʾān in the visions in Sūra 53. However, 42:51-2 should not be interpreted as saying that the rūḥ can be seen whereas Allah cannot be seen, since the same verb waḥā, which is used pertaining to Allah, also appears in reference to the rasūl in v. 51 and the expression rūḥān min amrīnā in v. 52.

Then, the rūḥ min amr concept merges with the earlier malāʾika wa-r-rūḥ imagery in 16:1-2:

1. Allah's amr comes, so do not seek to hasten it! Glory be to him, high above those they associate with him!
2. He sends down the malāʾika with ar-rūḥ min amrīhī upon whomever he chooses among his servants, saying: "Give warning that there is no god but I, so fear me!"

The amr of Allah mentioned in v. 1 may refer to temporal judgment, which would suggest that the malāʾika wa-r-rūḥ concept

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30 Bell, Introduction, p. 32, states: "In XLII, 50ff. both the visible appearance of Allah and the hearing of His voice are rejected". This conclusion seems to be incorrect since v. 51 states that Allah speaks "from behind a veil", which means only that he could not be seen.

31 Note that it is not until later in the Medinan period that a rūḥ appears to Maryam in "visible" form.

32 See Bell, Qurʾān, pp. 248-9.
is associated with judgment. However, in all other Qur'anic contexts, the expression \( \text{rūḥ min amr} \) is related to inspiration, and the statement, "Give warning that there is no god but I", suggests that this context also refers to revelation.

Commentators often refer to 16:1-2 when interpreting Sūra 97, where the expression \( \text{laylat al-qadr} \) is explained in terms of the \( \text{malā'ika wa-r-ruḥ} \) imagery. The statement in 97:1, "We sent it down on the \( \text{laylat al-qadr} \)", may refer to the sending down of the Qur'ān; however, since the expression \( \text{malā'ika wa-r-ruḥ} \) in v. 4 is clearly related to judgment, this context is discussed later in Chapter XVI.

The next development in the Qur'ānic conception of inspiration is the designation of the intermediary agent as "the \( \text{rūḥ al-qudus} \)" in 16:102/4. Since this reference is related to an early statement regarding the abrogation of certain verses of the Qur'ān (a topic which will be discussed in more detail in

\text{33} For a summary of the Qur'ānic usage of the term \text{amr} and the expressions \text{amr Allah} and \text{rūḥ min amr}, see J. M. S. Baljon, "The 'Amr of God' in the Koran", \text{AO}, XXIII (1958-9), 8-12, and his conclusion, pp. 15-18.

\text{34} Cf. the statement "you are one of the warners" in 26:194 (which is discussed above). Regarding the relationship between the Qur'ānic usage of the term \text{amr} and revelation, see also Rudolph, \text{Abhängigkeit}, p. 41; Horovitz, "Jewish Proper Names", p. 188; and Jeffery, \text{Foreign Vocab.}, p. 69.

\text{35} On the relationship between the \text{laylat al-qadr} and revelation, see Pautz, pp. 30-3; and K. Wagtendonk, pp. 83-7.
the following section), the full three-verse context is given:

101 When we substitute one verse for another--and Allah knows best what he is sending down--they say: "You are a mere forger!" No, most of them have no knowledge!

102 Say: "The ruḥ al-qudus has sent it down from your Lord in truth in order to strengthen those who believe, and to be a guidance and good news to the Muslims."

103 We know very well that they are saying: "It is only a mortal who is teaching him." But the language of him whom they suggest is foreign, and this is clear Arabic speech!

Here the ruḥ al-qudus is said to have nazzalahu min rabbika li-yuthabba-lladhina āmanū (sent it down from your Lord in order to strengthen those who believe). The pronominal suffix hu in nazzalahu seems to refer to the term al-kitāb in v. 89/91: "We have sent down to you [Muḥammad] al-kitāb which explains all things; it is a guidance, a mercy, and good news to the Muslims."

Note the similarities in both meaning and vocabulary between this verse and v. 102/4. Regardless of whether the "speaker" in v. 89/91 be interpreted as Allah or the malāʾika, the "sending down" refers to the revelation to Muḥammad; thus, the ruḥ al-qudus in v. 102/4 is the intermediary agent in Allah's revelation to Muḥammad.36

What appears to be the final stage in the development of the Qurʾānic conception of revelation is the designation of the intermediary agent as Jibrīl in 2:97/1-99/3:

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36Baqi', I, 567, identifies the ruḥ al-qudus in 16:102/4 with Jibrīl. For a discussion of this expression in the Qurʾān along with references to parallels in Christian literature and a survey of the views of the Muslim commentators, see O'Shaughnessy, pp. 42-51. On the term qudus, see Jeffery, Foreign Vocab., p. 232.
Say: "Whoever is an enemy to Jibril\textsuperscript{37}--it was he who brought it down upon your heart by the permission of Allah, confirming that which was before it, and as a guidance and good news to the believers--

whoever is an enemy to Allah and his malā'ika and his rusul, and Jibrīl and Mīkāl,\textsuperscript{38} surely Allah is an enemy to the unbelievers."

And we have sent down signs upon you, clear signs, and no one disbelieves in them except those who are ungodly.

The amalgamate form of vv. 97/1-98/2, along with the fact that every element in v. 97/1 except the name Jibrīl appears in earlier Qur'ānic contexts, indicates clearly that this passage presents one new development in the Qur'ānic conception of inspiration. The verbatim duplication of certain phrases suggests that 2:97/1 is based upon 16:102/4, that is, that the earlier verse has been adapted so that the expression ṭūḥ al-gudus has dropped out and has been replaced by the name Jibrīl. This conclusion, that the designation of Jibrīl as the intermediary agent in revelation is a new Qur'ānic concept in 2:97/1, is supported by

\textsuperscript{37}Bq., I, 32, records the popular belief that Jibrīl was an enemy of the Jews, whereas Mīkāl was their friend. Ginzberg, V, 71, tells of a Jewish legend in which Gabriel sets fire to the Temple in Jerusalem. Zam., I, 169, relates a story in which ʿUmar is told that Jibrīl is the enemy of the Jews because he revealed their secrets to Muḥammad.

\textsuperscript{38}Zam., I, 170, and Bq., I, 74-5, list several variants which are reported to have been read for the names Jibrīl and Mīkāl; see also Jeffery, Materials, pp. 195, 242, 269, and 315. For discussion and extensive bibliography on this pair, see Eickmann, pp. 29-31; Eichler, pp. 129-31; Jeffery, Foreign Vocab., pp. 100-1, 275-6; and Horovitz, Koran. Unters., pp. 107, 143-4.
the wording: Jibril fa-innahu nazzalahu 'alâ qalbika (surely it was Jibril who brought it down upon your heart). 39

Since this context gives no indication that Jibril is seen in visible form, there is no reason to suggest that the agent of revelation in the visions in Sûra 53 should now be identified with Jibril. 40 Also, there is no literary evidence to suggest that Jibril should be identified with the rûh min amr, the rûh al-qudus, or ar-rûh al-amIn who are mentioned in earlier Qur'anic contexts. The Qur'ân clearly portrays a development of ideas in this respect, as is recognized by Bell:

At first [Muhammad] assumed that it was Allah who had appeared to him in his visions. Then, according to XLII, 50ff., this idea was rejected in favour of the idea of a spirit implanted within him. Later, when through increasing familiarity with Jewish and Christian ideas he had learned of angels as the messengers of God, he assumed that it was angels who brought the message. Finally, he adopted Gabriel as the special angel who prompted him on Allah's behalf. 41

If it is valid to conclude that Jibril is not identified as the intermediary agent of revelation until he is named in 2:97/1,

39O'Shaughnessy, p. 50, comes to the same conclusion regarding 16:102/4; for a discussion of the place of Jibril in the Qur'anic conception of revelation, see ibid., pp. 51-5.


41Bell, Introduction, p. 35.
then the earlier contexts discussed above cannot be interpreted as referring to Jibril.42

Finally, this quotation from Bell provides an occasion to point out a common misconception among both the Muslim commentators and Western writers, that is, that according to the Qur'ān the malā'ika appear as intermediary agents of revelation.43

In addition to the quotation above, Bell states in a later context: "Finally, it is the angels who are the bearers of revelation, and it is Gabriel in particular who brings it down upon his heart, with Allah's permission, II, 91."44 The Qur'ānic context which comes the closest to associating malā'ika with the transmission of revelation is 16:1-2 which is discussed above; however, since the malā'ika wa-r-rūḥ motif is connected with judgment, the presence of this expression in 16:1-2 does not prove that the malā'ika are involved in delivering revelation from Allah. It is the rūḥ min amrihi which is the agent of inspiration, as is clearly shown in the other contexts where this expression occurs. One other malā'ika context which is sometimes interpreted as referring to revelation is 15:6-9 (also quoted and discussed above), particularly the statement: "We

42 In his summary of the views of the Muslim commentators and writers of works on traditions, Pautz, pp. 33-46, appears to accept the orthodox Muslim view that Jibril is the intermediary agent of inspiration throughout the Qur'ān.

43 E.g., see Tor Andrae, pp. 130, 149.

44 *Introduction*, p. 146.
send down the malāʾika only with the truth, so they would have no respite." However, this statement is an answer to the demand for malāʾika as witnesses, and the "truth" (ḥaqīq) with which the unbelievers are here threatened is the "reality" of punishment. The section above regarding the demand of Muḥammad's opponents for malāʾika as witnesses shows clearly that in the Qurʿān the malāʾika are often associated indirectly with revelation; however, they are always mentioned as visible, miraculous "signs" of the validity of Muḥammad's prophethood, as in 17:92/4 where the opponents say to Muḥammad: "We will not believe in you until you bring Allah and the malāʾika as a surety (qabīl)." There is not a single Qurʿānic context in which the malāʾika appear as intermediary agents of revelation.

**Shayṭān Attempts to Interfere with Revelation**

According to 26:210-24 it seems that the Meccans accused Muḥammad of being inspired by the shayātīn, a charge which is answered in vv. 221-4 where it is stated that the shayātīn "come down" (tanazzalu) only on impostors, most of whom are "liars"

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45See Bell, Qurʿān, pp. 441-2, where the phrase fa-t-tāliyātī dhikr in 37:3 is interpreted as referring to malāʾika "who recite in warning", and in a note he adds: "the revelation to the prophet". It need only be noted that the first three verses of this sūra form one of the many cryptic oaths which appear at the beginning of the early Meccan sūras.
This context should be compared with 6:109-12 where it is stated that Muḥammad's opponents (in Mecca) "have sworn by Allah the most solemn oaths that if a sign is given to them they will believe in it", but they are told that even if the malāʾika were sent down people would not believe "unless Allah willed"; then, v. 112 states:

Thus, we have appointed for every nabi an enemy (CADUWW), shayātīn among men and jinn who inspire flowery speech to one another as a deception. However, if your Lord had willed they would never have done it, so leave them to their forging.

The expression CADUWW shayāṭīn-1-insi wa-l-jinn suggests that the opponents of Muḥammad in this case may be "human adversaries". The shayātīn mentioned in v. 112 may be the opponents referred to in v. 109, and the "flowery speech" with which they attempt to deceive Muḥammad may be related to the "solemn oaths" in v. 109.

Related to this context is 23:96/8-98/100 which is addressed to Muḥammad, and which contains a prayer for refuge from shayāṭīn:

96 Drive away the evil with that which is better. We are well aware of the things they are saying.
97 And say: "My Lord, I take refuge in you from the prodding (HAMAZĀT) of the shayāṭīn,
98 and I take refuge in you, my Lord, lest they come near me."

In Muḥammad's prayer in these last two verses, these shayāṭīn also may be "human adversaries"; however, the statement in the last verse that he fears even for them to come near him suggests

_46_ Or, according to another possible interpretation, most of the shayāṭīn are "liars"._
that these shayātīn are "evil spirits". This act of "taking
refuge in Allah" (taʿawwudh) is mentioned several times in the
Qurʾān, but only here is it associated with the shayātīn.

In other contexts, which seem to be addressed to Muḥammad,
the act of "taking refuge in Allah" is specifically associated
with Shayṭān, as in the following warning which occurs in
7:200/199 and 41:36: "If Shayṭān should provoke you with some
evil suggestion, take refuge in Allah."47 Then 2:201/0 adds:
"whenever an appearance (tāʿif) from Shayṭān troubles the god-
fearing, they remember and then see clearly." These contexts
should be compared with 16:98/100-101/3 which connects with the
rūḥ al-qudus passage discussed above:

98 When you recite (qaraʿta) the Qurʾān, take refuge in Allah
from ash-Shayṭān ar-Rajīm.
99 He has no authority over those who believe and put their
trust in their Lord.
100 His authority is over those who take him as a patron and
who ascribe partners to Allah.
101 When we substitute one verse for another—and Allah
knows best what he is sending down—they say: "You are a mere
forger!" No, most of them have no knowledge!

In this passage (which also seems to be addressed to Muḥammad),
the protection of Allah is sought to guard against the influence
of ash-Shayṭān ar-Rajīm when the Qurʾān is being recited.48 If
v. 101/3 is connected with the preceding verses, then the

47Ar., wa-īmmā yanzaghannaka mina-sh-shayṭānī nazghun
fa-ṣtaʿīd bi-llāh.

48See Chapter IX, p. 163, where this passage is mentioned
in relation to the one other Qurʾānic context in which the expres-
sion ash-Shayṭān ar-Rajīm is discussed.
influence of Shayṭān is here associated with "the substitution of one verse for another", a practice which has caused Muḥammad to be criticized by his opponents. Since the rūḥ al-qudus is mentioned in v. 102/4, this five-verse context seems to contain a polarization of the good and evil forces which are associated with inspiration.49

The latest development in the Qurʾān regarding the influence of Shayṭān upon inspiration occurs in 22:52/1-53/2:

52 We have never sent any rasūl or nābi before you [Muḥammad], but Shayṭān cast something into his thoughts when he was yearning [for a message from Allah]. But Allah annuls what Shayṭān casts in, then Allah confirms his signs--surely Allah is Ṭāhār, Ṣālim--
53 that he may make what Shayṭān casts in a test for those in whose hearts is disease and those whose hearts are hardened. Surely the evildoers are in schism far [from the truth].

This passage is not only difficult to interpret, but also difficult even to translate, and Bell is no doubt correct in suggesting that v. 52/1 is earlier than the verses which follow.50 Verse 52/1 states regarding every rasūl and nābi who preceded Muḥammad: idhā tamannā al-qā-sh-shayṭānū fī umniyyatihi (lit., when he was desiring, Shayṭān cast into his desire). The context indicates that this "desiring" is related to inspiration, so that Shayṭān is said to have made some interpolation into scripture.

49Another occurrence, which is usually interpreted as referring to Shayṭān, is Sūra 114: "Say: 'I take refuge with the Lord of men, the king of men, the god of men, from the evil of the whisperer, the lurking one, who whispers into the breasts of men, of jinn and men.'"

50Qurʾān, pp. 316, 322.
Although 22:52/1 is often interpreted as referring to some alteration in the Qurʾān, it should be noted that the text speaks specifically only of the messages of the "messengers" and "prophets" who preceded Muḥammad. Muḥammad claimed that his message was the same as that which Allah had previously sent down to the Ahl al-Kitāb, but the Jews and Christians constantly pointed out differences between their scriptures and the Qurʾān. This verse could be interpreted as saying that Shayṭān cast interpolations into the scriptures of previous rusul and nabiyyūn, and that these are now being annulled as Allah confirms his message in the Qurʾān. Thus, v. 53/2 would be interpreted as saying that the differences between the scriptures of the Ahl al-Kitāb and the Qurʾān (which have persuaded most Jews and Christians to reject the message of Muḥammad) are the result of interpolations which Allah has permitted Shayṭān to "cast in" as a test to show who follows Shayṭān and who follows Allah.

Certain conclusions can now be drawn concerning the development of the Qurʾānic statements regarding the influence of Shayṭān and the shayātīn upon the inspiration of scripture and, specifically, the revelation of the Qurʾān. The possibility that shayātīn may bring down messages from the High Council appears in 26:210-24, but this passage firmly denies that shayātīn have any influence upon the Qurʾān. The passages which

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51On the distinctions between the Qurʾānic usages of the terms rusūl and nabi, see Willem A. Bijliefeld, "A Prophet and More Than a Prophet?", MW, LIX (1969), 1-28.
urge Muḥammad to "take refuge in Allah" from the hamazāt ash-shayātīn, the nazgh (provocation, or evil suggestion) of Shayṭān, and from ash-Shayṭān ar-Rajīm all indicate that the influence of Shayṭān upon the inspiration of the Qurʾān is recognized as a threat, if not as a possibility. Finally, 22:52/1 indicates that Shayṭān has succeeded in interfering with the inspiration of scripture, but whether or not this verse is to be interpreted as affirming that Shayṭān has made an interpolation into the Qurʾān is not clear. It is true that in the Qurʾān Muḥammad's own situation is often projected back into the lives of previous rusul and nabiyyūn, and this may also be the case in 22:52/1.\(^{52}\)

\(^{52}\)For a summary of the conclusions reached regarding the other spirit-conceptions related to revelation in the Qurʾān, see Chapter XVII.
A remarkable aspect of Qur'ānic teaching is that central themes appear to develop in response to continuing debate from Muḥammad's opponents, both in Mecca and in Medina. One of the most interesting developments in this respect is related to the idea that certain of the malā'ika are female and are related to Allah as banāt (daughters)—both assertions being firmly denied several times in the Qur'ān. The Qur'ānic controversy regarding the banāt Allāh seems to stem from the well-known verses in Sūra 53 which mention by name the three Arabian goddesses, al-Ḥāl, al-/fwazā, and Manāt. In the context of this reference, the idea of the intercession of malā'ika in behalf of man is mentioned. Before discussing these two topics, a translation of this context will be given, and the nature and background of these three goddesses will be examined briefly.

**Background of the Goddesses Named in Sūra 53**

The context of the only Qur'ānic reference to the names al-Ḥāl, al--fwazā, and Manāt contains clear evidence of expansion
(if not revision), analysis of which is complicated by the possibility that the original continuation of vv. 19-20 has been abandoned in favour of the present vv. 21-2. Regardless of the conclusion reached concerning the alleged interpolation of the gharānīq-verses, it is clear that v. 23 is later than its present context (vv. 19-22, 24-5), and vv. 26-30/1 are clearly later than the preceding verses. It should also be noted that the three goddesses named in vv. 19-20 are not specifically

1 Several versions of the well-known story of the gharānīq-verses are recorded in Ṭab., XVII, 119-21, and Ann., I, 1192-3. The first story in this latter source is translated by Guillaume in Ibn Ḥishām, pp. 165-7, where it is taken to be part of Ibn Ḥishām's original Sīra which has been omitted by Ibn Hishām. On the other hand, Rz., VI, 193, argues against the validity of this story, citing evidence from the Qurʾān, the collections of traditions, and from reason, and he reports that when Ibn Ḥishām was once asked about this story, the biographer replied that it was invented by some kāfir; Rz. also states that Ibn Ḥishām wrote an entire work against the historicity of this story as reported by Ṭab. It may also be noted that no references to this story occur in Bukh., III, 287-9 and 339-41, in the traditions on sūras 22 and 53, but that some traditions contain material on which the story could have been based.


2 See Nöldeke-Schwally, p. 103; Bell, Qurʾān, pp. 539-41; and Blachère, pp. 86-7.
associated with the malā'ika until the later section, vv. 26-30/1.

Following is the twelve-verse context in which these goddesses are named in Sūra 53:

19 Have you considered al-Lāt and al-‘Uzzā
20 and another, Manāt, the third?
21 What, males for you and females for [Allah]?
22 That would surely be an unjust division!
23 They are nothing but names which you and your fathers have devised. Allah has sent down no authority concerning them! They only follow conjecture and what they themselves desire—even after guidance has come to them from their Lord!
24 Or shall man have whatever he desires (tamannā)?
25 But al-Ākhira and al-Ūlā belong to Allah.

26 How many a malak there is in the heavens whose intercession avails nothing, except as Allah gives permission to whom he pleases—to those who are acceptable to him.
27 Those who do not believe in al-Ākhira refer to the malā'ika with female names.
28 But they have no knowledge concerning it! They follow only conjecture—and conjecture avails nothing against the truth!
29 So shun those who turn away from our Dhikr and desire only the present life.
30 That is [the extent] of their range of knowledge. Surely your Lord knows best those who stray from his path, and he knows best those who receive guidance.

The main source of information regarding the Arabian goddesses al-Lāt, al-‘Uzzā, and Manāt is the Kitāb al-Aṣnām by Ibn al-Kalbī (d. 204/819), a contemporary of Muḥammad's biographer, Ibn Hishām (d. 219/834). Ibn al-Kalbī is quoted by

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3The Book of Idols, trans. with introduction and notes by Nabih Amin Faris (Princeton: University Press, 1952). The one known MS. of this work is in Cairo in the private library of Ahmad Zaki Pasha who published it in 1914 (second edition, 1924). All references to Ibn al-Kalbī in the present study are to the page numbers in the Arabic editions (the pagination is the same in both editions), indicated in the margins of the English edition. A French translation (with the entries re-arranged according to importance) by M. S. Marmardji appears in Revue Biblique, XXXV (1926), 397-420.
the writers of the classical tafsîr and is accepted as an author-
ity on most questions regarding idols in pre-Islamic Arabia.
Archaeological discoveries made during the nineteenth and the
twentieth centuries tend to refute Ibn al-Kalbî's conclusions
regarding the origin and relative age of the goddesses al-Lât,
al-Uzzâ, and Manât, while confirming that his descriptions of
these goddesses are valid for the time of Muḥammad. Additional
information (including material from Ibn Isḥâq which is omitted
by Ibn Hishâm) is given in the Akhbâr Makka by Abû-l-Walîd
Muḥammad ibn Abdallah al-Azraqî (d. ca. 220/835), where it is
related that the three goddesses were placed in their respective
locations near Mecca by a man named āmîr ibn Luḥâyy— a view
which is clearly based upon the Muslim theological conviction
that Ibrâhîm established the Ka'ba and monotheism in Arabia,
and that polytheism arose later.5

At the time of Muḥammad, the principal sanctuary of the
goddess al-Lât was at at-Ṭâ'îf where her shrine was maintained
by the tribe of Thaqîf.6 A study of the references to al-Lât in

4This name is given as āmîr ibn Luḥâyy in the discussion
by W. N. Arafat, "Fact and Fiction in the History of Pre-Islamic
that the goddess al-Uzzâ was introduced by Zâlam ibn Âsâ'd.

5The relevant passages from al-Azraqî are translated in
A. Guillaume, The Life of Muhammad: A Translation of Ishâq's
Sirat Rasûl Allâh With Introduction and Notes (London: Oxford
study this translation is referred to as "Ibn Isḥâq".

6On this goddess, see Ibn al-Kalbî, pp. 16-17; and J.
Wellhausen Skizzen und Vorarbeiten, Part Three: Reste Arabischen
Palmyrene and Nabataean texts, as well as Libyānic, Safaytic, and Thamūdic inscriptions, leads to the conclusion that the original home of this goddess was in Syria, from which her cult spread southward through the Hauran and into Nabataea, Sinai, and Libyān, and then to the Yemen (where the cult was established probably for commercial reasons, in the interest of trade relations). Several theories regarding the nature or identity of al-Lāt continue to be maintained by various scholars. According to Robertson Smith, Barton, Dussaud, and Ryckmans, al-Lāt represents Venus. According to Hommel, Nielsen, Buhl, and S. A. Cook, this goddess represents the sun, which is considered to be feminine partly because of the gender of the Arabic noun shams. Winnett shows, however, that al-Lāt cannot be the sun-goddess, and he offers convincing evidence to support his theory that she was the moon-goddess. According to Ibn Isḥāq, this

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7See F. V. Winnett, "The Daughters of Allah", MW, XXX (1940), 118-22. On p. 121, Winnett cites a passage in Herodotus (iii.8) where it is stated that (as early as the fifth century B.C.) the Arabs of Sinai worshipped a goddess named al-Ilāt.

8For references, see ibid., p. 124. Dussaud offers the interesting theory that both al-Lāt and al-ʿUzza are to be identified with Venus, one representing the morning-star, the other representing the evening-star.

9For references, see ibid.

idol was destroyed by Abü Sufyân ibn Ḥarb and al-Mughîra ibn Shu‘ba at the command of Muḥammad in the year 9 A.H.\textsuperscript{11}

At the time of Muḥammad, the sanctuary of the goddess al-‘Uzzâ was at Nakhla ash-Shâmiyya in the valley of Ḥurâq, not far from Mecca on the road to Iraq.\textsuperscript{12} The distinguishing features of this sanctuary, which was maintained by the Quraysh, were three sacred samur trees and an altar (or place for slaughtering the animals being prepared for sacrifice) called the ghabghab.\textsuperscript{13} Winnett shows that this goddess is of ancient Sinaitic origin and is to be identified with Venus, either as the morning-star or the evening-star\textsuperscript{14}--thus her name in Arabic, al-‘Uzzâ, "the mighty one", meaning "the brightest of the stars".\textsuperscript{15}

The sanctuary of the goddess Manât was located in the valley of Qudayd, near the seashore between Mecca and Yathrib.\textsuperscript{16}


\textsuperscript{12}On this goddess, see Ibn al-Kalbî, pp. 17-27; Wellhausen, pp. 30-42; and Ryckmans, p. 15.

\textsuperscript{13}See Ibn al-Kalbî, p. 20; and Ibn Ishâq, p. 38, where a translation is given from al-Azraqî, 1.74.

\textsuperscript{14}pp. 122-3

\textsuperscript{15}Ibn al-Kalbî, p. 24, and Ibn Ishâq, p. 565, both state that Muḥammad sent Khâlid ibn al-Walîd to destroy the sanctuary of al-‘Uzzâ in the year 8 A.H. (the same year that Mecca was captured by the Muslims).

\textsuperscript{16}On this goddess, see Ibn al-Kalbî, pp. 13-15; Wellhausen, pp. 22-5; and Ryckmans, p. 15.
According to Ibn al-Kalbi, Manāt was the oldest of the three goddesses named in the Qurʾān and was the favourite of the tribes of Aws and Khazraj who inhabited Yathrib. These tribes made a pilgrimage to Manāt in Qudayd and, according to al-ʿAzrafi:

"when they had made the compass of the Kaʾba and hastened from ʿArafāt and completed the rites at Minā they did not shave their hair until they got to Manāt, to whom they would cry Labbayki." It is apparently because Manāt was the first of the three to have a place in the Kaʾba and the pre-Islamic hajj ceremonies that Ibn al-Kalbi concludes that this goddess was older than al-ʿLāt and al-ʿUzzā; however, a survey of the references to these three names in the ancient Arabic inscriptions indicates that Manāt was native to the Ḫijāz but not so old as the other two whose cults originated farther north. Manāt seems not to be an astral deity like the other two; her name appears to be derived from manā, "to afflict, determine", thus suggesting that she was a goddess of destiny or Fate.

17 pp. 13-14

18 Translated by Guillaume in Ibn Isḥāq, p. 39.


20 Wellhausen, p. 25.
The Malā'ika as Female Beings

In addition to 53:27/8 quoted above, references to malā'ika as females occur in three other Qur'ānic contexts where it is denied that Allah could have banāt: 37:149-57, 43:16/5-22/1, and 17:39/41-42/4. The argument in the two earlier (and longer contexts is twofold: (1) the Meccans cannot know that certain of the malā'ika are female because men were not present when the malā'ika were created, and (2) it is absurd to think that Allah could beget children, and even if he were to do so he would not have daughters instead of sons. The following passage in Sūra 37 presents a rhetorical polemic rather than a logical argument:

149 Then ask for their opinion: does your Lord have banāt and they sons (banūn)?
150 Or did we create the malā'ika as females while they were witnesses?
151 Is it not from their own invention that they say:
152 "Allah has begotten"? But they are surely liars!
153 Would he choose banāt rather than banūn?
154 What ails you that you judge thusly?
155 Will you not then be reminded?
156 Or do you have a clear authority?
157 Then, bring your Kitāb if you speak the truth!

Although precise dates of Meccan contexts are difficult to determine, there is evidence to support Bell's suggestion that this passage is "fairly early Meccan" dealing with the topic "Allah has no offspring", and that it was later "revised to deal with position of angels".21

21 Qur'ān, p. 448.
The idea of banāt Allāh is clearly older than the Qur'ānic denial that the malā'ika are female. As is stated above, the immediate context of the reference to al-Lāt, al-ʿUzzā, and Manāt denies that Allah has banāt (although this term is not specifically used), but contains no reference to the malā'ika (who are the subject of the second passage—vv. 26-30/1—which is clearly later). This same division of topics is apparent in the third passage, where 43:16/5-18/7 denies that Allah has banāt, and 43:19/8-22/1 deals with the topic of malā'ika as female beings.22 These two topics are incorporated into a single statement only in 17:40/2, which is clearly the latest of the four contexts in which both ideas appear. It is also significant in this respect that the idea of banāt Allāh appears independent of the topic of malā'ika as female beings in three other Qur'ānic contexts besides those already discussed—52:39, 16:57/9, and 6:100.

Significant in determining the Qur'ānic conception of the banāt Allāh is the question of whether or not this idea existed in Arabia prior to its appearance in the Qur'ān, and if so, whether or not the banāt Allāh were seen to be malā'ika. In his study of early northern Arabic inscriptions, Winnett has shown that Allah and the three goddesses al-Lāt, al-ʿUzzā, and Manāt were all known in Liḥyān, and he concludes: "Thus we now have evidence that the worship of Allah and his three daughters was flourishing in Arabia for a thousand years before Mohammed, if

22See ibid., p. 492.
my dating of the Liḥyanite inscriptions to the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. be correct." The inscriptions also show that at Liḥyan Allah had two rivals, Baʿal Samin and Kharaḵ Dhu-Ghabat; furthermore, Ugaritic texts from the Amarna Age indicate that as early as the fourteenth century B.C. the deity Baʿal is said to have three daughters. Indirect evidence that sons and/or daughters were ascribed to Allah in northern Arabia as early as the third century A.D. is seen in the invocation "O Allah without offspring, . . ." which occurs frequently in Thamūdic inscriptions. Regarding this attribute "childless" (abtar), Winnett concludes:

But there is one epithet applied to Allah which is not applied to any other god in the north Arabic inscriptions and that is abtar. It evidently denotes a quality which was regarded as peculiar to Allah alone; it thus forms our chief key to the Allah-theology of the pre-Islamic Arabs.

This conclusion throws new light on the early Meccan Sūra 112

23"Daughters", p. 116. The occurrences of the three names al-Lāt, al-ʿUzzā, and Manāt in the inscriptions in other languages of North Arabia (i.e., other dialects of pre-Islamic, northern Arabic) are cited on pp. 116-18.

24Ibid., p. 116.

25Two of these poems which mention the three daughters of Baʿal are transliterated and translated by Cyrus H. Gordon in "Daughters of Baal and Allah", MW, XXXIII (1943), 50-1.

26Winnett, "Allah", pp. 243-4. These inscriptions are designated "Thamudic B" by Winnett, who dates them between the fifth century B.C. and the third century A.D. (ibid., pp. 245-6).

27Ibid., p. 244.
which must be related to the idea of *banāt Allāh* and also must reflect late pre-Islamic Arabian theology:

1. Say: "He is Allāh, One,
2. Allāh, the Eternal.
3. He has not begotten, nor has he been begotten!
4. And no one can be compared with him!"

when this sura is compared with the passage quoted above from sura 37 and other Qur'ānic contexts in which *banāt* of Allāh are mentioned, it seems certain that the conception *banāt Allāh* did not originate in the Qur'ān--thus supporting the evidence from the pre-Islamic Arabic inscriptions.

Thus, it seems that Eichler is mistaken when he concludes:


Although Eichler's first argument is supported by the Qur'ānic statement *wa-lam yakūn la-hu kufuwān aḥad* (112:4, translated

28See Bell, *Qur'ān*, p. 685.

29Ibn al-Kalbi, p. 19, states that al-Lāt, al-‘Uzza, and Manāt were called *banāt Allāh* by the Quraysh who believed that these goddesses interceded before Allāh. Lyall, pp. xxvii–xxix, cites examples of pre-Islamic oaths which contain the names of these goddesses (and he suggests that in some cases the name al-Lāt may have been changed to Allāh by later Muslims), and he concludes that these goddesses were seen as *banāt Allāh* by pre-Islamic Arabs.

30p. 101
above), stronger Qur'ānic evidence supports the opposite view—that is, that pre-Islamic Arabs believed in Allah but associated other deities with him. A Qur'ānic statement which can be accepted as representing the beliefs of the Meccans prior to the Hijra is 12:106: "Most of them do not believe in Allah without associating other deities with him." Thus, it was Muḥammad's purpose to separate Allah from the other Arab deities, including the three goddesses named in 53:19-20.

Regarding Eichler's second argument, it has been shown above that in the earlier Qur'ānic contexts the idea of banāt Allāh is separate from the idea of malā'ika as female beings. It seems best to conclude that pre-Islamic Arabs recognized Allah as supreme, but maintained belief in various tribal deities, and that in certain areas the goddesses were seen as banāt Allāh, as is suggested in 37:151-3: "Is it not from their own invention that they say: 'Allah has begotten'? But they are surely liars! Would he choose banāt rather than banūn?"

This vehement polemic would hardly have been used against those who did not speak of banāt Allāh. Then, since there is no evidence to suggest that these goddesses were seen as female malā'ika prior to the time of Muḥammad, it may be concluded that this identification is a Qur'ānic development.

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31 See also 10:31/2-36/7 where it is affirmed that the Meccans accept Allah as creator and provider, but associate other deities with him.
The Intercession of Malą'ika

The second topic mentioned in Sūra 53 in connection with al-Lāt, al-ʿUzzā, and Manāt is the intercession (shafāʿa) of Malą'ika in behalf of men—meaning, in this context, those who worshipped these three goddesses. Before discussing other contexts in which the intercession of Malą'ika is mentioned, it will be helpful to summarize the Qur'ānic development regarding the intercession of prophets (including Muḥammad) in behalf of unbelievers. In earlier Meccan contexts such as 26:86, 19:47/8, and 14:41/2 the intercession of prophets in behalf of unbelievers appears to be fully acceptable. In later Meccan contexts, either intercession is not specifically denied as in 10:18/9, or the intercessors are said to be powerless as in 39:43/4, or it is stated that intercession will not profit the unbeliever as in 74:48/9: "Thus, the intercession of the intercessors will not profit them." Then, in contexts which are either late Meccan or early Medinan, it is stated that there is no intercession without the permission of Allah. Finally, in later Medinan contexts intercession is categorically denied: in 60:4, referring to Ibrāhīm; in 2:48/5 and 2:123/17, referring to Mūsā; and in 9:80/1, referring to Muḥammad (compare also 7:188). This latest development is harmonized with earlier Qur'ānic statements

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See 19:87/90 (referring to ʿĪsā), 34:22/1-23/2 (referring either to ʿĪsā or another of the muqarrabūn), 10:3, 2:255/6, and 20:109/8—for the date of the latter, see Bell, Qurʾān, pp. 293, 300.
in 9:112/3-113/4 where it is explained that Ibrāhīm sought forgiveness for his unbelieving father only until it became clear that the father would not repent and become a Muslim.33

In 53:19-30/1 the three goddesses are identified as malaʾika (possibly for the first time in the development of religious thought in Arabia) in a context which seems to presuppose that certain intermediaries intercede in behalf of men. It may be inferred from 53:26/26-7 that certain Meccans sought intercession with Allah through the goddesses al-Lāt, al-ʿUzza, and Manāt, and it is clear that this context does not deny the efficacy of all such intercession. The statement "How many a malak there is in the heavens whose intercession avails nothing!" says only that the intercession of certain of the malaʾika is not efficacious. Thus, after degrading the goddesses to the rank of malaʾika, the text states that there are limits to their power of intercession. However, there is strong evidence to support the view that this passage regarding intercession has been revised (or expanded)—a possibility which was no doubt recognized by Flügel when he separated v. 26 into two verses (26-7) in his edition of the text of the Qurʾān. Bell suggests

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33 In their discussions of intercession, both Eichler (pp. 96-7) and Tor Andrae, "Der Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum", Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift, ed. Emanuel Linderholm (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell's Boktråckeri, 1923-4), pp. 225-6, fail to recognize the development of this topic in the Qurʾān—a failure which seems to have been caused by their unquestioning acceptance of Nöldeke's dating of these passages.
that the original statement was wa-kam min malakin ff-s-samāwātī lā tughniy shafā'atuhum shay'ān (translated above), and that v. 26b/27 is a "later addition".34

This possibility is supported by a related passage in suṣra 21 where both offspring of Allah and their intercession are mentioned:

26 'iḥey have said: "Ar-Raḥmān has taken to himself offspring." Glory be to him! They are only servants who have been honoured.
27 irhey do not anticipate his speech, they only perform his command.
28 He knows what is before them and what is behind them, and they do not intercede.

In his reconstruction of the context of this passage, Bell suggests that vv. 19-20 are the "original continuation of 26-28":35

19 To him belongs whatever is in the heavens and the earth. Those who are with him are not too proud to serve him, nor do they grow weary.
20 They proclaim his praises night and day without intermission.

It is then suggested that vv. 28b/29-29/30 are a later (Medinan) addition: "Except for those whom he approves, and they fear him and are anxious. If any of them should say: 'I am a god in addition to him', we reward him with Jahannam; thus we reward those who do wrong!"36

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34Qur'ān, p. 541. This "original" verse ending would then rhyme with tasmiyata-l-unthā, mina-l-ḥaqiq shay'ān, and al-ḥayāta-l-d-dunyā of the following three verses.
36Ibid., pp. 303, 307. According to this reconstruction, the rhyme-words for the five consecutive verses (26-8, 19-20) would be: mukramūn, ya'malūn, yashfa'ūn, yastahsirūn, and
If these two passages have been revised as suggested by Bell, then it may be concluded that the revision in Sūra 21 occurred before the revision in Sūra 53, since the statement in 21:28 is a firm denial of the efficacy of the intercession of the "offspring" of Allah whereas 53:26 is not. The fact that the "offspring" of Allah are not called malāʾika in 21:26-29/30 suggests that this passage may be earlier than 53:26-30/1. If this is the case, then the development of this topic in the Qurʾān is as follows: (1) it is denied that the "offspring" of Allah intercede; (2) the goddesses, who are referred to as banāt Allāh, are said to be only female malāʾika; (3) it is stated that the intercession of some of these malāʾika avails nothing; (4) these statements are then revised so that they affirm that the "offspring" (who are also called malāʾika) intercede only with Allah's permission, and only in behalf of those approved by him. It must be remembered that these passages deny that the malāʾika are female, and they deny that Allah has "offspring" or banāt, but they do not deny the existence of these beings, and in some contexts it is affirmed that these beings do intercede.

Although the various factors in this development could be interpreted differently, the order outlined above seems the most natural in light of the final resolution of the question of the yaftūrūn. It should be noted that Flügel also anticipated this reconstruction when he separated v. 28 into two verses (28-9).
intercession of malā'īka as seen in 40:7-9 and 42:3/1-6/4. The second of these two contexts appears to be based upon 21:19-20 (translated above), and is thus associated with the "offspring" of Allah:

3 Thus the one who inspires you and has inspired those before you is Allah, al-‘Azīz, al-‘Ikhīm.
4 To him belongs whatever is in the heavens and the earth. And he is al-‘Alî, al-‘Aṣīm.
5 The heavens almost tear asunder above them when the malā'īka proclaim the praise of their Lord, and ask forgiveness for those on the earth. Surely Allah is al-Ghafūr, ar-Raḥīm.
6 But those who have taken to themselves protectors other than him—Allah is the one who watches over them (ḥafīz)!

In this later passage (probably Medinan) the greatness of Allah is emphasized and the malā'īka loudly proclaim his praise; still the malā'īka appear as intercessors, intermediaries between Allah and mankind. This context must be interpreted in light of 40:7-9 which states explicitly that the intercession of the malā'īka is for believers "who have repented and have followed the path of Allah". This latter context also states that the malā'īka themselves (referred to as "those who bear the throne and those around it") are believers, and they ask that the believers be protected from evil in the present life.

Thus, whereas in the Qur'ān the intercession of prophets in behalf of unbelievers is first accepted, then accepted only in a modified sense, and finally rejected, in the case of the goddesses and malā'īka intercession is first rejected (when referring to the "offspring" of Allah, no doubt the goddesses named in 53:19-20), then accepted in a modified sense (meaning in this case...
that the malā'ika could intercede only for those approved by Allah), and finally, accepted for believers only. Therefore, according to the latest development, there is no intercession for unbelievers, either from prophets or malā'ika. This means that the goddesses were first degraded to the rank of malā'ika and then were made to conform to the will of Allah to such an extent that their significance as intermediaries has been reduced almost to a state of nonexistence.

It should be noted that some of the general references to intercession cited above in the discussion of intercession through prophets may apply as well to the goddesses as intercessors.

See Eichler, p. 96. The passage 53:19-30/1 is discussed further in the following chapter. For summary conclusions regarding the relationship between the malā'ika discussed in the present chapter and other spirit-beings in the Qur'ān, see Chapter XVII.
CHAPTER XIII

BELIEF IN MALĀʾIKA AND OTHER BEINGS BESIDES ALLAH

The general opinion among orthodox Muslims today is that belief in the existence of jinn, šayṭān, and Shayṭān is not only supported by the fact that these beings are mentioned in the Qurʾān, but also prescribed in the article of the creed which requires belief in the malāʾika. A study of the Qurʾānic contexts related to belief in jinn, malāʾika, etc. indicates a clear development of ideas in this respect—a development which is related to the Qurʾānic condemnation of the idols (or gods and goddesses) of pre-Islamic Arabia. The purpose of the present chapter is to determine and clarify the Qurʾānic development regarding the existence of, and belief in, other beings besides Allah. First, the idea of the worship and existence of jinn and malāʾika will be discussed in relation to the Qurʾānic teaching against idolatry. Then a brief survey will be given of the place of the malāʾika in the Qurʾānic development of the creed.

Development in Relation to Rejection of Polytheism

The earliest Qurʾānic statement relating the jinn to the gods of pre-Islamic Arabia seems to be 37:158 which appears in a
context that deals with the position of the malāʾika (who must be considered to be the "speakers" at least in vv. 164-6):

158 They have ascribed (jaʿalū) a kinship (nasab) between him [Allah] and the jinna. But the jinna know that they will be arraigned. ¹

159 Glory to Allah above those they ascribe!
160 except for the servants of Allah who are sincere.
161 Surely you and those you serve
162 will not tempt anyone against him,
163 except for those who will roast in al-Jahīm!
164 There is not one of us who does not have an appointed place.
165 We are those ranged in ranks [before the throne of Allah].
166 We are those who proclaim the glory [of Allah].

Without further knowledge of the religious practices and beliefs of pre-Islamic Arabia, it is impossible to say with certainty which gods or idols are referred to in 37:158. It is possible that this verse refers to the five "gods" (āliha) which are named in 71:23/22-3: Wadd, Suwāʿ, Yaghūth, Yaʿūq, and Nasr. ² Since the verse states that the unbelievers ascribed a "family relationship" (nasab) between these deities and Allah, it is possible that the bānāt Allāh, al-ʿUzza, and Manāt, are intended; however, this possibility is unlikely since these goddesses are later designated as malāʾika. ³ The soundest interpretation is that the less significant idols (or gods) whose sanctuaries were

¹When the term jinna appears in the Qurʾān with the def. article it means "jinn"; when it appears without the def. article it means "jinn-possession" and is synonymous with majnūn. See survey of Qurʾānic usage below.

²See Ibn al-Kalbi, pp. 9-11; Wellhausen, pp. 11-21; and Ryckmans, p. 16 (and notes).

³This interpretation is supported by the parallel passage, 6:100, which is discussed in the preceding chapter.
located in the vicinity of Mecca (probably including those named in 71:23/22-3) are degraded to the rank of jinn in 37:158 early in the Meccan period, and that the deities of the three important sanctuaries at at-Tā'if, Nakhla, and Qudayd are at first degraded only to the rank of malā'ika (in 53:26-30/1).

A related context, 34:40/39-42/1, is one of the most important passages in the Qur'ān for determining the development of the Qur'ānic teaching concerning belief in the jinn (and the place of the malā'ika in the development of the creed within the Qur'ān):

40 On the Yawm when he will gather them all together, then he will say to the malā'ika: "Was it you that these were serving?"

41 They will say: "Glory be to you! You are our protector (wāli) apart from them. No, rather they served the jinn, in whom most of them believed."

42 But on that Yawm you will have no power over each other, for profit or harm. And we will say to those who have done evil: "Taste the punishment of an-Nār, which you denied!"

This late Meccan pericope seems to refer to Muḥammad's opponents in Mecca, who are warned that those whom they serve (ya'budūna, which may also be rendered "they worshipped") will not be able to protect them on the Yawm ad-Dīn. As in the context discussed above, so also in 34:41/0, certain deities worshipped by the Meccans are here called "jinn". If the statement kānū ya'budūnā-l-jinna aktharuhum bi-him mu'minūn (they served the jinn, in whom

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4Watt, Mecca, p. 108, states: "Again, when the idolators are said to make jinn partners to God, this need not imply that the idolators regarded them as jinn; the Qur'ān may express the matter thus because this was the view taken at the time by Muḥammad and others who had abandoned idol-worship."
most of them believed) is accepted as true and is taken literally, then the "jinn" would include the three goddesses, al-Lāt, al-‘Uzza, and Manāt, who would thus be seen as being degraded one step further—from the rank of malā'ika to that of jinn. This interpretation is far from certain, however, since this statement may be one of the many hyperboles which appear in the Qur'ān.

Furthermore, this context need not necessarily be interpreted as indicating that the Meccans believed that they were worshipping malā'ika; on the contrary, the identification of the Arabian deities with the malā'ika appears to be a Qur'ānic development, and there is no evidence to show that the Meccans ever accepted this interpretation of their gods and goddesses. All that is clear is that in 53:26-30/1 the goddesses al-Lāt, al-‘Uzza, and Manāt are identified as malā'ika, and now when the malā'ika are asked if they had been worshipped, they reply that it was the jinn who were being worshipped. It is significant that in this context the existence of both malā'ika and jinn is accepted.

The next development in the Qur'ānic attitude towards the Arabian deities is seen in the statement in 7:70/69 (which is spoken by the prophet Hūd): "Wrath and anger have fallen upon you from your Lord! Will you continue to dispute with me regarding names (asma‘) which you and your fathers have named? Allah has sent down no authority concerning them!" A parallel statement
occurs in 53:23 just after al-Lāt, al-`Uzzā, and Manāt are named: "They are nothing but names which you and your fathers have named. Allah has sent down no authority concerning them!" Although the relative dates of these two verses are difficult to determine, it is most likely that this significant statement of non-existence was first applied to the gods of the people of the prophet Hūd, and then later applied to the three goddesses named in Sūra 53. This assertion of non-existence appears to be the final Qur'ānic judgment upon the Arabian deities (which suggests that 53:23 is later than 53:26-30/1–both of which are later than 53:19-22); however, the existence of malā'īka continues to be accepted throughout the Qur'ān, and they continue to be associated with beings which are worshipped besides Allah.

Since the Meccans continued to worship al-Lāt, al-`Uzzā, and Manāt until the sanctuaries of these three goddesses were destroyed in the eighth and ninth years after the Hijra, these idols continued to affect the development of monotheism in the Qur'ān throughout most of the Medinan period. In 4:116-121/0, the Meccan goddesses are no longer identified as malā'īka, since the latter are now seen as extensions of the divine power who can do nothing contrary to the will of Allah. The act of praying to these goddesses is now said to be praying to a shaytān marīd (a rebellious adversary):

5See Watt, Companion, p. 245; and Izutsu, pp. 14-15.
6See van der Leeuw, pp. 142-6; cf. also Izutsu, pp. 16-17.
116 Allah does not forgive associating (an yushraka) with him; other than that he forgives whomever he wills. One who associates (yushrik) with Allah has strayed far [from the truth].

117 In place of him, some pray only to female beings; but they pray only to a shaytān marīd!

118 Allah has cursed him (la'-anahu), but he said: "I will take an appointed portion of your servants,

119 and I will lead them astray and fill them with false desires, and I will command them to slit the ears of the cattle, and to deface Allah's creation." Thus, whoever takes Shaytān as a friend instead of Allah has surely suffered a clear loss.

120 He makes promises to them and fills them with false desires, but Shaytān promises only deception.

121 The refuge for those [who follow Shaytān] shall be Jahannam, from which they shall find no escape!

The similarities between this context and certain statements in the Qur'ānic accounts of the Iblīs-myth indicate that the adversary in this passage is Iblīs. The designation shaytān marīd clearly refers to the Iblīs-myth, where Iblīs rebels against Allah and becomes a "fallen-angel". The statement in v. 118, la'-anahu-llāhu, has its parallel in 38:78/9 and 15:35, where Allah says to Iblīs 'alayka la'natī (and 'alayka-l-la'na). The promise of the adversary to lead men astray (4:118-119/8) has parallels in 17:62/4, 38:82/3-83/4, 15:39-40, and 7:16/5. Most significantly, however, is the verbatim duplication between 4:120/19 and 17:64/6: wa-mā ya'iduhumush-sh-shaytānu illā ghurūr (Shaytān promises them nothing but deception)—a statement which is clearly a later addition to the Iblīs-myth.  

7See the Excursus at the end of Chapter III, pp. 61-3.
8See Bell, Qur'ān, p. 268.
This passage in Sūra 4 indicates that during the Medinan period the roles of Iblīs and Shaytān are combined. The association of the Meccan goddesses with Iblīs (called Shaytān marīd in 4:117) in this context supports the view that there is an inherent relationship between the fallen-angel (or falling-star) who "rebelled" against Allah and became man's permanent "adversary", and the Meccan goddesses who were originally astral and solar deities.

Another passage which illustrates a significant development which occurs in the Medinan period is 3:78/2-80/74 which ends: "[Allah] does not command you to take the malāʾika and the nabiyyīn as lords (arbāb). Would he command you to disbelieve after you have surrendered?" Here the existence of the malāʾika seems to be placed on the same level as the existence of former prophets (nabiyyīn). The existence of the malāʾika and yet insistence that they not be worshipped are also involved in 3:18/6: "Allah and the malāʾika and men who possess knowledge bear witness that there is no deity but [Allah] who maintains justice. There is no deity but him, al-ʿAzīz, al-Ḥakīm."9 Whereas the position of the malāʾika is vague and undefined in the Meccan contexts,10 their existence is fully accepted in

9Note that the same pair of epithets are applied to Allah in 42:3/1 which is quoted in the preceding chapter, p. 240.

10Bell, Introduction, p. 144, states: "Angels do not appear in the earliest parts of the Qur'ān; they belong to the period of closer contact with Judaism and Christianity."
medinan contexts where also their role in relation to Allah is clear.11

This is not the case, however, concerning the jinn and the shayātīn. At this point, a complete survey of the Qurʾānic usage of these two terms can now be given (including other derivatives which are related to the term jinn). Of the forty-eight occurrences of terms related to the jinn, sixteen refer to "jinn-possession" (the dominant theme of the middle of the Meccan period), and twenty refer to the thagālān ("jinn and men"—the dominant usage of the late Meccan period); thus, in addition to these two principal usages, only twelve other references occur.

The following is the complete summary: (1) the term majnūn occurs eleven times,12 and the expression bihi jinnatun (with variations) occurs five times;13 (2) the expression al-jinn wa-l-ins (with variations) occurs eleven times,14 al-jinnatu wa-n-nās occurs three times,15 and there are six other related references;16 (3) the twelve additional references are (a) jānn...
are created from fire, (b) jinn work for Sulaymān, (c) Iblīs is said to be one of the jinn, (d) jinn hear the Qurʾān recited, and (e) kinship is ascribed between al-jinna and Allah, jinn are ascribed to Allah as associates, and the polytheists are said to serve (or worship) jinn. According to the dating of Nöldeke and Blachère, all of these forty-eight occurrences appear in Meccan contexts; according to Bell, 23:25, 51:39, and 27:17, 39 (in stories about Nūḥ, Mūsā, and Sulaymān respectively) may be early Medinan, along with 34:8 (which is clearly a Meccan topic) and 11:119/20 (which is explicitly said to be a quotation from an earlier context). The only two Qurʾānic references to jinn which may be early Medinan but do not deal with topics which are specifically Meccan are 34:41/0 (which is translated and discussed above) and 6:112 which states that shayātīn (in this case, "adversaries") among men and jinn attempt to mislead all prophets with flowery speech. Thus, a

1755:15/4 and 15:27
1827:39 and 34:12/1, 14/3
1918:50/48
2046:29/8 and 72:1
2137:158
226:100
2334:41/0. Also the term jānn has the meaning "serpent" in 27:10 and 28:31.
24Bell suggests that 7:179/8, 17:88/90, and 114:6 may also possibly be early Medinan.
development in the Qur'anic conception of "jinn" is evident: whereas the pre-Islamic Arabian belief in jinn is assumed in the earlier contexts, these creatures are identified with the Arabian deities and with the shayātīn in later contexts.\textsuperscript{25}

The plural noun shayātīn occurs in the Qur'ān only eighteen times, in the following contexts: (1) an account of the shooting-star myth in 67:5; (2) an idiom in 37:65/3; (3) an explanation of madness in 6:71/0; (4) five times in relation to temptation and punishment for evil;\textsuperscript{26} (5) twice in Sulaymān legends;\textsuperscript{27} (6) three times in relation to inspiration;\textsuperscript{28} and (7) five times in contexts which may refer to "human adversaries".\textsuperscript{29} In the majority of these contexts, no essential difference can be detected between the character of these

\textsuperscript{25}There appears to be no direct relationship between the jinn (or the shayātīn) and the asūnām (idols) which are mentioned in relation to Ibrāhīm in 6:64, 14:35/8, 21:57/8, and 26:71; and in a Mūsā story in 7:138/4. However, Shayṭān is related to the tāghūt (which seems to mean "false deities") in 4:76/8: "The believers fight in the way of Allah, but the unbelievers fight in the way of the tāghūt. Therefore, fight against the friends of Shayṭān; surely the cunning of Shayṭān is feeble." In some contexts this term is associated with the Ahl al-Kitāb—4:51/4, 60/3; and 5:60/5. Other Qur'ānic occurrences are: 2:256/7-257/9; 16:36/8; and 39:17/9. For discussion of views concerning the origin and meaning of the term tāghūt, see ar-Rāghib, p. 307; as-Suyūṭī, p. 322; and Jeffery, Foreign Vocab., pp. 202-3.

\textsuperscript{26}7:27/6, 30/28; 17:27/9; and 19:68/9, 83/6

\textsuperscript{27}21:82 and 38:37/6

\textsuperscript{28}26:210, 221; and 23:97/9

\textsuperscript{29}6:112, 121; 2:14/3; and 2:102/96 (twice)
shayāṭīn and the nature of the jinn which appear in parallel or related contexts. One distinctive difference, however, is that in some of the later contexts the term shayāṭīn is applied to Muḥammad's opponents, whereas the jinn do not appear as "human adversaries" anywhere in the Qur'ān.

Thus, in the latest Qur'ānic development regarding these beings, the jinn appear to be identified with Arabian deities which in the end are said to be non-existent, and the shayāṭīn appear to be identified with Muḥammad's "human adversaries". Then, in the Medinan period, the supernatural (but non-divine) powers for good and evil are focused in the mala'ika and the arch-adversary, Shayṭān, while the jinn and shayāṭīn cease to be mentioned. It appears to be more than coincidental that the latest Qur'ānic references to the jinn and the shayāṭīn occur at the same time as the identification of the jinn with the Arabian deities and the assertions that the latter do not exist (but are merely names invented by the Arabs).30

30It is true that the ancient Arabian belief in jinn has continued within Islam, as is concluded in Goldziher, Abhandlungen, pp. 111-12; Grimme, p. 66; and Theodor Nöldeke, "Arabs (Ancient)", ERE, I, 670. Reference has already been made above to the study by Westermarck entitled Pagan Survivals in Mohammedan Civilization which contains a sociological study of contemporary belief in jinn in North Africa. An interesting appraisal of contemporary Persian belief in jinn appears in Bessie Allen Donaldson, "Belief in Jinn Among the Persians", MW, XX (1930), 185-94, in which she states: "The Persians defend their faith in jinn on the ground of the numerous references to them in the Koran, showing that their prophet believed in them" (p. 193). The present study has shown that Westermarck, p. 12, is not precisely correct when he concludes: "The ancient Arabic belief
In Islam there is no official creed outlining beliefs and practices which are required of all orthodox Muslims. Each of the numerous credal statements which continue to influence Muslim belief and practice stands on its own authority and the reputation of its formulator (or the scholar to whom it is attributed). The earliest attempts at formulating confessions of faith are the three statements which were produced by the school of Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767) and are known as al-Fīqh al-Akbar I, al-Fīqh al-Akbar II, and the more detailed Wasiyya (testament). These became the bases for the more influential credal statements of al-Ashʿarī (d. 323/935) which appear as parts of his two well-known works Kitāb al-Ibānāʿ an

in the jinn was on the whole maintained by Islam; the assemblage of these beings was in fact extended by the Prophet, who recognised the existence of heathen gods, but classed them among the demons." Eichler, p. 78, appears to be correct when he concludes that although the Arabian deities are degraded in the Qurʾān, there is no indication as to their final position, and clearly, they are not seen as jinn or as shayātīn. Eichler suggests that Muḥammad may have seen the Meccan deities as some special class of spiritual beings like the shurakāʿ and the muqarrabūn.


32 See Wensinck, Muslim Creed, pp. 188-247.

33 See ibid., pp. 125-87, and Jeffery, Reader, pp. 342-6.
Ugul ad-Diyana and Magalat al-Islamiyyin. Other significant Muslim credal statements are those of Abu Ja'far Ahmad at-Tahawi (d. 331/943) and Najm ad-Din Abu Hafs an-Nasafi (d. 537/1142). Although these credal statements deal with both faith and practice, the emphasis is upon theological questions, and treatment of the nature and role of the mal'ika is noticeably brief.

In popular Islam, Muslim faith and practice have centered around five (or sometimes six) articles of faith and five fundamental religious duties. The articles of faith are belief in: (1) Allah, (2) his mal'ika, (3) his kutub, (4) his rusul, (5) al-Yawm al-Akhir, and sometimes (6) predestination, the decreeing (gadar) of both good and evil. The religious duties which are sometimes called the Pillars of Islam are: (1) the testimony (shahida) that there is no deity but Allah and that Muhammad is the rasul of Allah, (2) performance of the ritual prayer (salat),

34 These are edited and translated in McCarthy's The Theology of al-Ash'ari (see above, p. 135, n. 54).
36 See Wensinck, Muslim Creed, 198-202.
(3) giving the legal alms (zakāt), (4) observing the fast (qawm) during the month of Ramaḍān, and (5) making the pilgrimage (hajj) to the Ka'ba in Mecca. The first five of these six articles of faith are explicitly required in Qur'ānic credal statements. Also, the five religious duties are required at various places in the Qur'ān, but they are never listed together and some are never mentioned with the Qur'ānic credal requirements.

The formulation of Qur'ānic credal statements is largely a Medinan development, although requirements pertaining to both faith and practice appear in Meccan contexts. The earlier statements require belief in the Qur'ān, Allah's signs (āyāt) and al-Ākhira (the hereafter). A Meccan statement concerning belief in the Qur'ān occurs in 10:40/1: "Some of them believe in it (yu'minu bihi) and some do not believe in it; but your Lord knows best those who seek corruption." Belief in the signs of Allah is mentioned with shirk and almsgiving in 23:57/9-61/3:

57 Surely those who for fear of their Lord are anxious,
58 those who believe (yu'minūna) in the signs (āyāt) of their Lord,
59 those who associate (yushrikūna) no partners with their Lord,
60 those who give their charity with hearts filled with fear knowing they will return to their Lord—
61 these are hastening to good works and reaching them first.

37 These six articles of faith and five religious duties appear in a tradition recorded by ash-Shahrastānī and translated by Macdonald, Muslim Theology, pp. 292-3. On the "Pillars of Islam", see Wensinck, Muslim Creed, pp. 17-35.

38 See also: 17:107/8; 26:201; 34:31/0; 41:44; and 72:2.

39 See also references listed in note 44 below.
Belief in al-Ākhira is mentioned in 27:1-4, along with references to the ǧalāt and the zakāt, and also the āyāt and the Qurʾān:

"These are the āyāt of the Qurʾān and a kitāb which makes clear, a guidance (ḥudān) and good news (bushrā) for the believers, who observe the ǧalāt, give the zakāt, and are convinced regarding al-Ākhira. Those who do not believe in al-Ākhira—we have made their deeds seem fair to them, but they wander blindly." 40

Before special attention is devoted to the formulation of statements of faith, belief in Allah and the malāʾika is not stressed in the Qurʾān. 41

In Medinan contexts, belief in Allah is specifically required, as in 65:11: "Whoever believes in Allah and does righteousness will be admitted to gardens in which rivers flow, therein to dwell forever." 42 In most Medinan contexts, however, more than belief in Allah is required. The Meccan requirement of belief in al-Ākhira becomes belief in "Allah and al-Yawm

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40See also: 6:92, 113, 154/5; 16:22/3, 17:10/1, 45/7; 23:74/6; 34:8, 21/0; and 39:45/6.

41One context which may be Meccan and which urges belief in Allah is 46:31/0: "Our people, listen to the summoner of Allah and believe in him; he will forgive some of your sins . . . ." However, this plea is spoken by jinn and is addressed to other jinn. Cf. also 72:13. A statement of belief in Allah occurs in 40:7, but refers to malāʾika. Other contexts which may be Meccan and which mention belief in Allah are: 7:86/4, 10:84, 12:106, 36:25/4, 67:29, and 85:8; however, none of these urges belief in Allah, nor are they statements of faith.

42See also: 2:186/2, 256/7, 3:52/45, 110/06, 193/0; 4:175/4; 9:61, 86/7; 57:8; 60:4; 64:9, 11; and 65:11.
al-Āakhir" in Medinan contexts, such as 2:62/59: "Surely those who believe, and those among the Jews, the Christians, and the Sabaeans who believe in Allah and al-Yawm al-Āakhir and work righteousness--their wage awaits them with their Lord, and they shall neither fear nor sorrow." In other contexts certain religious duties are also required, as in 9:18: "Those in charge of Allah's places of worship must be among those who believe in Allah and al-Yawm al-Āakhir, and who perform the salāt and give the zakāt, and who fear no one but Allah."43 The requirement of belief in "al-Qur'ān" (usually occurring in Meccan passages) becomes belief in "al-Kitāb" in Medinan contexts such as 2:2/1-5/4 and the parallel passage, 2:136/0, where this concept is explained in detail: "We believe in Allah and that which has been sent down on us and sent down on Ibrāhīm, Ismā'īl, Ishaq and Ya'qūb, and the Tribes, and which was given to Mūsā and 'Īsā and the prophets (nabiyyūn) from their Lord".44 As is to be expected, statements urging belief in the āyāt of Allah are largely (if not exclusively) Meccan, and clearly do not occur in contexts which are later than the battle at Badr.45

43 Other contexts regarding belief in Allah and al-Yawm al-Āakhir include: 2:8/7, 126/0, 232, 264/6; 3:114/0; 4:38/42, 39/43, 59/62, 162/0; 5:69/73; 9:19, 29, 44, 45, 99/100; 24:2; 58:22; 65:2; also cf. 12:37.

44 See also: 2:136/0; 3:52/45-53/46, 199/8; 5:59/64; 8:41/2; also cf. 2:91/85; 3:53/46, 72/65; 4:47/50, 60/3; 29:46/5; and 47:2.

45 For statements regarding belief in the āyāt of Allah, see: 6:25, 54, 109-10, 158/9; 7:126/3, 146/3, 156/5; 16:79/81, 104/6, 105/7; 20:127; 21:5-6, 30/1; 23:58/60; 27:81/3, 86/6; 28:2/1-3/2; 29:24/3; 30:37/6, 53/2; 32:15; 40:57/9-59/61; and 45:6/5.
A requirement of faith which appears to be exclusively Medinan is belief in "Allah and his rasūl" or "Allah and his rūsul"; the only context which may possibly be Meccan is 7:158: "So believe in Allah and his rasūl, the ummī-prophet, who believes in Allah and his words". A typical example of contexts in which the plural rūsul occurs is 3:179/4: "So believe in Allah and his rūsul; if you believe and act piously you will receive a mighty reward." 47

The mala'ika appear in three Qur'ānic credal statements, the relative dates of which are difficult to determine; however, 2:177/2, which also contains a list of religious duties, seems to be the earliest of the three:

Piety is not that you face to the East or to the West. True piety is to believe in Allah, al-Yawm al-Ākhir, the mala'ika, al-Kitāb, and the prophets (nābiyyīn), and also to give freely of your substance out of love for him, to relatives, orphans, the needy, the traveller, beggars, and for the ransom of slaves; also to perform the gālāt and give the zakāt; also, those who fulfil their covenant when they enter into one, and endure misfortune with patience, as also hardship and extreme adversity—these are the ones who are true in their faith and are godfearing!

One indication that this is the earliest of the three mala'ika credal statements is the order of the five articles of faith; this context is the only one of the three which begins with belief in "Allah and al-Yawm al-Ākhir", the two elements which

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46 See also: 24:47/6, 62; 48:9, 13; 49:15; 57:7; 61:11; cf. also 5:81/4, 111; 64:8; and 3:81/75, 183/79; 5:12/5; 57:28.

47 See also: 4:150/49, 152/1, 171/69; and 57:19/8, 21, in addition to those discussed below.
occur together over twenty times in the Qur'ān. One other distinctive characteristic of this group of articles is the occurrence of the singular form, al-kitāb, which suggests the view that the same "book" was sent down to all prophets.

The second Qur'ānic credal statement in which the malāʾika appear is 2:285, which speaks of the beliefs of Muḥammad and the Muslims during the early Medinan period: "The rasūl believes in that which has been sent down to him from his Lord, as do the believers (muʾminūn). Each one believes in Allah, his malāʾika, his kutub, and his rasūl—we make no distinction between any of his rasūl." It is clear from this context that the interest now focuses upon the question of the relationships among the various rasūl; the plural form kutub may suggest that each rasūl has his own kitāb. Just why the fifth article, al-Yawm al-Ākhir, is omitted in this verse is difficult to say—unless this omission is explained by the special interest in the rasūl. It is also notable that the malāʾika now appear second, just after Allah, possibly indicating an elevation in the importance of these beings.

The final Qur'ānic form of the Muslim creed appears in 4:136/5 where the order follows that of 2:285 with the addition

48 See note 43 above.

49 The term rasūl in 2:285 may refer only to those who are named in 2:136/0 which is quoted above.

50 See Bijlefeld, pp. 18-19, and 25.
of the all important al-Yawm al-Ākhir. In 4:136/5 the credal statement appears in the negative form and is preceded by an explanation of the term kutub:

Believers, believe in Allah and his rusul and the Kitāb which he has sent down upon his rasūl [Muḥammad] and the Kitāb which he sent down before. Whoever disbelieves (man yakfur) in Allah, his malā'ika, his kutub, his rusul, and al-Yawm al-Ākhir has surely strayed far [from the truth].

The verse which follows deals with the hypocrites "who believe and then disbelieve, and then believe and then disbelieve"—thus indicating the importance of establishing a formal credal statement. All three of these contexts which mention the malā'ika are early Medinan, with the first dating from about the time of the change of the qibla (the middle of the second year after the Hijra), and the other two probably following shortly thereafter. It is clear that these three statements date from the period of the most intensive and searching exchanges between Muḥammad and the Jews and Christians of Medina, and that the final formulation appeared before the final break with the Jews.

Two of the five articles in 4:136/5 are clearly syncretistic as is indicated by the plural forms kutub and rusul, and these may be related to the early Medinan attempts (of both Muḥammad and the Qur'ān) to embrace Jews and Christians.  

51See Bell, Qur'ān, pp. 24, 42, and 86.
52See Watt, Medina, pp. 196-204, and 315-20.
Belief in the malā'ika as a required article of faith is almost certainly related to the Medinan elevation in the position of the malā'ika and the corresponding decline in the position of jinn and shayātīn. Although belief in the existence (and createdness) of jinn and shayātīn is included under this article in Muslim theology, there is no evidence in the Qur'ānic statements to support their inclusion. On the contrary, as is shown above, the Qur'ānic evidence tends to suggest that the existence (or at least importance) of jinn and shayātīn as spiritual beings (which work for good or evil in the lives of man) is no longer maintained in Medinan contexts.
CHAPTER XIV

POWERS FOR GOOD AND EVIL IN THE LIVES OF MEN

The Qur'ān affirms that Allah has complete power (qudra) regarding all matters of faith and practice in the lives of men.

A frequently occurring Qur'ānic statement is inna-llāha 'alā kulli shay'īn qadīr (surely Allah possesses power over everything).\(^1\) The Qur'ān also states frequently that Allah guides whomever he pleases (wa-anna-llāha yahdī man yurfīdū)\(^2\) and also leads astray whomever he pleases (fa-yuḍillu-llāhu man yashā'u),\(^3\) with both statements often occurring together, as in 14:4:

"Allah leads astray whom he pleases, and he guides whom he pleases. He is al-‘Azīz, al-‘Qākim."\(^4\) In other contexts, however, the malā'īka and Shayṭān appear to have direct influence upon religious and ethical matters in the lives of men. The purpose of

\(^1\)Over thirty contexts in which this statement occurs are listed in Daud Rahbar, God of Justice: A Study in the Ethical Doctrine of the Qur'ān (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960), pp. 255-60.

\(^2\)See ibid., pp. 364-5.

\(^3\)Cf. 7:186/5: man yuḍillī-llāhu fa-lā hādiyā (there is no guide for him whom Allah leads astray). See other references in Rahbar, pp. 351-3.

\(^4\)See ibid., pp. 356-79.
the present chapter is to examine the role of spirit-beings in Qur'anic statements regarding the faith and practice of men.

The first section deals with the role of those whom Allah sends to support the believers, the most prominent example being statements in which Allah is said to send down malā'ika to reinforce the believers in battle. The second section deals with the attempts of Shayṭān to lead men astray--by causing fear in battle and by inducing them to gamble, drink wine, etc. The third section deals with those celestial beings which are said "to watch over" men and record their good and evil deeds.

Those Whom Allah Sends To Support Believers

Some examples of Allah's support for believers through celestial messengers have already been cited in previous chapters. In 16:102/4 the rūḥ al-qudus brings down revelation from Allah in order to strengthen (li-yuthabbita) those who believe.⁵ In three other contexts, Allah supports Ḥisā ibn Maryam (ayyadnāhu) with the rūḥ al-qudus.⁶ In 58:22 Allah supports the believers (ayyada-hum) with a rūḥ from himself (bi-rūḥin min-hu).⁷ In 42:5/3 the malā'ika who are in the heavens singing the praises of their Lord

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⁵See above, Chapter XI, p. 214.

⁶2:87/1, 2:253/4, and 5:110/09. See above, Chapter X, pp. 183-8.

⁷See above, Chapter X, p. 185.
also ask forgiveness (yastaghfirūna) for those on earth. This idea is related to the statements that Allah and his malāʾika bless Muḥammad (inna-llāha wa-malāʾikatu hu yuṣallūna ʿalā-n-nabī) in 33:56, and Allah and his malāʾika bless the believers (huwa-lladhī yuṣallī ʿalaykum wa-malāʾikatu hu) in 33:43/2. The verb ṣallā (here translated "bless") means "to pray for" when the subject is human; in these contexts this verb may be related to Allah's assistance in battle.

In 66:4-5 both Jibrīl and the malāʾika are said to support Muḥammad in a dispute regarding two of his wives (ʿAʾisha—the daughter of Abū Bakr—and Ḥafṣa—the daughter of ʿUmar, according to tradition):

4 If you two repent before Allah, then your hearts are sincere; but if you support each other against [Muḥammad], then Allah is his protector (mawlā), and Jibrīl and the righteous (gāliḥ) among the believers and also the malāʾika are his supporters.

5 It may be that if he divorces you his Lord will give him in exchange wives who are better than you—women who surrender and believe, and who are obedient, penitent, devout, and who fast—some who have been married and also virgins.

Besides 2:97/1-98/2 which is discussed in Chapter XI, this verse in Sūra 66 contains the only other Qurʾānic occurrence of the name Jibrīl. Although the support of Jibrīl and the malāʾika (mentioned in v. 4) need not be regarded as the same type of support which might be offered by Muḥammad's followers, it is difficult to imagine in what manner Jibrīl might be a supporter (gahīr) of

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8 See above, Chapter XII, p. 240.
Muḥammad in a domestic dispute. It should be noted that this context may be interpreted differently so that Jibrīl is Muḥammad's mawla along with Allāh; however, it seems that "Jibrīl" and "the believers" have the same function in 66:4, and the latter are better regarded as "supporters" rather than "protectors".

The role of the malaʾika as supporters of Muḥammad in 66:4 should be compared with several contexts in which the malaʾika are said to reinforce the believers in battle. Although these battle-contexts are not explicitly clear, the malaʾika appear to be associated with at least three specific episodes: (1) the battle which the Muslims won at Baḍr during the month of Ramaḍān in the year 2 A.H., (2) the victorious battle on the Day of the Trench (al-Khandaq) in the year 5 A.H. (although here the

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9The "support" given by Jibrīl may be indicated in v. 3 where Muḥammad confronts one of his wives with the knowledge that she has divulged a secret, and she asks "Who told you this?", to which he replies "I was informed by al-ʿAlīm, al-Khabīr". These epithets refer to Allāh, but Jibrīl may be involved if the source of knowledge is seen as revelation—since this sura is late Medinan, in fact one of the last sūras in the Qurʾān.

10Of the twenty times that the term mawla occurs in the Qurʾān, it refers to Allāh at least eleven times. Examples of other uses are: 47:11/2, "the unbelievers have no mawla"; 57:15/4, "your refuge is an-Nār, that is your mawla"; and 22:13, referring to someone besides Allāh in whom refuge is sought, "he is an evil mawla indeed, an evil friend".

11Against this interpretation, see the translations of Rodwell, Bell, Pickthall, Arberry, and Dawood. An interesting variation is reported in the reading of this verse by Ubayy ibn Kaʿb who is said to have read the two names Abū Bakr and ʿUmar after the expression wa-gālihi-l-muʾminin (the righteous among the believers)—see Jeffery, Materials, p. 171.
mala'ika are not mentioned by name), and (3) the battle of Ḥunayn which occurred in the month of Shawwāl in the year 8 A.H.

Possibly the earliest of these contexts is 8:12, which follows a reference to the rain which was "sent down" on the night before the battle of Badr:

When your Lord revealed (yuḥi) to the mala'ika: "I am with you, so strengthen (fa-thabbitū) those who believe. I will cast terror into the hearts of the unbelievers, so smite above their necks and smite all of their fingers."

In the Qur'ān, the verb thabbata always refers to "strengthening" the believers, but usually in the sense of "to stand firm", so that in this context it probably means that the mala'ika are instructed to keep the Muslims from retreating from the battle; then, in addition to this task, the mala'ika are also instructed to take an active part in the fighting.12

Two other references to mala'ika participating in battle, 8:9 and 3:124/0-125/1, also refer to the battle of Badr, but seem to date from the period of discouragement following the battle of Uḥud, which occurred during the month of Shawwāl in the year 3 A.H. By looking back to Allah's assistance at Badr, these contexts have the purpose of encouraging the Muslims to fight with confidence in future battles. In 8:9 the Muslims are reminded: "[Remember] when you called upon your Lord for succour, and he replied: 'I will reinforce you (mumiddukum) with a thousand

12Bq., I, 351, mentions a legend about a nation which was protected by mala'ika.
malāʾika riding behind you!" The expression rendered here "when you called upon your Lord for succour" is idh tastaghīthūna rabbakum; the verb coming from ghātha, "to send rain", is no doubt an allusion to the phenomenon which was seen as Allah's intervention on the eve of the battle of Badr. The only Qur'ānic occurrence of the name Badr appears in 3:123/19, which (although possibly an independent pericope\(^{13}\)) is related topically to the two verses which follow:

124 [Remember] when you [Muḥammad] said to the believers: "Is it not sufficient for you that your Lord should reinforce you (yumiddakum) with three thousand malāʾika sent down upon you?

125 Certainly, if you remain patient and godfearing, and the enemy should rush upon you instantly, then your Lord will reinforce you (yumdīdkum) with five thousand malāʾika, designated [for this purpose] (musawwimīn).

In this context two more derivatives from the verb madda occur. Unlike the verb thabbata, the Qur'ānic usage of madda suggests active support by the malāʾika on behalf of the Muslims.\(^{14}\)

In later contexts the idea of divine assistance in battle is no longer associated explicitly with malāʾika, but with the less precise designation junūd (hosts), as in 33:9: "You who believe, remember Allah's blessing (nīma) upon you when hosts (junūd) came against you, and we loosed against them a wind (rīḥ)\(^{15}\)

\(^{13}\)See Bell, Qurʾān, p. 57.

\(^{14}\)Eichler, pp. 90-2, regards these malāʾika (which are associated with the battle at Badr) as "guardian angels" (Schutzengel). Katsh, pp. 199-200, cites parallels in midrashic literature in which large armies of angels assist the Hebrews in battle.
and hosts (junūd) which you did not see! But Allah sees what you are doing!" This context, which refers to the battle on the Day of the Trench, seems to contain reminiscences of some of the legends of Sulaymān which appear in earlier Qur'ānic contexts. In 27:17 Sulaymān's hosts (junūd) are said to consist of jinn, men, and birds, and in 38:36/5 and 34:12/1 the wind (rīḥ) is said to have been subjected to Sulaymān. Is it possible, then, that the junūd in 33:9 are jinn rather than malāʾika? These junūd "which were not seen" are also mentioned in connection with the battle of Ḫunayn in 9:24/5-25/6, where it is specifically stated that Allah sent them in order to punish those who disbelieved. Since these contexts are late Medinan, and since these junūd are clearly agents of Allah, it is unlikely that they could be jinn, and must therefore be seen as malāʾika, like those mentioned in connection with the battle of Badr.

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15See above, Chapter VII, pp. 129-34.
16See above, Chapter VII, pp. 116-20.
17Ibn Isḥāq, p. 585, relates a poem about the battle of Ḫunayn, in which one of the opponents of the Muslims says:

"They smote the men till they saw none
Round the prophet and until dust hid him.
Then Gabriel was sent down from heaven to help them
And we were routed and captured.
If any other but Gabriel had fought us
Our noble swords would have protected us."

18The summary given by O'Shaughnessy, p. 45, clearly implies (although it does not explicitly state) that only Muḥammad is supported by junūd in the Qur'ān; however, several of the more than twenty contexts in which this term occurs do not refer exclusively to Muḥammad (33:9 quoted above being an example).
A more important question is the purpose of these statements which attribute military victories to Allah's intervention with hosts of malāʾika. There is no evidence in the Qurʾān to suggest that the assistance of malāʾika was promised prior to the battle of Badr. In a sense all Arab battles in the time of Muḥammad were "holy wars", since each tribe fought in the name of its particular deity. Ibn al-Kalbi records a poem about Yaghūṭh (one of the Arabian deities named in Sūra 71) which contains the following couplet: "Yaghūṭh led us into the Murād, and we vanquished them before the morning." Ibn Ḫisāq records a couplet said to have been recited by a Muslim woman after the battle at Ḫunayn: "Allah's cavalry have beaten Al-Lāt's cavalry, and Allah best deserves to hold fast." The battles of the Muslims were undoubtedly seen as "holy wars" from the beginning; however, the military victories acquired particular significance as "signs" of Allah's power, and as verifications of the truth of Muḥammad's message and mission. The defeat at Uḥud is also significant in this respect, since in the Qurʾān it is seen as the result of the Muslims' lack of faith in Allah, and as an example of what happens when Allah's assistance is withheld. Thus, the victories are victories for Allah, and the malāʾika are seen as the instruments of Allah in providing the necessary assistance to effect a Muslim victory over the "unbelievers". This

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19p. 10
20p. 572
theological interpretation of a military victory is summarized in 3:123/19: "Allah helped you (naṣarākum) at Badr when you were utterly abased (adhilla). Thus, fear Allah that you may show your gratitude!"

Those Who Attempt To Lead Men Astray

The common Qur'ānic statement "Allah leads astray (yuqullu) whomever he pleases" has been mentioned above; however, in over half of the Qur'ānic contexts in which derivatives of the verb adlalla (to lead astray) occur, the subject of this verb is someone other than Allah. In 71:23/2-24 the Arabian deities, wadd, Suwā', Yaghūth, Ya'qūb, and Nasr, are said to have led many astray (adallū kathīr); and in 14:36/9 Ibrāhīm affirms that the idols (āqām) have led many of mankind astray (āQQalna kathīran mina-n-nās). Also, in several contexts the sinners (al-mujrimūn) or the unbelievers (al-kāfirūn), or certain of Muḥammad's opponents are said to lead people astray.

Of particular interest are six contexts in which Shayṭān, the shayāṭīn, and the jinn are mentioned: (1) in 7:38/6 and

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21Rahbar, God of Justice pp. 349-53, lists twenty-six contexts in which derivatives of the verb adlalla are associated with Allah. Toshihiko Izutsu, Ethico-Religious Concepts in the Qurʾān (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1966), p. 133, suggests that dāla (to go astray) is one of the principal Qurʾānic concepts related to kufr (unbelief). A summary analysis of the Qurʾānic usage of derivatives from this verb is given by Izutsu on pp. 134-41.

41:29 those condemned at the judgment claim that they had been led astray by al-jinni wa-l-ins; (2) in 6:119 men are said to be led astray by those who prohibit certain foods, and these are said to be inspired by the shayāṭīn; (3) in 22:3 men are said to be led astray by one who disputes concerning Allah, and this person is said to follow every shaytān marīd; (4) in a judgment-scene, in 25:27/9-29/31, a "sinner" (zālim) claims that he has been led astray by a certain person (fulān), but then the exclamation is given: wa-kāna-sh-shaytānu li-l-insāni khadhūl (shaytān is ever a traitor to man!); and (5) in one context, 36:60-4, Shaytān is himself said to have led a great crowd astray (agalla min-kum jibillan kathīr). These passages will be discussed further after other Qur'ānic contexts regarding Shaytān have been presented.

An idiomatic statement which occurs several times in the Qur'ān is zayyana la-humu-sh-shaytānu a¢mālahum (Shaytān made their deeds seem good to them). The verb zayyana also means "to embellish" or "to decorate", and in this idiom the sense is that Shaytān has made evil appear to be good. In Meccan contexts, this idiom refers to general unbelief;23 in 8:48/50, it is related to fear in battle, where Shaytān promises assistance in battle but "takes to his heels" (nakaṣa ¢alā ¢aqibayhi) when the fighting begins.

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A maxim or aphorism which occurs several times in the Qurʾān (sometimes only the first part appears, and at other times only the last part appears) is the warning to the people: \( \text{wa-lā tattabi'ū khuṭuwātī-sh-shayṭānī innahu la-kum 'aduwwun mubīn} \) (and do not follow the steps of Shayṭān, for he is surely a manifest foe to you). In 6:141/2-142/3 this statement is related to the prohibition of certain foods; in 2:208/4-209/5 it is related to dissension among Muḥammad's followers.\(^{24}\) In 2:168/3-169/4 this axiom is also related to food laws, but an additional warning is also given: "He only commands you to evil (as-sū') and indecency (al-faḥshā'), and that you say things about Allah when you have no knowledge." The term sū' may also mean "misfortune",\(^{25}\) and faḥshā' may mean "vile deed" or "fornication".\(^{26}\) The second of these terms appears also in 2:268/71: "Shayṭān promises you poverty (al-faqr), and commands you to indecency (al-faḥshā')."\(^{27}\) In 24:21 the warning "do not follow the steps of Shayṭān" is addressed to the believers, who are told that Shayṭān commands

\(^{24}\)See Bell, Qurʾān, p. 28. The term al-‘āduww (with the def. article) occurs only once in the Qurʾān, in 63:1-4, and here it does not refer to Shayṭān, but to the hypocrites.

\(^{25}\)Izutsu, Ethico-Relig., p. 207, however, states that in the Qurʾān the term ḥasan is "the proper antithesis of sū' or sayyī';" a summary analysis of the Qurʾānic usage of sū' and saw in relation to ḥasan is given on pp. 230-3.

\(^{26}\)See ibid., pp. 217, 233-4.

\(^{27}\)Zam., I, 315, and Bq., I, 137, both explain that Shayṭān's promise of poverty means that being charitable leads to poverty.
only indecency (al-faḥshā') and what is abominable (al-munkar).  

In other contexts the purpose of warnings regarding Shaytān is much clearer. For instance, in 17:53/5-54/6 he is accused of provoking strife (nazaghā) among men:

53 And say to my servants that they should speak words of kindness, for Shaytān surely provokes strife (yanzaghun) among them—Shaytān is ever a manifest foe to man!
54 Your Lord knows very well [what you do], and he will punish you if he chooses. We have not sent you [Muḥammad] to be a guardian (wakīl) over them.

Derivatives from the verb nazaghā occur in the Qur'ān only six times, all of which refer to Shaytān. The verb yanzaghannaka and the noun nazgh both occur in 7:200/199 and 41:36, which are ta'awwudh-verses (urging believers to seek refuge in Allah); in these contexts, strife among the believers is blamed on Shaytān.  

Shaytān is also mentioned in relation to the near disastrous battle of Uḥud. In 3:166/0 this battle is explained theologically: "Surely [the defeat] which met you on the day when the two hosts encountered each other was by Allah's permission, so that he might distinguish the believers from those who are hypocrites (alladhīna nāfaqū)." In v. 175/69 Shaytān is accused of frightening (khawwafā) his friends—referring either to some who were routed during the battle, or to the followers of

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28 For a survey of the Qur'ānic usage of the term munkar, see Izutsu, Ethico-Relig., pp. 213-17.

29 The only other occurrence is nazaghā which occurs in 12:100/1 in the Yūsuf legend.
'Abdallāh ibn Ubayy who left before the battle began. Fear (al-khawf) among the Muslims at Uhud is explicitly associated with Shaytān in 4:83/5-84/6, a passage of reproof containing the following statement of encouragement: "Were it not for the grace (faḍl) and mercy (raḥma) of Allah [granted] to you, all but a few of you would have followed Shaytān; so fight for the cause of Allah (fi sabīli-llāh)." The influence of Shaytān upon the Muslims who fought at Uhud is also clearly mentioned in 3:155/49: "Those of you who turned back on the day when the two hosts met—Shaytān caused them to slip (istazalla) for something they had earned (kasabū), but Allah has pardoned them. Allah is surely Ghafūr, Ḥalīm." In all three of these contexts, fear among the Muslims during battle is blamed on Shaytān.

In the Qurʾān Shaytān is also associated with certain specific "ethical misdeeds". In 17:26/8-27/9 both the plural shayāṭīn and the singular form "Shaytān" occur in relation to squandering: "Give to the relative his right, and to the needy and the traveller; and never squander like a spendthrift (wa-lā tubadhāhir tabāhīr). Surely the squanderers (al-mubadhāhirīn)

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30See Watt, Medina, p. 22.

31In 59:11-16 Shaytān is associated with the alliance formed between the hypocrites (alladhīna nāfaqū) and the Jews (here called "their brothers among the Ahl al-Kitāb) before the Muslim attack on the Banī Naḍīr during the year 4 A.H.
are brothers of the shayāṭīn, and Shayṭān is ever unthankful to his Lord." One of the latest Qur'ānic contexts in which Shayṭān appears is 5:90-91/3.

90 You who believe, wine (al-khamr), gambling (al-maysir), idols (al-angāb), and divining arrows (al-azlām) are an abomination (rija), some of Shayṭān's work (cānāl)--so avoid it, then perhaps you will prosper!

91 Shayṭān wishes only to cause enmity (al-‘adāwa) and hatred (al-baqhā') among you regarding al-khamr and al-maysir, and to turn you away from the remembrance (dhikr) of Allah, and from prayer (s–salāt). Will you then refrain? Obey Allah and obey the rasūl, and beware! But if you turn away, then know that our rasūl is responsible only for the clear proclamation (al-balāgh al-mubīn).

This significant context relates Shayṭān to both "ethical" and "religious" misdeeds, and also the failure to observe certain "religious duties". It is significant that this entire passage warning of the dangers of Shayṭān is addressed to the believers. It is interesting that usury (ar-riba:) is omitted from this list, but this prohibited practice is related to Shayṭān (or, at least, an idiom regarding Shayṭān) in 2:275/6: "Those who devour ar-riba will not rise again except as one rises whom Shayṭān strikes down with the touch (al-mass)." The term al-mass may also signify

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32 The expression ikhwān as-shayāṭīn (brothers of the shayāṭīn) must be interpreted figuratively since the term shayāṭīn does not refer to "human adversaries" in this context; however, cf. the context of the term ikhwān in preceding note.

33 Bell, Qur'ān, p. 107, suggests that v. 91/3 is "probably fairly early" Medinan, and that v. 90/2 (after the salutation) was added during the year 4 A.H.
"misfortune", but both az-Zamakhshari and al-Bayḍāwī say that in this case it means "madness" (junūn).34

In 4:36/40-39/43 Shayṭān is mentioned in the context of unbelief and certain "ethical misdeeds":

36 . . . . Surely Allah does not love the arrogant and the boastful,
37 who are niggardly and who urge others to be niggardly, thus hiding the bounty which Allah has given them. We have prepared a humiliating punishment for the unbelievers,
38 and those who spend of their substance only to show off before men, and who do not believe in Allah and al-Yawm al-Ākhir. Whoever takes Shayṭān as a comrade—what an evil comrade he is!
39 Would it harm them to believe in Allah and al-Yawm al-Ākhir, and to spend [freely] from that which Allah has given them? Allah knows them well!

Since this reference to Shayṭān occurs in the immediate context of statements of unbelief, one might conclude that Shayṭān causes this unbelief; however, the Qurʾān consistently affirms that the power to make men believe or disbelieve lies solely in Allah.

In this context, Shayṭān causes niggardliness or greed (bukhl) and he causes the unbelievers to be arrogant (mukhtāl) and boastful (fakhr), but he does not cause unbelief. Later in the same sura in vv. 59/62-60/3, the statement "But Shayṭān desires to lead them astray far [from what is right]" refers to the continuing practice of taking disputes to idols; but this statement also does not refer to disbelief in Allah.

Nearly all of Sūra 58 is related to the question of the influence of Shayṭān upon the believers. Verses 9/10 and 10/1

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34 Zam., I, 320, and Bṛ., I, 139. Cf. 6:71/0 which is translated above in Chapter XI, p. 202.
(which appear to be independent\textsuperscript{35}) caution the believers not to conspire secretly (\textit{tanājaytum}) against Muḥammad, and warn that any secret counsel (\textit{najwā}) is instigated by Shayṭān to cause sorrow for the believers. Then the significant qualification is given \textit{wa-laysa bi-ğārihim shayān illā bi-idhni-llāh} (but he will not bring any harm to them except by the permission of Allah). Since this passage is addressed to the believers, it does not indicate whether or not Shayṭān has the power to harm (or mislead) the unbelievers. A later verse, v. 19/20, states that the hypocrites (those who had joined in an alliance with the Jews) are "the party of Shayṭān" (\textit{bīzbu-sh-shayṭān}), and that Shayṭān "has gained the mastery" or "has taken possession" of them (\textit{istahwadha alayhimu-sh-shayṭānu}).

Before stating conclusions regarding the influence of Shayṭān in religious and ethical matters according to the Qur'ān, it is necessary to mention the contexts in which the plural form shayātīn may refer to "human adversaries" of Muḥammad and other prophets. In 6:112 Allah is said to have appointed to every prophet certain shayātīnā-l-insi wa-l-jinn (adversaries among men and jinn); here the term shayātīn refers especially to Muḥammad's own opponents. In 6:121 certain shayātīn are said to dispute with the Muslims--in this case, regarding food laws. In 2:14/3 some "pretended believers" are said to profess belief in Islam when they are among Muslims, but then "they go privately to their

\textsuperscript{35}See Bell, Qur'ān, p. 565.
shayāṭīn and say: 'We are with you, for we were only mocking'". In this case (and probably also in 6:121) the shayāṭīn appear to be certain Jews of Medina, or even possibly the Jewish leaders in Medina. The identity of the shayāṭīn mentioned in 2:102/96 is not easily determined. Bell suggests that the first part of this verse "probably refers to the Rabbinic Law", so that, if this interpretation is correct, these shayāṭīn also may be Jewish teachers—or at least this term may be directed towards them. Thus, it is clear that in the Qurʾān the term shayāṭīn appears as a designation for "human adversaries", particularly Muḥammad's opponents who are seen as leading men into evil.

Allah's knowledge and control of all of Shayṭān's deeds is repeatedly emphasized in the Qurʾān, as in 3:166/0-175/69 and 4:83/5-84/6 which are discussed above, and also 47:25/7: "Those who have turned back in their traces (adḥārihīm) after the guidance has come to them have been seduced (sawwala) by Shayṭān, 36

36Bq., I, 25, says that the term shayāṭīn in 2:14/3 refers to "those who make themselves like shayāṭīn by their rebellion (tamarrud), and they are the ones who proclaim their unbelief (al-muḥīrūn kufrahum)." Cf. the later verse, 2:76/1, which begins: "When they meet those who believe, they say 'We believe', but when they go privately to one another, they say . . . ." See also Bell, Qurʾān, p. 4.


38Zam., I, 172, and Bq., I, 76, both refer to the legend in which, after an unsuccessful attempt to seduce Sulaymān, the shayāṭīn write books of magic (kutub as-siḥr) and hide them under the king's throne so that they will be found after his death and the people will believe that he has ruled through the use of magic.
but [Allah] has respited them for a time (amlā la-hum)." Throughout the Qur'ān Allah is presented as having complete power over the deeds of men and malā'ika, and also over the works of the jinn and Shayṭān. In the passages cited at the beginning of this section, the role of leading men astray is ascribed to various men, idols, and jinn, as well as to Shayṭān and Allah himself. In all of these contexts, the significant factor which is often neglected is the purpose of each reference to Shayṭān (or the idols or jinn). Invariably, the purpose is to persuade or to convince—to convince men of the perils of continuing certain practices, and to persuade them to reform. Although the ultimate power resides in Allah alone, the responsibility lies with man himself; and in the struggle for right, Shayṭān appears primarily as the arch-symbol of evil, but also as a distinct personality to be feared by all who do not follow the path of Allah.

Those Who Watch Over Men and Record Their Deeds

The Qur'ān frequently states that nothing in the heavens or on the earth escapes the notice of Allah. In 34:3 this basic Qur'ānic concept is stated succinctly: "Not so much as the weight of an ant in heaven or on the earth escapes his notice! Nor anything smaller or larger, for it is all in a kitāb mubīn." This kitāb mubīn (clear book) is mentioned also in 10:61/2 and 27:74/6-75/7, and a similar reference occurs in 23:62/4. This book may be the same as the kitāb ḥafīẓ (recording book) which
is mentioned in 50:4. Other contexts suggest that there are more than one kitāb, as the judgment-scene contexts which describe the righteous man receiving his kitāb in his right hand, and the condemned man receiving his kitāb in his left hand (69:25-6) or behind his back (84:7-15). Other passages, such as 17:13/4-14/5, seem to indicate that each person will face his own personal kitāb when he stands to be judged. Somewhat more difficult to interpret are the references to sījīn and 'illiyyūn in Sūra 83. The term sījīn is sometimes interpreted as the "prison of hell" in which the records of evil deeds are kept, and at other times this term is said to represent the "angels of the underworld" who are in charge of the records. The term 'illiyyūn properly means "the upper ones" and may refer to those who keep the books of the righteous. However, each of these terms is specifically called a kitāb marqūm (inscribed book) in Sūra 83 (vv. 8-9, 19-20).

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39 17:61/3, 69:19-21, and 84:7-15

40 See Bq., II, 392.

41 See Bell, Qurʾān, p. 642, note 1.

42 See ibid. The term 'illiyyūn, from 'alā (to be high), may possibly be related to al-malaʾ al-aʾlā (the High Council) mentioned in 37:8 and 38:69. See also following note.

43 On these two terms, see Lisān, XIX, 327; Horovitz, "Jewish Proper Names", p. 215; Eichler, p. 90; Jeffery, Foreign Vocab., pp. 165, 215-16; and the interesting suggestions of Theodor Nöldeke, Sketches From Eastern History, tr. John Sutherland Black and revised by the author (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1892), p. 38, that 'illiyyūn "is apparently the Hebrew name of God, Elyōn, 'the Most High'", and that sījīn is one of the Qurʾānic terms which Muḥammad "seems to have invented".
The identity of those who record man's deeds into these books is not as clear as is generally assumed. Although "recording angels" are often mentioned in discussions of Qur'anic teachings, it should be noted that nowhere in the Qur'an is it stated explicitly that malā'īka record man's deeds. The recorders are called Allah's rusul (rusulunā), ṭāfīgūn (watchers), muṣ'agābīt (followers), and in one context, raqīb (observer); also some contexts state that it is Allah himself who writes down man's good and evil deeds.44

In 43:80/79-81/0 those who record the deeds of men are called rusulunā:

80 What! Have they woven something? Well, we are weaving!45
81 Or do they suppose that we do not hear their secrets (sirrāhum) and their private counsels (najwāhum)? Indeed ['we certainly do], and our rusul are beside them writing!

A similar context, 10:21/2, has the same setting, but is more explicit regarding the purpose of the rusul:

When we make the people experience some mercy after adversity has touched them, lo, they begin to plot against our signs. Say: "Allah is quicker at plots!" Surely, our rusul are writing down what you plot!

Whereas this second context states explicitly what the rusul record, it does not indicate where these recorders are stationed; however, the designation rusul suggests that they have been "sent"

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45The metaphor of weaving (from barama, "to twist") refers to plotting, and the statement "we are weaving" is equivalent to the statement "Allah is quicker at plots" in 10:21/2.
down to the earth. Note that 43:81/0 states that these rusul are stationed near those who plot (ladayhim).46

The precise role of the hāfigūn who are set over men is not clear in the Qur'ān. The term hāfiq (from hafīq, "to guard, observe, memorize") is used in contemporary Arabic for "keeper" or "custodian", but in the Qur'ān may mean simply "one who observes". This latter meaning is suggested by the context of the plural hāfigūn in 82:9-16:

9 No! But you deny the Dīn!
10 Yet over you are hāfigūn,
11 noble, writing,
12 knowing what you do.
13 Surely, the virtuous shall be in bliss!
14 And surely, the wicked shall be in a Jahīm!
15 There they shall roast on the Yawm ad-Dīn,
16 and from it they shall not be absent.

This is the only context in which the term hāfiq (or its derivatives) refers to those who are explicitly said to be writing—that is, recording the deeds of men.47

In 6:61-2 a different plural form of hāfiq occurs, and in the same context the term rusulunā seems to designate "angels of death":

46Bq., I, 411-12, and II, 243, says that these rusul in 10:21/2 and 43:81/0 are hafaga. Blachère, p. 266, regards as "les Anges que nous dépêchons auprès d'eux, pour enregistrer les actes des Humains" (referring to those in 43:81/0), and "Archanges chargés d'enregistrer les actes humains" (referring to those in 10:21/2).

47Zam., IV, 716, regards these hāfigūn in 82:10 as "high-ranking angels" (al-malā'īkatu-l-kirām) who are also "guardians" (al-hafaga) and "scribes" (al-kataba). Blachère, p. 31, states that they are "guardian angels". See also Eickmann, pp. 42-3.
[Allah] is al-Qāhir over his servants, and he sends ḥafaza over you. Then, when death comes to one of you, our rusul take him (tawaffat'hu) and they do not slip!

Then they are returned to Allah, their true master. Does the jurisdiction not belong to him? And he is the fastest in taking account!

Although the purpose of the ḥafaza in this context is not specified, it is clearly implied that they are here recording the evil deeds of men, just as the ḥāfizūn in 82:10-11 are both watching and recording.

One other context which should be mentioned is 86:4:

"Surely, over every person (nafs) there is a ḥāfiz." Muslim commentators interpret the term ḥāfiz as referring to Allah in this context. Bell rejects this identification, observing that "it is nowhere else so used, and the idea is rather of angel watchers noting man's deeds".

Although his conclusion regarding the identity of this ḥāfiz may be sound, the reason given by Bell is clearly incorrect since this term appears in 12:64 where it is specifically said to refer to Allah: fa-llāhu khayrun ḥāfiz (thus Allah is an excellent watcher).

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48 See Zam., IV, 734, where this ḥāfiz is said to be a raqīb who is Allah. Bq., II, 397, also regards this ḥāfiz as a raqīb, but does not mention Allah.

49 Qurʾān, p. 618, n. 2.

50 Also, the term ḥāfiz appears in reference to Allah (actually, "my Lord") in 11:57/60 and 34:21/0; and the plural ḥāfizūn in 15:9 and 21:82 refers to Allah. Eichler, p. 87, states that the Qurʾān knows nothing of the concept of a special guardian angel (Schutzengel) for each person—a conclusion which supports the view that this ḥāfiz in 86:4 is Allah. In six contexts it is stated that Muḥammad has not been sent as a ḥāfiz over the people: 4:80/2; 6:104, 107; 11:86/8; and 42:6/4, 48/7.
the Qur'ānic usage of the term ḥāfiz (and other forms from the same root), 86:4 could refer either to Allah or to his appointed "watchers".

A different term for these celestial observers occurs in 13:10/1-11/2:

10 It is the same whether one of you speaks in secret or declares it publicly, whether he hides himself at night or walks about openly during the day.

11 For before him and behind him are the mu'āqqibāt, keeping watch over him (yahfaẓūnahu) according to the command of Allah.

The term mu'āqqibāt (the plural form of the active participle of ʿaqqaba, "to follow, pursue") is best rendered "those who follow in one's footsteps". It is significant that a verbal form of the term ḥāfiz appears in this verse to describe the activity of the mysterious mu'āqqibāt, who are said to "watch over" (yahfaẓūna) those whom they follow. With the emphasis on divine omniscience in this context, it appears that the role of the mu'āqqibāt is not to guard or protect man, but to serve Allah by gathering (or recording) information—like the ḥāfizūn and the rusul in the contexts discussed above.

In 50:16/5-19/8 the term raqīb (observer) appears with the mysterious pair which sit at the right and left of men:

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51 Ibn Mas'ūd, Ubayy ibn Ka'b, and an-Nakha'i are reported to have read maṣaqīb instead of mu'āqqibāt—see Jeffery, Materials, p. 50. Others say that Ubayy and an-Nakha'i read maṣaqīb—see ibid., p. 139.

52 According to Bukh., III, 265, the mu'āqqibāt in 13:11/2 are malā'ika which are also ḥafāza. See also Eichler, pp. 88-90.
Indeed, we have created man, and we know what his soul (nafs) whispers within him, for we are nearer to him than his jugular vein.

When the two meet, one on the right and one on the left sitting, not a word does he utter, but there is a raqib beside him ready [to write it down].

And the stupor of death comes in truth: "This is what you were trying to escape!"

Although v. 16/5 is usually interpreted mystically, it clearly refers to divine omniscience (like 13:10/1-11/2 discussed above). It is also clear that the purpose of the raqib in v. 18/7 is to "observe" and record man's deeds. The more difficult questions are the relationship between this raqib and the pair mentioned in v. 17/6, and the relationship between these three and the two "companions" (qarin) mentioned separately in a judgment-scene in vv. 23/2 and 27/6.

This judgment-scene begins in vv. 20/19-21/0: "And the gur will be sounded. That is the threatened day (yawm al-wa'Id)! Every person (nafs) comes accompanied by a driver (sāiq) and a witness (shahīd)." Then in v. 32/2 it is stated that the man's qarin will say: "This is what I have ready"; that is, the one who has recorded this man's deeds will present the record which he has compiled during the man's lifetime. Later in v. 27/6 the man's qarin pleads: "Our Lord, I did not cause him to transgress, but he was in error, far astray." The intimate relationship between this second qarin and the man is indicated by the salutation rabbanā (our Lord), while the qarin speaks in the first person singular (atghaytuhu). The first qarin and the raqib (mentioned in v. 18/7) have the same function, and may be seen
as identical; that is, man has a "companion" who is also an "observer" who records his deeds and presents the record when the man is judged.53

The identity of the second qarīn is not clear from the context in Sūra 50, where it is only implied (in vv. 28/7-29/8) that this qarīn is punished with the condemned man. However, in 43:36/5-39/8 it is clearly stated that each man "who withdraws from the dhikr of ar-Raḥmān" has attached to him a shayṭān who is a qarīn to him, and later that this qarīn is evil (bi's) and will share the punishment with the unbeliever (annakum fi-l- cadhābi mushtarikūna). The qarīn which is said to be a shayṭān in Sūra 43 is clearly the same as the second qarīn mentioned in Sūra 50.54 Thus, Bell is correct when he concludes regarding the qarīn in 50:27/6-29/8: "The 'mate' here excuses himself, but is included in the punishment. It is not an angel, but the satan attached to the unbeliever."55 In 19:83/6 Allah warns that he sends shayṭān against the unbelievers to harass them:

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53Bukh., III, 336, relates a tradition in which the raqīb in 50:18/7 is said to be ready as an observer (raṣad), a driver (sā'iq), and a witness (shahīd). Also, this tradition states that the two angels (al-malakayn) are writers, witnesses, and are present in the heart (shahidun bi-l-qalb). Zam., IV, 385, says that the raqīb in 50:18/7 is "a malak which observes his deeds".

54In another tradition recorded in Bukh., III, 336, one qarīn in Sūra 50 is said to be "the shayṭān which leads man on and then throws him down".

55Qur'ān, p. 529, n. 3. See also Watt, Companion, p. 238.
arsalnâ-sh-shayâtîna 'alâ-l-kâfirîna ta'uzzuhum azzan. This cognate accusative construction from azz meaning "to buzz" or "to hiss" pictures the shayâtîn either as bees buzzing around the heads of the unbelievers, or as serpents sitting on their shoulders and hissing in their ears. These shayâtîn may be regarded as the same as those mentioned in Sûra 43, and since the shaytân in this latter context is said to be a qarrîn and has the same function as the second qarrîn mentioned in Sûra 50, then all three of these contexts may be regarded as referring to the same "companion-adversaries".

The pair in 50:17/6 who "sit on the right and on the left" are to be compared with the mu'âqqibât in 13:11/2 who are stationed "in the front and in the back" of those over whom they keep watch. This similarity has led to the conclusion that these two groups are to be identified, and that "the pair" in 50:17/6 thus both fulfil the same function. Az-Zamakhsharî says that this pair are malakân (two angels) who guard (hafîza) mankind;56 and al-Baydâwî compares them with the malā'ika in 66:4 which are said to be Muḥammad's supporters.57 However, the temporal clause at the beginning of 50:17/6, idh yatalaqqa-l-mutalâqqiyân seems to mean "when the two who encounter [man]...

56IV, 384.
57II, 279. Yusuf Ali translates this verse: "Behold, two (guardian angels) appointed to learn (his doings) learn (and note them), one sitting on the right and one on the left." Then he adds in a note: "One sits on the right side and notes his good deeds and the other on the left, to note his bad deeds..."
encounter each other", thus suggesting that these two do not perform the same function in relation to man.\textsuperscript{58} Bell concludes that they are "perhaps the angel of death meeting the angel who attends man in life".\textsuperscript{59} However, the fact that these two are stationed "on the right and on the left" seems to indicate that they are man's "companions" in this life: thus the one "on the right" may be identified with the \textit{qarīn} in v. 23/2, and the one "on the left" may be identified with the \textit{qarīn} in v. 27/6. If this interpretation is valid, then the first is a \textit{malak} and a \textit{bāfig}, and the second is a \textit{shayṭān}.\textsuperscript{60}

Regardless of which interpretation is given to this difficult passage in \textit{Sūra 50},\textsuperscript{61} it is clear that the \textit{Qurān} teaches that man has "guardian" and "recording" companions, and that at least the unbelievers also have \textit{shayṭān}-companions whose purpose is to harass. The number of these companions is not clear in the \textit{Qurān}, nor is any clear distinction made between

\textsuperscript{58}Ubayy ibn Ka'īb is reported to have read \textit{ma'āqibu min bayni yadayhi wa-raqībun min khalfihi} (the \textit{ma'āqib} before him and a \textit{rqīb} behind him)—see Jeffery, \textit{Materials}, p. 139. Others say that he read the pl. \textit{ruqābāʾ} instead of the sg. \textit{rqīb}. Since one of the pair in 50:17/6 is clearly the \textit{rqīb} mentioned in the following verse, this reading of 13:11/2 by Ubayy would support an identification of those in 13:11/2 with those in 50:17/6.

\textsuperscript{59}\textit{Qurān}, p. 529, n. 1.

\textsuperscript{60}Blachère, p. 176, regards the first \textit{qarīn} as the \textit{shahīd} in 50:21/0, and the second \textit{qarīn} as the \textit{sā'īq} in 50:21/0. Yet, he regards these two in v. 21/0 to be "deux anges"—see note to v. 24/3.

\textsuperscript{61}For further discussion, see Eichler, pp. 108-9.
the roles of "guarding" and "recording"—except that unbelievers have companions who record their evil deeds, but presumably do not protect them from harm. Also, there is no clear indication that the Qurʾān knows of two "recording angels" assigned to each person, one recording good deeds and the other evil deeds. The discussion above suggests the possibility that in the earlier parts of the Qurʾān each person was seen as having a guardian and a shayṭān, but that this dualism was later rejected along with belief in the shayṭān. Also, it must be remembered that several contexts state that it is Allah himself who writes down man's deeds, so that the terms ḥāfiẓūn, ḥafaza, muʿaggibāt, and raqīb cannot be identified conclusively as malāʾika.
PART FIVE

CONCERNING DEATH AND ESCHATOLOGY
CHAPTER XV

THOSE WHO "TAKE" MEN AT DEATH

An elaborate system of Muslim beliefs concerning the immediate destiny of man at death developed during the early centuries following the death of Muhammad. Although dissenting views have been maintained throughout the centuries (particularly among the philosophers), general agreement has been reached among orthodox Muslims regarding the order of events, and also the identity and roles of the various celestial and infernal beings which greet the deceased, extract his soul, interrogate him concerning his faith and works, and even create a state of bliss or punishment within the grave. It is well known that these events are not outlined clearly in the Qur'an, where several of the technical terms involved in these beliefs do appear, but clearly without the special, theological meanings which they later received.

The orthodox Muslim views on this subject are discussed in some detail in the Kitāb ar-Rūḥ by Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 751/1350),¹ a student of the great Ḥanbalite theologian Taqī

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¹3rd ed. (Hyderabad: al-Ma'ārif al-ʿUthmāniyya, 1357 [/1938-9]). Macdonald, "Idea of Spirit", pp. 318-28, summarizes parts of this work, but omits those questions which deal specifically with the topic of the present chapter. It should also be
ad-Dīn ibn Taymiyya (d. 726/1326). The format of the *Kitāb ar-Rūḥ* is arranged around twenty-one questions, of which questions six to fourteen deal with the inquisition (*as-suṣūl*) and the punishment of the grave (*'adhāb al-qabr*). Examples of these questions are: "Is the ṭūḥ returned to its grave at the time of the inquisition, or not?", what is the reason (*al-bikma*) for the absence of any account of the punishment of the grave in the Qurʾān?", "Is there any means of escape from the punishment of the grave?", "Is the punishment of the grave eternal (*dā'īm*) or will it be terminated (*mungaṭīʾ*)?" Then, the next question deals with the abode (*mustaqarr*) of the souls (here called "spirits", arwāḥ) during the interval between death (*al-mawt*) and resurrection (here, *yawm al-qiyāma*). In other

noted that the page references in Macdonald's summary are taken from the 2nd ed. publ. in Hyderabad in 1324/1906 (whereas all references to Ibn Qayyim in the present study are taken from the 3rd ed.)

2 pp. 49-112

3 Question Six, pp. 49-75.

4 Question Eight, pp. 92-4.

5 Question Ten, pp. 98-103.

6 Question Fourteen, pp. 110-12.

7 Question Fifteen, pp. 112-45. In this section it is stated that the soul has four abodes: (1) *baṭn al-umm* (womb of the mother), (2) *dār allātī nasha'at fihā* (the abode for which it came into existence), (3) *dār al-barzakh* (the abode of the intermediate state), and (4) *dār al-qarār* (the final and lasting abode). See Macdonald, "Idea of Spirit", p. 320.
parts of the work considerable attention is devoted to the nature of nafs and rūḥ, the relationship between these two, and their relation to the body (jism) and the "sensible body" (badan). Popular beliefs regarding these topics are moulded more by the numerous traditions which continue to be accepted as authoritative than by the intricate arguments of the theologians and philosophers. The survey presented in the present chapter shows that the Qurʾān is not concerned with the more sophisticated theological and philosophical questions regarding death, just as it does not contain numerous elements of popular (and orthodox) belief on the topic.

The purpose of the present chapter is to determine the Qurʾānic teaching regarding the nature and role of those who greet man at death. A general picture of man's immediate destiny at death according to the Qurʾān may be acquired through a survey

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8The nature of the rūḥ is defined on p. 220, and then twenty pages are devoted to proofs that the rūḥ is a body (jism) which is subtle (lāṭif), and thus differing from the sensible body (badan) which it leaves when it joins the "world of spirits" (ʿālam al-arwāḥ).

9Discussed in answer to Question Five: "How can souls (arwāḥ) be distinguished from one another when they are separated from their bodies (abdān)?"--pp. 45-9. See Macdonald, "Idea of Spirit", pp. 321-2.

10The relationship between the rūḥ and the body (badan) is discussed in answer to Question Four: "Does the soul (rūḥ) die when the body (badan) dies?"--pp. 40-5. Ibn Qayyim's answer to this question is that for the soul death means only separation from the body. The relationship between the nafs and the jism is discussed in answer to Question Nineteen, pp. 216-64.
of the contexts in which the term *tawaffā* (to take, call in) occurs. Appearing almost exclusively\(^{11}\) as a special, theological term meaning "to take at death", the verb *tawaffā* occurs in the following categories of contexts, where the deceased is "taken" by: (1) the *malak al-mawt* (angel of death), (2) the *rusul* of Allah, (3) the *malā'ika*, (4) death itself (*al-mawt*), and (5) Allah; the term also appears in prayers where the petitioner requests that he be "taken" among those who believe.

The *Malak al-Mawt* and the *Rusul* of Allah

With the wealth of vivid Qur'ānic pictures of the events which await man at death, it is somewhat surprising that the loathsome *malak al-mawt* appears in the Qur'ān by name only once, in 32:10/9-11, a context which is non-dramatic and not nearly so picturesque as other contexts in which the verb *tawaffā* occurs:

10 They say: "What, when we lie hidden in the earth, shall we then become a new creation?" Indeed, they disbelieve in the encounter (*liqā'*) with their Lord!

11 Say: "The *malak al-mawt*, who has been given charge over you (*wukkila bi-kum*), will take you (*yatawaffākum*). Then to your Lord you will be returned!"

This brief context offers little information concerning this malak al-mawt, the strongest impression being that his "taking" of the deceased is closely associated with "the encounter with their Lord" (*liqā' rabbihim*). Although it is evident (if not

\(^{11}\) The only exceptions being 2:234, 240/1; 22:5; and 40:67/9.
obvious) that the "taking" of the deceased precedes the \( \text{liqa' } \), the relationship between these two events and man's becoming a "new creation" (\( \text{khalq jadid} \)) is not clear in this context. In the systematic theological explanations of these events, the resurrection (indicated here in the expression \( \text{khalq jadid} \)) occurs between the "taking" and the \( \text{liqa' } \), along with a number of other events which are mentioned below.\(^{12}\) Certainly, the vivid details of popular belief concerning the \( \text{malak al-mawt} \), such as the \( \text{qabq ar-ruh} \) (seizure of the spirit), are not present in this passage—although some do occur in other Qur'\( \text{n} \)ic contexts.\(^{13}\)

One context in which the \( \text{rusul} \) of Allah (\( \text{rusulun} \)) are said to "take" man at the time of death (\( \text{al-mawt} \)) is 6:61 which states: "Then, when \( \text{al-mawt} \) comes to one of you, our \( \text{rusul} \) take him (\( \text{tawaffat'hu} \)), and they do not slip!" In 7:37/5 these \( \text{rusul} \) interrogate the unbelievers (\( \text{kafirin} \)) at the time of death:

Who does greater evil than the one who invents falsehood against Allah or rejects his signs? These, their fate (\( \text{na'sin} \)) shall meet them from the book, so that when our \( \text{rusul} \) come to them (\( \text{jat'hum} \)) and take them (\( \text{yatawaffawnahum} \)),

\(^{12}\)Zam., III, 509, however, suggests that the expression \( \text{liqa' rabbihil} \) means only "the attainment of the end" (\( \text{al-wusul ila-l-eqiba} \)), thus implying that man does not necessarily "meet his Lord" immediately at death.

\(^{13}\)Bq., II, 119, explains that \( \text{yatawaffakum} \) in 32:11 means "he will take your souls (\( \text{nufus} \))". Zam., III, 509, mentions the opinion of some that this expression means \( \text{yad-arwah} \) (he will take the spirits).
they say: "Where are those you used to call upon apart from Allah?" And they will reply: "They have gone far from us." Thus, they bear witness against themselves that they had been unbelievers!

Here the phrase maṣibuhum min al-kitāb has been rendered "their fate from the book", signifying that which is prescribed (or predestined) for them. Bell offers a different interpretation, suggesting that each nation will be judged by "its portion of the book" (an interpretation which is also adopted by Arberry). According to Bell's suggestion, this phrase would be interpreted as referring to the judgment, and, if the sequence of events in the verse were strictly followed, then the rusul of Allah would "take" the kāfirīn after the judgment; in such case, these rusul would not be "the angels of death" at all, but "angel guards of hell".

However, a comparison of 7:37/5 with 6:61 indicates that the interpretation followed in the translation above fits the context better. Where 6:61 reads: ḥattā idhā jā'ā aḥadakum al-mawtū tawaffat'hu rusulūnā, the parallel passage in 7:37/5 reads: ḥattā idhā jā'at'hum rusulūnā yatawaffawnahum. In the first context the verb jā'ā refers to death (al-mawt), whereas in the second context it refers to the rusul of Allah; still, the rusul in these two passages must be the same—that is,

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14 Qurʾān, p. 140, n. 2.
15 Ibid., n. 3.
16 Ibid., p. 618, n. 3, and p. 668, n. 3.
"angels of death". It is possible to interpret the phrase nasību-hum min al-kitāb in 7:37/5 as a metaphorical reference to death (which is the inevitable fate of every man, written down in al-kitāb), and thus as a parallel to al-mawt in 6:61. These contexts should be compared with 4:15/9 where women who are guilty of indecency (al-fāḥishata min nisā'ikum) are instructed to be confined to their houses "until death takes them" (battā yatawaffā-hunna al-mawt). Here it is death itself which "takes" the women. A similar idiom occurs three verses later in 4:18/22: "until death faces one of them" (battā idhā ḥadāra aḥadahum al-mawt). These contexts suggest the possibility that all of the tawaffā-passages may best be interpreted metaphorically.

The Malā'īka Associated With Death

The four contexts in which malā'īka are said to "take" (tawaffā) man clearly refer to death, although the term al-mawt does not appear in any of them. In the Qur'ān malā'īka are also associated with the ghamarāt al-mawt (agonies of death), and the ʿadhāb al-hūn (punishment of shame) which may have influenced the later concept ʿadhāb al-qabr (punishment of the grave). The only tawaffā-passage in which malā'īka are said to "take" both believers and unbelievers is 16:28/30-33/5 (a context which is clearly not a unity in its present form—vv. 30/2-31/3 are thus omitted here);

28 Those whom the malā'īka take (tatawaffāhum) while they are wronging themselves (zālimī anfusihim) will then offer submission: "We have not been doing evil!" [The malā'īka will then reply:] "No! surely Allah knows what you have been doing!"
29 So enter the gates of Jahannam, to dwell therein!"

32 To those whom the malāʾika take (tatawaffāhum) while they are doing good (tāyyiband), they will say: "Peace be upon you! Enter al-Janna for what you have been doing."

33 Do they wait for nothing else except that the malāʾika should come to them, or that your Lord's command should come? So also did those who were before them, and Allah did not wrong them, but they wronged themselves!

The first three verses quoted here may have formed a separate pericope at one time; if so, it has been broken up and interspersed with other material. Verse 33/5 appears to be independent from the preceding malāʾika verses, but has been included here because of its proximity in the present order. 17

According to vv. 28/30-29/31, the malāʾika "take" those who are wronging themselves, and then question them regarding their deeds. The purpose of this interrogation by the malāʾika is clearer in the parallel passage, 4:97/9-98/100, where the initial statement is repeated almost verbatim: inna-lladhīna tawaffāhumu-l-malāʾikatu ḥālimī anfusihim (those whom the malāʾika take while wronging themselves), and then the malāʾika ask: fi-ma kuntum? (in what state were you?), to which the deceased reply: kunnā mustaʾṣafīna ff-l-ard (we were miserable in the earth). The point of both contexts is that unbelievers will be questioned at death regarding their deeds on earth, and in both cases Jahannam is promised as the final abode.

17 See ibid., p. 248.
According to 16:32/4 those whom the malā'ika "take" while doing good (alladhīna tatawaffāhumu-l-malā'ikatu āyīyīnā) are not questioned at death, but are greeted with the salām 'alaykum and are immediately sent into al-Janna. This verse has no parallel in the context of 4:97/9-98/100, nor is there an exact parallel anywhere else in the Qur'n. The point of interest in these malā'ika contexts is that both the believers and the unbelievers appear to be sent by the malā'ika to their final abodes (al-Janna and Jahannam, respectively), and the judgment before Allah is not mentioned.

The malā'ika which are mentioned in 16:33/5 are sometimes regarded as "angels of death"; however, the first part of this verse, hal yanzūrūna illā an ta'tiyahumu-l-malā'ikatu aw ya'tiya amru rabbika, appears verbatim (except for the omission of amru) in 6:158/9 where the context makes it clear that these malā'ika are those whom the unbelievers seek as a sign of Muḥammad's prophethood. The present position of this reference to the "demand for malā'ika as a sign" in 16:33/5 (that is, its proximity to verses which mention the "angels of death") may indicate that

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18Rodwell translates: "What can the infidels expect but that the angels of death come upon them, or that a sentence of thy Lord take effect?" And Yusuf Ali explains the phrase an ta'tiyahumu-l-malā'ika as meaning "until death comes to them".

19See above, Chapter XI, pp. 204-8.
a pun is intended: "Do you seek angels? Certainly angels will come to you--angels of death!"\textsuperscript{20}

In two other tawaffā-passages, 8:49/51-51/3 and 47:27/9, where the malāʾīka are said to "take" the hypocrites (al-munāfiqūn), it is also clear that these malāʾīka are "angels of death". In both contexts it is said that the malāʾīka "take" the unbelievers (not so named in 47:27/9) beating their faces and backs (yaḍribūna wujūhahum wa-adhūrahum). In 8:50/2-51/3 in addition to the beating which they inflict upon the unbelievers, it seems that the malāʾīka also administer the punishment of the fire: "Taste the punishment of the burning! That is for what your hands have forwarded, for which Allah is never unjust to his servants!" These malāʾīka must be seen as the same as those in 16:28/30-29/31 and 4:97/9-98/100; and again, the judgment before Allah is not mentioned. Also there seems to be no clear distinction between the punishment of the unbelievers at the time of death and their "eternal punishment" in Jahannam.\textsuperscript{21}

\textsuperscript{20} Cf. Amos 5:18-20: "Woe to you who desire the day of the Lord! Why would you have the day of the Lord? It is darkness, and not light; . . . . Is not the day of the Lord darkness, and not light, and gloom with no brightness in it?" On the other hand, it should be noted that Bell, Qur'ān, p. 248, concludes that 16:33/5 is an isolated pericope, unrelated to its present context.

\textsuperscript{21} For an excellent summary of the relationship between "death angels" (Todesengel) and "punishment angels" (Strafengel), and the relationship between these Qurʾānic concepts and similar ideas in the OT and NT, see Eichler, pp. 104-10.
That these passages do refer to punishment at the time of death is supported by the parallel context 6:93, in which certain malāʾīka are associated with the ghamarāt al-mawt (agonies of death):

who does greater evil than the one who invents falsehood against Allah, or says: "I have received a revelation (ʿubiya ilayya)" when he has received none, or the one who says: "I shall send down the like of what Allah has sent down"? If you could only see the wicked (az-ẓālimūn) when they are in the ghamarāt al-mawt! And the malāʾīka are stretching out their hands: "Give yourselves up! Today you shall receive the punishment of shame (ṣadḥūb al-hūn) for the lies you have said against Allah, displaying arrogance against his signs!"

Note that this verse begins exactly like 7:37/5, which is translated and discussed in the preceding section. The expression ghamarāt al-mawt in 6:93 occurs nowhere else in the Qurʾān and is probably not to be taken as a technical term as in later theological discussions. Also, the expression ʿadḥāb al-hūn is not to be taken as a technical term in 6:93, although it may have influenced the later development of the idea of ʿadḥāb al-qabr (the punishment of the grave).

\[22\]The sg. form ghamra appears in 51:10-14; cf. also 23:54/6, 62/4-67/9.

\[23\]As-Samarqandī, Tanbīḥ al-Ghāfilīn (The Arousement of the Heedless), 2nd ed. (Cairo: Taqaddum Press, 1324 [1906]), trans. in Jeffery, Reader, p. 204, relates a tradition in which ʿĪsā raises Shem (the son of Nūḥ) from the dead, and when someone asks how long he has been dead, he replies: "Four thousand years, yet the agonies of death (sakarat al-mawt) have not left me." There is no evidence to suggest this connotation in 6:93.

\[24\]In 6:93 and 46:20/19 the expression ʿadḥāb al-hūn refers to punishment in the hereafter, whereas in 41:17/6 it
The command *akhrijū anfusahum* which has been translated "Give yourselves up!" may also be rendered "give up your souls." The term *nafs* and its plurals *anfus* and *nufūs* are usually reflexive in the Qur'an, as in 12:54 where the king says: "Bring him to me! I shall take him to myself (li-nafsī)." However, in some contexts these terms clearly refer to some entity within man, as in 79:37-41: "As for him who was proud and preferred the present life, surely Jahannam shall be his refuge! But as for him who feared the standing (majām) before his Lord, and who forbade the soul (an-nafs) its caprice (al-hawa), surely al-Janna shall be his refuge!" This passage indicates that the man himself (and not his "soul" only) will enjoy al-Janna, just as the man who

refers to temporal judgment on a former nation. This latter usage appears to be in contrast to the *sadhab al-khizy* which appears in the preceding verse and (like the usage in 10:98) refers to the "punishment of degradation" in this life. In 39:26/7 the term *al-khizy* refers to the present life in contrast to *sadhab* in the hereafter. However, in 9:63/4 and 16:27/9 *al-khizy* means "degradation" in the hereafter, and in 41:17/6 the *sadhab al-hūn* seems to be an exact parallel to the *al-khizy* in 11:66/9.

25As is suggested by Eichler, p. 105, and Calverley, "Doctrines of the Soul", p. 254. Bd., I, 300, explains that the statement *wa-l-malā'ikatu bāsiṭu aydihim* means "in seizure of their spirits" (bi-qabī arwāhīhim), or for the purpose of punishment (bi-l-*sadhab*); then, the command *akhrijū anfusakum* is said to mean "give them to us from your bodies" (*akhrijūhā ilaynā min ajsādikum*). For a discussion of these ideas in modern Muslim devotional literature, see Constance E. Padwick, Muslim Devotions: A Study of Prayer-Manuals in Common Use (London: S.P.C.K., 1961), pp. 273-8.

26See also 50:16/5 and 64:16.
had been proud will suffer Jahannam. The idea of the separation of the "soul" (nafs or rūḥ) from the body is well developed in later Muslim theology, but is vague (if it appears at all) in the Qur'ān.

The series of oaths at the beginning of Sūra 79 are often interpreted as referring to the same event as 6:93. The first verse, wa-n-nāzi'āti gharqan, is interpreted to mean the tearing out of the souls of the wicked, and the second verse, wa-n-nāshi-ṯāti nashtan, as referring to the gentle drawing out of the souls of the righteous. Dawood translates these two verses: "By those who violently snatch away men's souls, and those who gently release them", and the title of this sūra, An-Nāzi'āt, he vividly renders "The Soul-snatchers". However, the Qur'ānic usage of the terms in these verses does not support this interpretation.

27 Ibn Qayyim, p. 190, affirms that the term rūḥ never appears in the Qur'ān with the meaning "soul", although this usage is common in later traditional literature. See also Macdonald, "Idea of Spirit", p. 326. For a concise statement of the orthodox Muslim view regarding nafs, see Bq., I, 23.

28 Bq., II, 383, says that this verse means that the malā'ikatu-l-mawt will tear out the spirits (arwāḥ) of the unbelievers (al-kuffār). See also Bell, Qur'ān, p. 633. The same interpretation is given in Zam., IV, 692.

29 Bq., II, 383, says this verse means "they draw out (yakhrijūna) the spirits (arwāḥ) of the believers". The same interpretation is given in Zam., IV, 692-3.

30 In the Qur'ān the term nāza'a consistently means "to quarrel", as in 4:59/62: "Believers, obey Allah and obey the rasūl and those in authority over you. If you should quarrel regarding anything (fa-in tanāza'tum fī shay'), then refer the matter to Allah and the rasūl." See also 3:152/45; 8:43/5, 46/8; 18:21/0; 20:62/5; 27:67/6; and 52:23. The two forms from
Since some of these Qur'ānic passages lend themselves well to interpretations based upon later Muslim theology, before stating conclusions regarding these passages a brief summary will be given of the Muslim concept of man's immediate destiny at death.

**Munkar and Nakīr**

It is the orthodox Muslim belief that after a person has died and the body has been placed in the grave, then two black-faced, blue-eyed malāʾika named Munkar and Nakīr visit the grave and interrogate the deceased concerning his beliefs and deeds in life.31 Thereupon, the deceased receives comfort or punishment (depending upon the answers given) at the hands of these two who are called fattānān (the two interrogators).32 At a Muslim funeral one may see one of the mourners approach the corpse as it is about to be laid in the tomb and whisper instructions for answering these questions. These instructions are called talqīn al-mayyit (the instruction of the deceased), and the questioning nashīta in 79:2 are the only derivatives from this root in the Qur'ān (and they occur only in this verse); it can only be noted that this verb and its derivatives normally mean "to be lively", "brisk", "cheerful", etc.

31 Belief in Munkar and Nakīr and the ādāb al-gabr are affirmed in al-Ash'arfī's Ḥiṣnāt and Maqālāt—see McCarthy, p. 250, and Wensinck, Muslim Creed, pp. 164-6.

32 See the theological work Bahr al-Kalām fī ʿIlm at-Tawḥīd (Sea of Discussion on the Science of Theology) by Abū al-mu'īn an-Nasafī (d. 508/1114), trans. in Jeffery, Reader, pp. 436-8.
is called fitnatu-l-qabr (the trial of the grave). 33 Both popular beliefs and the teaching contained in the various creeds and manuals differ widely regarding the precise roles of the various celestial and infernal beings which greet the deceased at death or visit his tomb during the interval (barzakh) between death and the Yawm al-Qiyāma. The following representative account appears in a tradition recorded by as-Samarqandī on the authority of al-Barā' ibn 'Azib and reported to be from Muḥammad. 34

When a believer is approaching death, malā'īka whose faces are white descend to him and seat themselves before him. Then the malak al-mawt arrives at the point of death and takes the soul, which comes forth "flowing as easily as a drop from a water-skin", and he presents it to the malā'īka who wrap it in a shroud with sweet-smelling aromatics and take it up to the seventh heaven. 35 Its record is written in ‘Illiyūn 36 and then this soul is returned to the body in the grave, and the deceased is questioned by Munkar and Nakīr. After answering the questions successfully, the deceased hears a herald call out the good news that he is a believer and is to receive the comforts of al-Janna while still

33See Padwick, pp. 278-9.
34Trans. in Jeffery, Reader, pp. 208-10.
35Cf. Lk. 16:22: "The poor man died and was carried by the angels to Abraham's bosom."
36See notes 42 and 43 in the preceding chapter.
in the grave, which expands "as far as the eye can reach".37 On the other hand, when an unbeliever is approaching death, malā'īka whose faces are black descend to him and seat themselves before him. Then the malak al-mawt arrives at the point of death and takes the soul (which has been scattered throughout all the body), pulling it out "like the dragging of an iron spit through moist wool, tearing the veins and the sinews", and he presents it to the malā'īka who put it in a hair-cloth "where the odour from it is like the stench of a decomposing carcass". It is taken to the gate of the lowest heaven, but is not admitted, and its record is written in Sijjīn.38 Then this soul is returned to the body in the grave and the deceased is questioned by Munkar and Nakīr. After answering the questions unsuccessfully, the deceased hears a herald call out the bad news that he has been rejected, and he is to be tormented in the grave, in which a door is opened letting in heat and smoke from Jahannam, and the tomb contracts "so that his ribs are piled upon one another".

Although this account is based upon Qur'ānic terms (malak al-mawt, sijjīn and ʿilliyūn, al-janna and jahannam), both the order of events and the numerous details represent a later

37That is, a door is to be opened in the side of the tomb, through which breezes and a sweet aroma flow in from al-Janna. In some contexts abwāb ar-rahma (doors of mercy) are mentioned—see Padwick, p. 274.

38See notes 40, 41, and 43 in the preceding chapter.
The terms munkar and nakir do appear in the Qur'ān, but not as proper names. In 5:79/82 the term munkar seems to mean "evil deeds": "They did not forbid one another any munkar which they committed; surely the deeds they did were evil (bi's)."

In 3:104/105 the term al-munkar seems to be the opposite of al-macrūf (that which is good): "Let there be a nation of you calling to the good (al-khayr), enjoining good deeds (al-macrūf) and forbidding evil deeds (al-munkar)."

The term nakir occurs four times in the rhetorical question fa-kayfa kāna nakir, which appears at the end of threats of punishment in 22:44/45, 34:34/4, 35:26/4, and 67:18; this question is usually rendered "Then how (terrible) will be my disapproval!" According to their Qur'ānic usage, the terms munkar and nakir may mean "disapproved" and "disapproval"; however, there is no evidence to suggest that the fattānān, Munkar and Nakir, are related to the Qur'ānic usage of these two terms.

Wensinck reports that he has found only one occurrence of the names Munkar and Nakir in the collections of canonical traditions, and he concludes that these names "do not belong to the old stock of traditions". Also, in some traditions only

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39See Ibn Qayyim, pp. 92-4, for a discussion of the reasons why the "adhāb al-qabr" is not mentioned in the Qur'ān.

40This same contrast appears also in the following: 3:110/06, 114/0; 7:157/6; 9:67/8, 71/2, 112/3; 22:41/2; and 31:17/6; cf. also 16:90/2; 24:21; and 29:29/8, 43/4.

41Tirmidhī, Janāpīz, bāb 70—see A. J. Wensinck, "Munkar wa-Nakīr", EI1, III, 724.
one malak interrogates and punishes the deceased, and this malak is not named. In the non-canonical traditions, however, Munkar and Nakîr appear often, sometimes in interpretations of Qur'ânic passages, such as 20:124/3 and 14:27/32. In the former, the expression ma'a'ishatan qankan (narrowness of life) is said to refer to the interrogation in the tomb, and the latter, "Allah will support (yuthabbitu) those who believe with a declaration (al-gawl) which stands firm in this world and in the next (fi-l-hayâti-d-dunya wa-fi-l-âkhirah)", is said to refer to the encounter with the malak al-mawt, the interrogation by Munkar and Nakîr, and the reckoning on the day of judgment.

Conclusions

The tawaffâ-passages which involve the malak al-mawt, the rusul of Allah, and the malâ'ika clearly refer to the same "event", the death of men. However, before reaching the conclusion that these three designations in the tawaffâ-passages refer to the same "beings", other contexts must also be considered. In

42References are cited in Wensinck, "Munkar wa-Nakîr", p. 724.

43See those trans. in Jeffery, Reader, pp. 208-18.

44See ibid., p. 216. This interpretation is also reported in Zam., III, 95, and Bq., I, 608.

45See Jeffery, Reader, p. 214. A similar interpretation is also reported in Zam., II, 554, (where the su'âl al-qabr is mentioned), and in Bq., I, 491.
eleven contexts (out of the twenty which occur in the Qur'an) it is Allah himself who "takes" man at death, as in 10:104 where this statement characterizes the religion of Muḥammad (dīnI): "O men, if you are in doubt concerning my religion (dīnI), I do not serve those you serve apart from Allah, but I serve Allah who will take you (yatawaffākum), and I am commanded to be one of the believers." In 16:70/2 Allah's control of man's origin and destiny are mentioned together: "It is Allah who created you and then will take you (yatawaffākum)." In these passages the verb tawaffā has the same special meaning as in the contexts in which the malak al-mawt, the rusul of Allah, and the malā'ika are said to "take" man at death. There is no evidence to support an essential identification of these three designations, just as these celestial beings are not to be identified with Allah; thus, the "principle of concurrence" should be applied to these tawaffā-passages.

Although the term nafs does have the meaning "soul" in the Qur'an, there is no conclusive evidence to suggest that this specific meaning is intended in 6:93 in the statement ākhrijū anfusahum, nor is this expression (and the vivid imagery often

46 See also 5:117, 10:46/7, 13:40, 40:77; cf. also 3:55/48.

47 With these should be compared the well-known Qur'ānic prayer which occurs in 3:193/1: "Our Lord, forgive us our sins and acquit us of our evil deeds, and take us (tawaffanā) among the pious." Similar prayers to be "taken" among the righteous occur in 7:126/3 and 12:101/2. Cf. also the contemporary prayers given in Padwick, pp. 274-5.
associated with it) explicitly associated with the malak al-mawt in the Qur'ān. Regarding the elaborate accounts of man's immediate destiny at death which are recorded in the numerous traditions, it is clear that they have little foundation in the Qur'ān. In addition to the later embellishment of Qur'ānic terms such as malak al-mawt, sijjīn, 'illiyūn, and statements like akhrijū anfusahum, later traditions have read into the Qur'ān ideas which are almost certainly foreign to original contexts and conceptions of their meanings.

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48 Izutsu, God and Man, p. 16, fails to distinguish between Qur'ānic ideas and later theological conceptions, when he concludes: "The concept of the angel of death plays a considerable role in the Koranic eschatology. A number of important passages (e.g. 6:93) describe how angels will come and seize the soul at the critical moment of the death-struggle and bring it before the Supreme Judge." Then, the statement which follows, "Besides, this concept itself was not in any way akin to the Jahili mind", is an example of the reification of which this author is so often guilty.
CHAPTER XVI

SPIRIT-BEINGS RELATED TO ESCHATOLOGY

Qur'anic eschatology provides a wealth of colourful and dramatic pictures of events related to the Last Day, resurrection, judgment, and future life. The most common name for this day of days, which in 70:4 is said to last for fifty thousand years, is simply al-yawm al-ākhir (the last day), but numerous other designations occur in the Qur'ān. Among the more common of these are yawm al-qiyāma (the day of resurrection), yawm ad-dīn (the day of judgment), yawm al-hisāb (the day of reckoning), and yawm al-faṣl (the day of separation). As has been shown in the preceding chapter, the Qur'ān makes no clear distinction between the interrogation at the time of death and the questioning at the judgment, nor between the punishment at the time of death (later called 'adḥāb al-qabr) and the chastisement in Jahannam; also, both the bliss of al-Janna and the agony of Jahannam are seen as commencing in the tomb before the general resurrection and judgment. Thus in systematic Muslim theology (as well as in popular

\[1\text{See also the list given in D. B. Macdonald, "al-Ḳiyāma", III, II, 1049, and his reference to al-Ghazālī's Iḥyā' where an extensive list appears.}\]
theological tracts and manuals) the circumstances surrounding death and events of the grave are treated in articles on eschatology.

In the development of Muslim eschatology during the early centuries of Islam, the theologians went beyond the teachings of the Qur'an, adopting such Jewish and Christian concepts as the promised Messiah (the second coming of Christ in Christian theology) who is called al-Mahdi in Islam, and the Antichrist who is called ad-Dajjal in Islam. A remarkable aspect of the development of theology during the Middle Ages is the fact that certain Muslim concepts, like the bridge (al-jisr) over Jahannam, were incorporated into Christian eschatology (possibly through the influence of such works as Dante's Divina Commedia). The present chapter, however, deals only with the Qur'anic material, and particularly with references to the various spirit-beings associated with Qur'anic eschatology.


4As-Samarqandi records a tradition from 'A'isha in which this bridge is described, as trans. in Jeffery, Reader, p. 219: "Gehenna has [over it] a bridge (jisr) finer than a hair and sharper than a sword, fitted with hooks and grappling irons. Over this the people have to pass. Some will cross like rapid lightning, some like swift blowing wind, some escape safe and sound, some lacerated and torn, and some are thrown prostrate on their faces in the Fire."
Taking the passages in the order of the events (rather than the chronological order of the Qur'anic contexts in which the references occur) from the signal for the end of time to the descriptions of man's final abode, the following spirit-beings appear in contexts associated with eschatology: (1) those who sound the trumpet (as-gūr) and give the shout (as-gayhā) which signal the Last Day and the resurrection of the dead; (2) the malā'ika and the rūh who appear on the Last Day; (3) those who appear or testify at the judgment; and (4) those who are in charge of al-Janna and Jahannam.

Those Who Signal the Last Day and the Resurrection

According to 27:87/9, when the trumpet (as-gūr) is sounded all those in the heavens as well as those on earth will be struck with terror: "And the Yawm when as-gūr is sounded, then those in the heavens and those on earth will be struck with terror (fazī'a), except those whom Allah wills. And everyone will come to him humbled." Significant differences occur in another context, 39:68: "And as-gūr will be sounded, then those in the heavens and those on earth will be stupefied (ga'īqa), except those whom Allah wills. Then it will be sounded again, and lo, they will be standing, looking on." This context clearly states that the trumpet will be blasted more than one time, with the second time apparently signalling the resurrection. If the first blast in 39:68 is the same as that mentioned in 27:87/9,
then these verses would be interpreted to mean that the people still living on that Yawm will first be terrified (fazī'at) and then stupefied (sā'īqa). 5 In 69:13, however, there seems to be only one blast: "And when as-ṣūr is sounded with a single blast (fa-idhā nufikha ff-ṣūri nafkhatun wāhida)".

In his Ṭanbih al-Ghāfilin, as-Samarqandī records a tradition from Abū Hurayra which reports that Muḥammad taught that the malak Isrāfīl 6 will blow three blasts on as-ṣūr: (1) the first will strike fear in everyone living on that day, and in all the inhabitants of the seven heavens; (2) the second will cause all the inhabitants of the heavens and the earth to die, including the malāʾīka and even the malak al-mawt; and (3) the final one will be the blast for the resurrection. 7 This tradition clearly reflects an effort to harmonize the accounts in sūras 27 and 39, with the first blast referring to 27:87/9, the second to 39:68a, and the third to 39:68b.

5 The Arabic term sā'īqa has the same meaning as the Latin term stupēre, "to be struck senseless".

6 See A. J. Wensinck, "Isrāfīl", EI1, II, 554. An interesting tradition from Abū Hurayra is recorded by as-Samarqandī, and trans. in Jeffery, Reader, p. 219, in which Muḥammad is reported to have said: "When Allah—exalted be He—had finished creating the heavens and the earth He created the Trumpet (as-ṣūr). He gave it to Isrāfīl who [since then has been standing with it] set at his mouth gazing with unwavering glance towards the Throne waiting expectantly to be ordered [to sound it]."

7 Trans. in Jeffery, Reader, pp. 219-21. Some traditions say there will be only two blasts—see ibid., p. 219.
According to some passages the resurrection of the dead will occur at the sound of *as-gūr*, as in 36:51:

And *as-gūr* will be blown, and lo, they will come sliding forth (*yansilūna*)\(^8\) from their tombs to their Lord. They say: "Woe upon me! Who aroused us (*ba'athanā*) from our resting place (*marqād*)?\(^9\) This is what ar-Raḥmān has promised, and the *mursalūn* were speaking the truth!"

This passage supports the interpretation of 36:68 given above where it is concluded that a blast from *as-gūr* signals the resurrection from the graves. In the Qur'ān the resurrection is called *al-qiyāma* (the uprising), *al-ba'ath* (the awakening), and *al-khurūj* (the coming forth). According to Qur'ānic eschatology those still living on "that day" will be struck dead (except those whom Allah wills—*illā man shā'ā-llāh*) so that everyone will arise together as each body is restored to life (86:8), and men will become as new creations (29:19/8-21/0).

In other contexts, the resurrection is announced by "the shout" (*as-sayḥa*) which is called out by "the caller" (*al-munādī*), as in 50:40/1-44/3:

40 And listen for the Yawm when *al-munādī* will call from a nearby place.
41 On the Yawm when you hear *as-sayḥa*, in truth that will be the *yawm al-khurūj*!
42 Surely, it is we who give life and death, and to us is the homecoming.

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\(^8\)Trans. "trickling down" by Bell; "speed out" by Rodwell; "rush forth" by Dawood (following Yusuf Ali); and "sliding down" by Arberry.

\(^9\)The verb *ba'atha* means "to awaken" and "to raise up", and the term *marqād* means both "bed, couch' and mausoleum".
43 On the Yawm when the earth is split asunder [opening] away from them as they rush out--that will be a mustering together, easy for us!

This is a most vivid picture of the resurrection: al-munādī will give a shout which will cause the earth to shatter, and the graves will crack open and all the corpses will rush out and be gathered together (before the throne). This passage contains the only Qur'ānic occurrence of the term al-munādī, which is to be compared with the synonym ad-dā'if in 54:6-8:

6 So turn away from them. On the Yawm when ad-dā'if will call to a dreadful affair,
7 with their eyes humbled they will come forth from the graves like a swarm of locusts,
8 rushing towards ad-dā'if with outstretched necks. The unbelievers will say: "This is a day of distress!"

These two passages from sūras 50 and 54 clearly refer to the same event, the first said to occur on the "day of coming forth" (yawm al-khurūj), and in the second this day is called "a day of distress" (yawm asIr). Both al-munādī and ad-dā'if appear in the role of "caller" on the day of resurrection.

The substantive ad-dā'if also occurs in 2:182, where the statement ʿuṣbu dāʿwata-d-dā'if idhā daʿānif (I answer the call of the caller when he calls to me) seems to refer to the suppliant calling to Allah in prayer. On the other hand, in 20:108/7 the term ad-dā'if has the same meaning as in 54:6-8. The expression dā'iyā-llāh (Allah's caller) appears twice in the speech of the jinn in 46:31/0-32/1, and a similar expression dā'iyan ilā-llāh (a caller to Allah) occurs in 33:46/5--both of these expressions refer to Muḥammad. Therefore, the term ad-dā'if does not appear
in the Qurʾān exclusively as a designation for the one who summons the dead from the graves to be judged.

Little can be inferred regarding the nature of the one who sounds the trumpet since he is not named or even mentioned in the Qurʾānic formula nufikha fī-qṫūr which occurs in contexts dealing with the Last Day and the resurrection of the dead. In separate contexts, the blast from the trumpet and "the shout" (aš-sayḥa) are each said to signal the resurrection; however, these two actions are not to be identified phenomenologically. Following the "principle of concurrence", the two expressions related to resurrection, "the shout" and "the blast from the trumpet", are to be regarded as two separate metaphors referring to the same event, and those who "shout" (al-munāḍa and ad-dāʾa) are not to be identified in any way with the one who "blasts".

The Malāʾika and the Rūḥ

The malāʾika and the rūḥ appear together in four Qurʾānic contexts which are scenes of the Last Day or are otherwise associated with divine judgment. The earliest of these four contexts appears to be 78:31-9. Whether or not vv. 17-30 were originally connected with vv. 31-9, these two sections are related

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topically. The *yawm al-fa§l* (day of separation) is mentioned in v. 17, and the sounding of *as-gūr* is mentioned in v. 18 (again clearly referring to the resurrection from the dead); then continues a vivid description of the terrors of Jahannam. The second section, vv. 31-9, begins with a description of the pleasures awaiting the righteous, and concludes:

38 On the *yawm* when the *rūḥ* and the malāʾika will stand in ranks, no one will speak except him who is granted permission by ar-Rahmān, and he will speak the truth (*sawāb*).

39 That will be the *yawm al-ḥaqq*! Thus, let whoever wills take refuge in his Lord.

The context of this reference to the *rūḥ* and the malāʾika (the only context where the *rūḥ* is mentioned first) appears to be a judgment-scene; however, these celestial beings seem to take no active part in the proceedings. The picture is of rows of malāʾika flanking the throne, with man trembling before the terror of judgment (indicated in the expression *yawm al-ḥaqq*, "day of truth").

In Sūra 70 the malāʾika and the *rūḥ* are mentioned in a reply to a questioner (*sāʾil*) who is said to have asked about the punishment (*adḥāb*) which has been threatened:

1 A questioner has asked about a punishment about to fall
2 upon the unbelievers—which no one can avert—
3 from Allah, the Lord of the stairways.
4 The malāʾika and the *rūḥ* ascend (*ta'rūju*) to him in a *yawm*,
5 the measure of which is fifty thousand years.12
6 Thus, be patient with a beautiful patience.
7 Surely, they see it as far off,
8 but we see it as near (*qārīb*)!

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11 See Bell, Qurʾān, pp. 630-1.
12 Cf. story of Jacob's ladder in Gen. 28.
This reference to a punishment (aḍẖāb) which is near (qarīb) is to be compared with 78:40: "Surely, we have warned you of a punishment which is near (aḍẖāb qarīb)." These first two Qur'ānic references to the malāʾika and the rūḥ are thus related, and they are both fairly early Meccan. During this period the threatened punishment upon unbelievers is seen in cosmic, apocalyptic terms—a conception which coincides with the powerless position of Muḥammad and his followers at this time.

In Sūra 16 the malāʾika and the rūḥ are associated with the mysterious amr of Allah in a context which cannot be dated with certainty because of the Qur'ānic characteristic of stressing the inevitability of future events by employing the perfect (or completed action) forms of verbs:

1. The amr of Allah comes, so do not seek to hasten it. Glory be to him who is high above those they associate with him!

2. He sends down the malāʾika with the rūḥ by means of his amr upon whomever he wills among his servants. Give warning that there is no deity except me, so fear me!

Bell translates the opening statement, atāʾ amru-llāh, as if the action has been completed: "The affair of Allah has come", and he offers the suggestion that this statement "implies that the battle of Badr has already taken place". References to "those

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13Bell, Qurʾān, p. 604, suggests that in Sūra 70, vv. 1-2 and 6-7 once formed an independent pericope, and that the intervening verses were added later "to obviate the difficulty of the delay in the coming of the event".

14See Wagtendonk, pp. 83-4, n. 5.

who emigrate in the cause of Allah" (الله!نا ه!ج!ر!ع ف!ى-ل!ل!أ!ه) in vv. 41/3-42/4 and 110/1 suggest a date after the Hijra, although this may not affect the dating of the opening verses since the sura is clearly not a unity; and also, these allusions could possibly refer to those who immigrated to Abyssinia. A date before the battle at Badr is suggested by v. 33/5 where it is stated that the unbelievers are awaiting the coming of the malā'ika and the amr of their Lord. Because of the similarities between this verse and vv. 1-2, it seems best to regard the latter also as dating from a time prior to the battle at Badr, although possibly still Medinan. This conclusion is supported by the second statement in v. 1, fa-lā tastaqijilūhu (so do not seek to hasten it). This passage is thus seen as a warning to the unbelievers that the coming of the malā'ika (which they seek) will bring only punishment, so they should not seek to hasten it.

Thus, the sending down of the malā'ika and the rūh in Sūra 16 is associated with Allah's judgment. Whether this context refers to temporal or eschatological judgment is difficult to determine, not only because of the ambiguity of the context, but also because the two types are not clearly distinguished in late

[Baq., I, 515, interprets 16:41/3 as referring to both groups of emigrants: "They are the rasūl of Allah and his companions (اُن!ع!ر!ع!ز!ع!ه!ع!), the emigrants (ال-مُهَ!ع!ر!ع) who had been treated unjustly by the Quraysh and had immigrated to Abyssinia, and then to Medina, and also those after them [who immigrated] to Medina." The same interpretation of this verse is given by Zam., II, 607 (where the ahl Makka are mentioned instead of the Quraysh).]
Meccan and early Medinan passages (such as the punishment-stories). The amr of Allah in 16:1 may be seen as parallel to the sounding of as-sūr in 69:13, etc. (or the gaybā, "shout", in 50:41/2), in announcing the Last Day and summoning to the judgment; however, the threat of temporal judgment appears more likely in this context.

The final context in which the malāʾika and the rūḥ appear, 97:1-5, is the most difficult to interpret. Here they are mentioned in the second of three explanations (or descriptions) of the laylat al-qadr (night of measuring-out):

1. Surely, we sent it down during the laylat al-qadr.
2. And what will let you know what is the laylat al-qadr?
3. The laylat al-qadr is better than a thousand months.
4. In it the malāʾika and the rūḥ descend at every command (amr) with the permission of their Lord.
5. It is peace—until the rise of dawn!

The interpretation of this sura appears to offer little difficulty for the writers of the classical tafsīr. The malāʾika and the rūḥ in v. 4 are identified with the malāʾika and the rūḥ which are associated with the amr of Allah in 16:1-2, both passages being regarded as referring to revelation. Both at-Tabari and az-Zamakhshari interpret the rūḥ in 97:4 as Jibrīl, the

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17 See Wagtendonk, p. 91, n. 3.
18 This translation is from Wagtendonk, p. 83. Rahbar, God of Justice, p. 119, suggests the alternatives "the Night of Calculation" or "the Night of Apportionment". Arguments against the usual translation "Night of Power" are given by Wagtendonk, pp. 84-5.
19 XXX, 142-3.
20 IV, 781.
messenger who brings the revelation to Muḥammad. The pronominal suffix *hu* in *anzalnahu* (we sent it down) is consistently interpreted as referring to the Qurʾān, although it is usually explained that what is meant is that the first part of the Qurʾān was sent down on this night, or that the Qurʾān was brought down from the lawḥ mahfūʿ to the lower heaven (as-samāʾ ad-dunyā).

In the Qurʾān the term *qadr* means "measure" or "measuring-out", as in 65:3: "Allah has appointed a measure (qadr) for everything." In the Qurʾān Allah measures out (qadara) provisions, the rain, the things of creation, and in 73:20: "Allah measures out the night and the day." According to the

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21 See also Bq., II, 411, where the role of Jibrīl in the revelation of the Qurʾān is mentioned in relation to the *laylat al-qadr*.

22 *Fab.*, XXX, 142-3; *Zam.*, IV, 760. See also Wagtendonk, p. 87.

23 Mentioned in the Qurʾān in 85:22, but probably without a special meaning attached to this expression in later Muslim theology.

24 See Zam., IV, 780, repeated on p. 781 where it is added that some say it was sent down to the earth on this night; both interpretations are given by Bq., II, 411.

25 The Qurʾānic usage of derivatives from *qadara* is discussed in Rahbar, *God of Justice*, pp. 108-19, and Wagtendonk, pp. 84-5.


27 See *ibid.*, p. 117.

28 See *ibid.*, p. 118.
traditions, the *laylat al-qadr* is a special night of each year when Allah determines the good and evil, as well as periods of rain, amounts of provision, and life and death for the coming year. Wensinck has identified the *laylat al-qadr* as an ancient New Year's night of Arabia, and Wagendonk has confirmed this conclusion, showing that this night was first adopted in Islam as a replacement for the early Muslim observance of the Jewish *'Ashūrā*:

In Medina Mohammed had, at the outset, adopted the *‘Ashūrā* of the Jews, and had established it as an obligatory day of fasting on the 10th of Muḥarram. This he can not have done simply to win over the Jews, but it was done because the Tora was given on that day and Mohammed wanted, in this way, to associate his revelation with it. Only now and not earlier, does Mohammed name Gabriel as the transmitter of the Koran. The Jews did not believe in the revelation of the Koran by Gabriel (2:97/91) and, as a result, Mohammed gave up the *‘Ashūrā* he had proclaimed as the day of the revelation of the Koran, and now situated his revelation in an ancient Arabian New Year's night, the *Laylat al-qadr* which, like the *‘Ashūrā*, was bound up with the idea of a heavenly judgement.

Wagendonk then shows that the *laylat al-qadr* was originally a night in the holy month of Rajab (identifying it with the *laylat al-miʿrāj*, traditionally regarded to be the 27th of Rajab).

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29 See Bukh., I, 500-3 (Fadl laylat al-qadr), and Ṭab., XXX, 143-4. For a list of similar ideas in other cultures, see Wagendonk, pp. 98-9.

30 A. J. Wensinck, "Arabic New Year and the Feast of Tabernacles", VKAW, XXV (1925).


32 Wagendonk, pp. 95-6.

33 Ibid., pp. 105-8.
but that a night in Ramaqān was newly designated the laylat al-qadr after the victorious battle at Badr, which occurred in Ramaqān and was seen as the furgān—the proof that the Muslims were the people of Allah. The relationship between the furgān, the battle at Badr, the choice of the month of Ramaqān as the month of fasting, and "the appearance of the Qurʾān as the distinctive Scripture of an independent Moslem community" had already been recognized by Bell, and is only confirmed by the recent studies of Wagtendonk.

Thus, the laylat al-qadr is the "night of measuring-out", a night of decreeing, a night of heavenly judgment, which came to be associated with revelation because of its relationship to the Jewish Āshūrā (on which the Torah was believed to have been sent down to Mūsā). The role of the malāʾika and the rūḥ in relation to the laylat al-qadr is the same, however, as in other Qurʾānic contexts where the malāʾika and the rūḥ are mentioned together, that is, they carry out Allah's judgment. The role of the malāʾika in battle is related to the Qurʾān: "it is used as though it means some sort of a Scripture sent from God".

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34Ibid., pp. 120-2. On the term furgān, see Jeffery, Foreign Vocab., pp. 225-9, where it is pointed out that in six of the seven contexts in which this term appears in the Qurʾān "it is used as though it means some sort of a Scripture sent from God".


36pp. 120-2

37Cf. yawm al-faṣal (day of separating-out) in 78:17.
to their punitive role in Allah's judgment, and as Wagtendonk concludes: "The battle of Badr was in fact a definite reckoning, and, as such, a sort of Last Judgement".\textsuperscript{38}

\textbf{Those Who Appear or Testify at the Judgment}

Considering the importance of the judgment as one of the two dominant themes in the Qur'an, and the dramatic form in which the numerous judgment-scenes are presented, along with the prominent roles of the spirit beings in Muslim eschatology, it is somewhat surprising that the malā'ika appear as witnesses in only one judgment-scene each, the jinn appear only in the thaqalān contexts, Shayṭān appears in one judgment-scene but is not a witness, and the shayātīn are not named in any. However, the malā'ika are mentioned in the contexts of several judgment-scenes, although their specific purpose is often difficult to determine. Also, as has been stated above, the distinction between the interrogation of the unbelievers at death and the questioning at judgment is not clear in some contexts.

In some judgment-scenes such as 69:13-17 the malā'ika appear to have a passive role regarding the judgment. Here some are seen standing "upon the borders" of the heaven which has been split open, and others are said to "carry above them the throne

\textsuperscript{38}p. 91
("arsh) of your Lord"). In 25:22/4-26/8 the malā'īka are said to be "sent down descending" (wa-nuzzila-l-malā'īkatu tanzīl), and, although the purpose of the descent is not specified, the statement in v. 26/8, wa-kāna yawman "al-l-kāfirīna asīr (it will be a harsh day for the unbelievers), is clearly a reference to the judgment. In 41:30 the malā'īka descend to the believers with words of assurance, and apparently guide them directly into al-Janna; whereas, in 16:28/30 the malā'īka take the unbelievers (on the yawm al-qiyāma) and send them straight to Jahannam. In 89:21/2-26 the malā'īka (here the singular form malak occurs) stand in ranks while Jahannam is "brought forth" and the unbelievers recall their evil deeds and regret them. And in 39:74-5 the malā'īka are said to "surround the throne on all sides" (wa-tarā-l-malā'īkatu ḥāffīna min ṣawli-l-"arsh), while proclaiming the praise of their Lord. That this is a judgment-scene is indicated in the statement: wa-qiyya baynahum bi-l-ḥagg (and the issue between them will be decided justly).

39 In the Qur'an the terms "arsh and kursī both mean "thrones", and thus appear to be synonymous. Cf. use of kursī in the well-known āyat al-kursī, 2:255/6. In later literature, however, a distinction is made, as in the Qisas al-Anbiyāʾ of al-Kisāʾī, trans. in Jeffery, Reader, p. 162: "Then Allah created the Throne ("arsh) out of a green jewel whose size and whose light no one can describe, and it was put on the billowing waves of the water. Wahb said that none of the former Scriptures failed to mention the Throne ("arsh) and the footstool (kursī) for Allah created them from two mighty jewels."

40 This seems to be a reference to the Qur'ānic teaching that the differences between various religious groups will be decided at the judgment.
However, in none of these contexts do the malāʾika have an active role in the judgment proceedings—as witnesses, accusers, or defenders.

In the one Qurʾānic context in which the malāʾika play an active part in the judgment, 39:40/39-42/1,41 they appear as "accusers". In this significant context, the malāʾika are called as witnesses against the unbelievers, who are accused of "serving the jinn in whom most of them believed" (kānū yaʿbudūna-l-jinna aktharuhum bi-him muʿminūna). Then follows the interesting statement: "On that Yawm you will have no power over each other, for profit or harm" (referring to the two groups, al-jinn and al-ins, the thaqalān42), suggesting that the unbelievers had expected to be supported at the judgment by those whom they had served. Since the context indicates that the unbelievers thought they had been serving the malāʾika, those who are accusing the unbelievers are also defending themselves. Therefore, in light of the fact that this is the only context in which the malāʾika have an active part in the judgment proceedings, this context should not be interpreted as suggesting that the malāʾika have an official role such as that of prosecutor, or that they are even "accusers" in other cases.

41 Translated and discussed above in Chapter XIII, pp. 244-5, in relation to belief in malāʾika and jinn.

42 A survey of the Qurʾānic usage of derivatives from thaqula (to be heavy, to be burdened) suggests that the term ath-thaqalān in 55:31 means "the two groups burdened down with sins", and is an allusion to the judgment. See Eichler, p. 37.
The one context in which the jinn appear as active participants in the judgment proceedings is 6:128-30:

128 On the Yawm when he will gather them all together:
"Company of jinn, you have demanded much from men . . ."
Then their friends among men will say: "Our Lord, we have enjoyed much from each other, and we have reached the term which you have determined for us." He will say: "The fire is your abode, in which you will dwell forever, unless Allah wills otherwise!" Surely your Lord is Ḥakîm, ʿAlîm.

129 Thus, we make the two groups of evildoers friends of each other for what they have earned.

130 "Company of jinn and men, did not rasûl from among you come to you, relating my signs to you and warning you of the meeting on this Yawm of yours?" They will say: "we bear witness against ourselves." Thus, the present life has deceived them, and they bear witness against themselves that they have been unbelievers.

The phrase which is translated "we have enjoyed much from each other" is istamtaʿa baʿqunā bi-baʿq, interpreted as referring to the two groups, jinn and men; likewise, the statement nuwallī baʿqa-ʿz-gâlimîna baʿq has been interpreted as referring to the same two groups. These statements explain the interpretation given above to the phrase lá yamliku baʿqukum li-baʿq in 34:41/0. In 6:128 the fire (an-nâr) is promised to both jinn and men, as in 34:41/0; and in 6:129 these two groups are called "the evildoers" (az-ḡâlimîn), as in 34:41/0 they are called "those who do evil" (alladhîna ḡalamû). The point of 6:128-30 seems to be that men and jinn have banded together for mutual benefit, but instead will reap mutual punishment. The existence of the jinn is not questioned; what is denied is that friendship with the jinn is beneficial to men.

An interesting passage for comparison with 6:128-30 is the following statement in 41:29: "And the unbelievers will say:
'Our Lord, show us those who have misled us, both jinn and men. We will crush both of them beneath our feet, that they may be among the most despicable!" Like 6:128-30, this passage deals with responsibility for unbelief—and blame is placed upon the jinn. However, whereas the jinn appear as witnesses in the former context, in the latter the expression mina-l-jinni wa-l-ins may be taken as an idiom meaning "everyone, both unseen and seen" or "both unknown and known", or simply "everyone".

A Qur'anic statement which is relevant at this point is la-amlanaa Jahannama mina-l-jinnati wa-n-nasi ajma'In (I will surely fill Jahannam with jinn and men all together), which occurs in 11:119/20 and 32:13. Similar statements with mina-l-jinni wa-l-ins occur in 7:38/6 and 7:178/9 (as well as 41:29 which is mentioned above). Rahbar concludes that the statement in 11:119/20 and 32:13 is of "purely rhetorical significance" and means simply "that justice will be done; the wicked will surely be thrown in hell". Although this is surely the ultimate meaning of these expressions, two factors which suggest that these

43Blachère, p. 356, interprets this statement literally, saying that it is "important pour la définition du déterminisme" in the Qur'ān.

44In his Kitāb al-Luma' al-Ash'arī relates 7:178/9 to 51:56 and concludes that some men and jinn are predestined for hell, and others for paradise—see McCarthy, p. 94. This view is also accepted by Eichler, p. 38.

45God of Justice, p. 80.

46Ibid., p. 81.
references to the jinn have more than rhetorical significance are: (1) in 6:128-30 the jinn take an active part in the judgment proceedings and are explicitly condemned to the fire along with the men they led astray, and (2) these statements date from a period when the existence of jinn is clearly accepted in the Qur'ān.

The one Qur'ānic judgment-scene in which Shaytān appears is 14:21/4-22/7:

21 And they appear before Allah, all together. Then the weak (aq-du'afā'ī) will say to those who had been arrogant (alladhīna-stakbarū): "Surely we were your followers! Can you not help us at all against the punishment of Allah?" They will reply: "If Allah had guided us, then we would have guided you. To us it makes no difference [now] whether we are anxious or patient. For us there is no refuge..."

22 Then when the issue is decided, Shaytān will say: "Surely Allah promised you a promise of truth, and I promised you, but I failed you, for I had no authority over you, except that I called you, and then you listened to me. Thus, do not blame me, but blame yourselves. I cannot answer your cries for help, nor can you answer mine. I disbelieve in the partnership which formerly you ascribed to me. Surely, for those who do evil there is a painful punishment!"

Like many judgment-scenes in the Qur'ān, this brief fragment does not deal with the more important matters of the judgment and the sentencing. After a short conversation which occurs at some point during the judgment proceedings, the remainder of this context is devoted to a statement by Shaytān spoken after the judgment is complete; thus, Shaytān does not appear as a witness against the unbelievers. Here, and throughout Qur'ānic eschatology, there is no prosecutor who accuses the unbeliever, and other contexts make it clear that it is the Qur'ānic teaching that the unbeliever is condemned by his own record of deeds.
If Shayṭān does not participate in the judgment proceedings, is he to be taken as a distinct personality at all in this passage? It is certainly striking that the statement of Shayṭān follows the brief conversation between "the weak" (ad-ḍuʿafāʾ) and "those who were arrogant" (al-adhīna-stakbarū), and that after "the weak" blame the latter for their predicament, then Shayṭān says: "Do not blame me, but blame yourselves." Is it possible that the "arrogant" are in some way equivalent to "Shayṭān" in this passage? In the Iblīs-myth it is said that Iblīs "was arrogant and became one of the unbelievers" (istakbara wa-kāna mina-l-kāfirīn); 47 also, the Iblīs-myth is related to judgment since its purpose is to threaten punishment to those who follow the rebel. Still, the expression "those who were arrogant" in 14:21/24-5 refers to "human unbelievers" (who simply possess one of the characteristics of Iblīs), and Shayṭān does appear as a distinct personality in v. 22/26-7, although he has no official role in the judgment proceedings.

Those Who Are Keepers of al-Janna and Jahannam

Among the numerous descriptive passages and dramatic settings in the Qur'ān, the pictures of the pleasures of al-Janna and the torments of Jahannam are surely the most vivid, offering a rich variety of details which form picturesque impressions which

47 38:74 and 2:34/2; cf. also 7:13/2 and 38:75. See the Excursus at the end of Chapter III, pp. 61-3.
are colourful but sometimes incongruous. The purpose and role of the various spirit-beings which appear in these tableaux are not always clear. In the following discussion, the passages are arranged to form a chronological order of events from the passing of the sentence at the judgment to the permanent lodging of the unbeliever in his place of "final abode".

As has been shown in the preceding chapter, in some Qur'anic contexts such as 16:28/30-33/5 it appears that the malā'ika who greet the deceased usher them immediately into al-Janna or Jahannam.48 In other contexts the malā'ika are not mentioned at all, as in the speech of Allah in 36:55-64 which ends with an admonition to the Children of Adam who had served Shayṭān: "He led many of you astray—were you not aware? This then is Jahannam which you have been promised! Roast well in it today, because you have not believed!" This statement appears to be the passing of sentence at the judgment, and it seems that Allah himself introduces the condemned into Jahannam. Such contexts as this, however, should be compared with other Qur'anic statements such as 44:47-8 where apparently Allah is giving orders to the malā'ika at the time of sentencing: "Take him! and cast him into the midst of the Blaze (al-jahīm). Then pour over his head some of the punishment of scalding water (‘adhāb al-ḥamīm)!"

48 See above, pp. 297-9. This apparent incongruity in the order of events is rectified with the concepts abwāb ar-rahma and ‘adhāb al-gabr in later Muslim belief; see pp. 305-7 and notes 37 and 39 in the preceding chapter.
Here, the keepers of Jahannam are not specifically mentioned, although it is clear that they are being addressed, and they administer the punishment which is prescribed by Allah.

In another context, 67:6-9, the picture is even more vivid, and here the "keepers" (khazana) interrogate their new inmates:

6 For those who have rejected their Lord is the 'adhāb Jahannam, an evil destination!
7 When they are cast into it they will hear a groaning gulp [as it sucks them in], and it will be boiling,
8 almost bursting with fury. Whenever a group is cast into it, its khazana will ask them: "Did a warner not come to you?"
9 They will answer: "Yes, a warner came to us, but we rejected him saying: 'Allah has not sent down anything.'" Surely, you are in terrible error!49

Since this interrogation of the unbelievers occurs after the sentencing has already been passed, the only purpose it serves is to get the condemned to admit that they deserve the punishment they are now receiving.50 Also, a similar picture is given in 40:71/3-76 which begins: "See them with shackles and chains upon their necks, as they are dragged into the scalding water! Then they will be stoked into the fire (thumma fī-n-nārī yusjarūna)."

It must be the khazana who "drag" and "stoke" the condemned.

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49 This final statement may possibly be spoken by the "keepers" to the condemned, but it seems more likely to be directed to Muhammad's hearers who had no doubt been saying: "Allah has not sent down anything."

50 This questioning by the khazana should be compared with the interrogation by those who "take" men at death, discussed in the preceding chapter.
The khazana of Jahannam also appear in the parallel passage, 39:71-2, and their counterparts, the khazana of al-Janna, appear in the following two verses. The khazana of al-Janna which appear in this unique Qur'anic context seem to be the same as the malā'ika in 13:23 who are said to "greet the believers at every door", and those in 21:103 who greet the believers saying: "This is your Yawm!"

In 19:66/7-70/1 a new element is introduced into the Jahannam-scenes since the shayātīn are included in the punishment. Beginning at v. 68/9 the malā'ika (or khazana) seem to be the "speakers":

68 Now, by your Lord, we will surely gather them together with the shayātīn, and then we will parade them around Jahannam hobbling on their knees.
69 Then, after each group we will pluck out those who had been the most hardened with disdain of ar-Ratūn.
70 And then we will know very well which of them deserves most to burn there!

Here it is the shayātīn and men rather than "jinn and men" who are to be punished. If the term shayātīn in this context is simply another designation for "evil jinn", then these shayātīn would be equated with the jinn in similar contexts mentioned above. On the other hand, the term shayātīn in 19:68/9 may be a designation for those who are called the "party" (ḥizb) of Shayṭān in 35:6: "Surely Shayṭān is your enemy, so take him for an enemy! He only calls his ḥizb that they may be among the inhabitants of the Blaze." Similar statements appear in 22:3-4 where "those who follow every shayṭān" are said to have taken him
for a friend, and will be led to "the punishment of the burning" ('adhāb as-sa'īr).51

One of the most significant passages for determining the Qur'ānic teaching regarding the keepers of Jahannam is 66:6-7 where mala'ika who are "terrible" (ghilāz) and "severe" (shidād) are said to over a fire whose fuel is "men and stones":

6 Believers, protect yourselves and your families against a fire whose fuel is men and stones, over which are terrible, severe mala'ika who do not disobey Allah when he commands them, and they carry out what they are commanded.

7 "Unbelievers, do not seek excuses for yourselves today! You are only being repaid for what you have been doing."52 Here the mala'ika carry out the precise commands of Allah as in 44:47-8 (discussed above). However, once again before identifying these mala'ika and khazana phenomenologically, it should be noted that in 3:10/8-11/9, a context where the unbelievers are said to be "fuel for the fire" (waqūd an-nār), it is said that Allah is the one who is severe in punishment (wāllahu shādīdu-l-'iqāb). Thus, Allah appears in the same role as the mala'ika who are said to be severe (shidād).53 This situation is therefore parallel to those discussed in previous chapters where both Allah and the mala'ika are said to record man's deeds, and where both Allah and the mala'ika are said to "take" man at death.

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51 See also 67:5.

52 This admonition in v. 7 is best interpreted as being spoken by the mala'ika.

53 Cf. the idiom "upon them shall rest the curse of Allah and the mala'ika" in 2:161/56 and 3:87/1.
The fact that 66:6 states that the fuel for the fire will be "men and stones" instead of "men and jinn" as in earlier Qur'ānic contexts may indicate a development of thought which is significant for understanding the Qur'ānic pneumatology. The rejection of belief in the jinn, mentioned in 34:40/39-41/0, may also have included rejection of belief in their existence, so that the concept of "men and jinn" being sent to the fire (as in 7:38/6) was replaced with the concept of a fire whose fuel is "men and stones". Although the relative dates of these two ideas cannot be determined with certainty, the former appears to be Meccan and the latter appears to be Medinan (occurring in 2:24/2 as well as 66:6).

One final passage which remains to be discussed is 43:74-8 which threatens the ʿadḥāb Jahannam and contains the one Qur'ānic occurrence of the term mālik which is consistently regarded by the Muslim commentators to be the name of the chief of the malāʾīka who are the keepers of Jahannam:

74 Surely the sinners are dwelling in the ʿadḥāb Jahannam, and it will not be lightened for them, although they despair (mublisūna) therein.54
75 We have not wronged them, but they have wronged themselves.
76 They cry: "O Mālik, let your Lord finish with us!"
77 He replies: "You are to remain!"
78 We brought the truth to you, but most of you are averse to the truth.55

54 The term mublisūna is from baša, from which Muslim lexicographers derive the name Iblīs (see note 3 in Chapter III above, pp. 41-2).
55 Verse 78 is sometimes considered to be part of the speech of Mālik, as for example in the translation of Bell, Qurʾān, pp. 496-7. Rodwell and Blachère follow the same interpretation as that adopted above.
The term *mālik* appears also in the expression *mālik al-mulk* (master of the kingdom) in 3:26/5 where it is explicitly applied to Allah, and in the expression *mālik yawm ad-dīn* (master of the day of judgment) in 1:4/3 where it also refers to Allah. However, the context of this third occurrence, "O Mālik, let your Lord finish with us!", can hardly be interpreted as referring to Allah.

Whether or not this "master" of the fire is to be regarded as having an official position as chief of the keepers of Jahannam is difficult to determine from this context alone. Other Qur'ānic contexts speak of "keepers" or *malaḥīka* in the plural, and no indication is given that they have a "master". In what appears to be an explanation of the "nineteen" who are said to be in charge of Sāqar, 74:31 states: "We have appointed only

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56 Jeffery, *Materials*, p. 185, reports that *malik* (king) was commonly read in place of *mālik* in 1:4/3, and that ʿAli is reported to have read the verb *malaka* in this context.

57 The name Mālik appears to be related to Molech, the Hebrew name for the Ammonite deity to whom human sacrifice was made in the Valley of Hinnom (cf. Jahannam) near Jerusalem. Regarding this deity, see J. Gray, "Molech", *IDB*, III, 422. See also Eickmann, pp. 38-9, and Sichler, pp. 111-12; and Jeffery, *Foreign Vocab.*, p. 257.

58 The term *zabāniyya* in 96:18 also seems to refer to the keepers of Jahannam. Bq., II, 411, says that the threat to call upon the *zabāniyya* means "to drag him into the fire". Regarding the origin and meaning of this term, Andrae, "Ursprung", p. 154, sees Syriac influence. See also Sichler, p. 111; Bell, *Qurʾān*, p. 688; and Jeffery, *Foreign Vocab.*, p. 148.

59 Besides the three occurrences in Sūra 74 (vv. 26, 27, and 42/3), the term Sāqar occurs in only one other Qur'ānic context, 54:48. It appears to be another name for Jahannam, or possibly the fire of Jahannam—see Bq., II, 300.
malā'ika to be masters of the fire (aṣḥāb an-nār)."60 Here the term for "masters" is aṣḥāb, which (like the term mālik) could be interpreted as suggesting a position of authority; however, in both contexts it is clear that these beings are not sovereign overlords of Jahannam, but servants of Allah.61

60 Regarding the significance of the number "nineteen", see Lichler, p. 111.

61 See ibid.
CONCLUSION
The purpose of the present study has been to determine the nature of the various spirit-beings which are mentioned in the Qur'ān, to isolate and describe the "personality" of those beings which have prominent places in Qur'ānic pneumatology, and to trace the development of Qur'ānic ideas related to the spirit-world. As the study has progressed, three significant developments have emerged: (1) the presence of "concurrent accounts" in which the same episode or series of events is reported with significant differences regarding characters, order of events, or certain details; (2) the recurrent phenomenon of "corporate personality", where in some contexts actions for which Allah is ultimately responsible are said to be performed by certain of his agents, but in other contexts the same actions are said to be performed by Allah himself; and (3) the gradual polarization of the powers for good and evil in the lives of men, where in earlier contexts a profusion of supernatural forces appears, but in later contexts all supernatural (but non-divine) power for good is focused in the malāʾika (which, however, are seen to be so completely obedient to Allah that their significance as
independent beings is almost nullified), and all supernatural (but non-divine) power for evil is focused in a single personality, Shaytān.

In the Iblīs-myth, the rebel appears as a distinct personality: he is an arrogant and rebellious fallen-angel who blames Allah for perverting him, and in return threatens to lead astray all of mankind who will follow him. He is pictured as the permanent "tempter" of man; yet he is named in only two other Qur'ānic verses outside the contexts of the Iblīs-myth. In the Shaytān-myth, the tempter appears in the role of the serpent of the Genesis account. Shaytān whispers in the ears of Adam and his wife but is not seen, as the first couple appear to be unaware of his presence; however, Shaytān does not receive the curse of the serpent, possibly because Iblīs has already been banished from heaven and has been pronounced rajīm.

Although the curse upon Iblīs, his banishment from heaven, and Allah's promise that the rebel and all who follow him will be cast into Jahannam are central aspects of the Iblīs-myth, Iblīs is not mentioned in a single Qur'ānic judgment-scene; however, it is significant that in the one judgment-scene in which Shaytān appears (where he is neither a defendant nor a witness, but appears after the judgment has been passed and admonishes the condemned for following him instead of Allah), certain statements in his speech to the condemned (14:22/26-7), reflect statements of the rebel in the Iblīs-myth. The character and nature of Iblīs are also seen in the designation ash-shaytān ar-rajīm.
As a fallen-angel Iblīs is related to Mārūt and Mārūt; however, there is no evidence to suggest that the malakayn bi-Bābil serve under Iblīs, and no such conclusion should be inferred simply from the fact that the latter is seen as the chief of hosts (junūd), which in the Qurʾān are not specifically identified either as fallen-angels or as jinn. These two fallen-angel myths are distinct not only in the Qurʾān but also in the midrashic sources. One characteristic which Mārūt and Mārūt do have in common with Iblīs is that as fallen-angels their activities continue within the scope of the will of Allah. This trait is explicit in the story of the malakayn bi-Bābil who warn the people not to disbelieve in Allah, but it is only implied in the Iblīs-myth where Allah grants respite until the Yawm ad-Dīn and permits Iblīs to attempt to lead men astray.

In the Qurʾānic versions of the ancient shooting-star myth, jinn and shayāṭīn attempt to intrude into the heavenly realm. In the shayāṭīn versions, the intruders are said to be rajīm and also mārid, both terms suggesting the nature of Iblīs. Certain statements in the jinn version suggest that the intruders are fallen-angels which attempt to re-enter the vicinity of the High Council (al-malāʾ al-aʿlā), which appears to be identical with the group of malāʾika mentioned in 2:30/28-33/1. There is no Qurʾānic evidence to support the view that Iblīs also attempts to re-enter the heavenly realm, and it can only be inferred that Iblīs was on the High Council before he rebelled against Allah. Other Qurʾānic contexts which refer to the possibility that
messages may be "brought down" by shayātīn tend to support the conclusion that the purpose of the intruders in the shooting-star myth is to steal information from the High Council or from the celestial book.

The Qur'ānic contexts in which Muḥammad is assured that he is not a šāʿīr or a kāhin but that his messages have indeed come down from Allah suggest that during the early years of the prophet's ministry in Mecca he was not certain of the nature and source of his inspiration (a fact which tends to confirm that he was sincere and that his struggle for assurance as reported in the Qur'ān is valid). In relation to the Qur'ānic conception of revelation, the term majnūn and the expression bihi jinnatun seem to mean "jinn-possessed" rather than "mad", and refer to "inspiration by jinn" which seems to be characteristic of the poets, but is firmly denied regarding Muḥammad's inspiration. The accounts of jinn hearing the Qur'ān and becoming believers seem to be related to the Qur'ānic assurances to Muḥammad that he is not majnūn or bihi jinnatun; that is, they affirm that the Qur'ān has power over the jinn rather than vice versa.

Concerning the role of an intermediary agent in the inspiration of the Qur'ān, it is clear that the Qur'ān portrays a development of ideas from the time that Muḥammad is simply aware that messages come to him, to the time when it is said that the messages are brought down by Jibrīl. During the intermediate stage in this development, the only agents specifically said to be related to inspiration are: (1) the rūḥ which is said to be
in 26:193; (2) the *rūḥ* which is associated with the *amr* of Allah—also called a *rasūl* in 47:51-2; and (3) the *rūḥ al-qudus* mentioned in 16:102/4. The *malāʾika* which are demanded by Muḥammad's opponents as a sign that his message is indeed from Allah are never associated with inspiration, nor is there any explicit indication in the Qurʾān that Jibrīl is one of the *malāʾika*. On the basis of Jewish and Christian beliefs, both Muslim and non-Muslim commentators "assume" that the Qurʾānic Jibrīl is one of the *malāʾika*, and from this assumption conclude that before Jibrīl was identified as the intermediary agent of revelation, Muḥammad must have first considered his messages to have been delivered by the *malāʾika*. There is no Qurʾānic evidence to support this conclusion.

Belief in the *malāʾika* as a required article of faith in the Qurʾānic development of the Muslim creed appears to be related to the Medinan elevation in the position of the *malāʾika* in relation to Allah and the corresponding decline in the significance of jinn and *shayāṭīn* in the Qurʾān. Although belief in the existence of jinn and *shayāṭīn* is maintained in later Islam and is included under this article in the discussions by later theologians, there is no evidence in the Qurʾānic statements to support the opinion that their existence is affirmed along with that of the *malāʾika* in the Qurʾānic credal statements. On the contrary, the Qurʾānic evidence tends to suggest that at least the importance (if not the existence) of both jinn and *shayāṭīn* and their influence for good or evil in the lives of men are no longer maintained in Medinan contexts.
An example of the polarization in the Qur'ānic conception of the supernatural powers for good and evil in the lives of men is seen in the respective roles of the malāʾika and Shayṭān in the Qur'ānic interpretation of early Muslim battles, where victories are ascribed to the assistance of the malāʾika which have been sent by Allah, and military setbacks are blamed on fear which Shayṭān is said to have cast upon the Muslims in battle. Phenomenologically, Shayṭān appears in the Qur'ān as one who possesses a greater degree of independence from Allah than do the malāʾika, who simply praise Allah and perform his commands. In some contexts Shayṭān appears as a distinct personality, one who attempts to seduce men, yet working always within the knowledge and permission of Allah. In other contexts, however, Shayṭān appears more as a symbol of evil than as a distinct personality; that is, whatever is seen as contrary to Islam is said to be the work of Shayṭān, so that Arabian customs and practices which are now condemned by the Qur'ān are gathered together under this one symbol and are thus uniformly attacked.

Qur'ānic examples of "corporate personality" involving Allah and his agents appear in several contexts discussed in the present study. In the various accounts of the Lūṭ-saga, the dual roles of delivering the family of Lūṭ and destroying the city are attributed both to Allah and to the celestial messengers (which are called rusul, mursalūn, and ḍayf). The act of recording man's good and evil deeds is attributed both to Allah and to various celestial beings (which are designated rusul, ḍāfizūn,
muṣarrqibāt, and raqīb). Both Allah and his messengers (variously designated as rusul, malāʾika, and the malak al-mawt) are said to "take" man at the time of death. Finally, the role of casting the condemned unbelievers into Jahannam is ascribed both to Allah and to his malāʾika and the khazana (keepers) of Jahannam (which in another context are called zabāniyya).

The clearest example of "concurrent accounts" encountered in the present study is the announcement to Maryam that she is to give birth to a son. In the account in Sūra 19 the celestial messenger appears as a bashar sawr (handsome man) who startles Maryam who is alone in the sanctuary (miḥrab), and they converse together. This messenger is called the rūḥ of Allah and is clearly visible to Maryam. In the account in Sūra 3 the same message is delivered in the same setting by malāʾika who do not appear visibly, for in this account Maryam appears to be praying to Allah while she is alone in the sanctuary. Qur'ānic "concurrent accounts" of a different type are seen in the Ibrāhīm/Lūt legend-cycle, where the celestial guests have different designations in the various accounts, and also the order of events varies significantly. Finally, those contexts mentioned above as examples of "corporate personality" in the Qur'ān may also be seen as "concurrent accounts" if the various designations related to any one task are interpreted as referring to the same being or beings.
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