

STUDIES IN
THE QUR'ANIC CONCEPT OF SIN

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Foreword

The world of Islām during the early period of its history has to formulate ideas and notions inherent in the teaching of its faith into fairly well defined concepts in order to meet certain inevitably essential needs. One of the most important, and yet the most complex and difficult concepts was that of sin. Its importance in the whole system of social and political structure need hardly be emphasised. The ideas surrounding the concept of sin in Islām, especially the belief in the divine sanction were ever present in the minds and often repeated on the tongues of the adherents of the faith. These ideas played a major part, not only in guiding the individual in the Muslim community in conforming with the accepted and recognised moral order, but also helped the vast community to maintain, especially during the periods of vicissitudes, a fairly orderly social life and a high degree of social cohesion.

The notions and ideas constituting the Muslim concept of sin are at the very bottom of the Qur'ānic verses, implicit or explicit in certain Traditions, and were elaborated and formulated by the works of the theologians, the Sūfis, and the writers on ethics.

The original aim of this study was to trace the development of the Muslim concept of sin in its entirety, i.e., from its embryonic Qur'anic stage, the works of Traditions, and finally the formulation of the concept as a whole at the hands of the leading theologians. In the course of the progress of this work, however, it was realized that such a vast undertaking would be beyond the scope of a thesis of this nature. The formulation of the concept based on Traditions and the works of scholars is closely linked with the complex fabric of the social, theological and political development. Hence, it was decided to confine the scope of the present work to the study of the Qur'anic views on the subject, which undoubtedly form the basis of all

subsequent developments. This, however, does not preclude us from occasionally touching upon some later views which may further elucidate certain Qur'anic notions.

The Qur'anic idea of sin implies certain principles and hypotheses, but in nowhere are these principles and hypotheses defined or set forth in a logical manner. In order to determine these principles and hypotheses, it is proposed, first, to trace, as far as possible, the development of the ethical teaching of the Qur'an in a chronological order and then attempt to derive from this, the underlying principles and hypotheses. The analysis of the Qur'anic ethical teaching in this way will not only indicate what an adherent of the faith of the Qur'an is expected to do and what he is expected to avoid, but it will probably enable us to arrive at the fundamental notions and ideas which underlie and surround the Qur'anic concept of sin.

This will be followed by a discussion of the words and terms which the Qur'an employs in describing disapproved acts, and then an attempt will be made to infer from the use of these words and the context any principles and hypotheses which have a bearing on the concept of sin.

This is followed by a classification of the acts regarded as acts of sin; and this will lead us to the examination of the relationship between faith and acts in the Qur'an.

A fundamental assumption underlying the concept of sin is that man is held responsible for his acts, and this in turn implies another equally important concept, namely that man is a free agent, capable of determining the course of his acts. Therefore, in order that our investigation of the concept of sin be complete, an attempt will be made to determine the Qur'anic attitude towards this problem with particular reference to the doctrine of Qadar.

In view of the complexity of the subject of the human responsibility and the degree of human freedom, the subject is treated separately;

and this treatment comprises the second part of the work, under the heading "Qadar", the Islamic key-word to the problem. The earlier investigation forms Part I of the work.

The author is conscious of the vastness and complexity of the subject; but he would feel more than repaid for his efforts if this work stimulates interest in the subject leading to further investigations.

I wish to record my gratitude to Professor A. Gillaume, the former Professor of Arabic in the University of London who supervised the initial stage of the investigation. I am also grateful to Professor A.S. Arberry of Cambridge for his useful advice and suggestions when I called on him in connexion with this study. I am overwhelmingly indebted to Professor R.B. Serjeant, Professor of Modern Arabic in London University, for his guidance and criticism during the final stages until the work was brought to a conclusion.

Finally my thanks are also due to my colleagues in the department of Islamic Studies of the University of Malaya for their helpful suggestions and kindly interest in the work.

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P A R T 1C H A P T E R 1THE ETHICAL TEACHING OF THE QUR'ĀN

1

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

In this chapter an attempt is made to trace the development of the Qur'anic ethical teaching in a chronological sequence. The chronological order arrived at by Moldeke is adopted here in view of its scholarly foundations. It is realised however that no perfect chronological arrangement of the verses of the Qur'ān is possible, but this shortcoming will not seriously affect our conclusions. We shall also depend on our own criticism and assessment.

Noldeke divides the twenty years of the Qur'anic revelation into two major periods, the Age of Mecca and that of Madīnah. The first age is further sub-divided into three periods; namely the revelations of the earliest four years made up of 48 chapters, the revelations of the following two years in Mecca, to which he assigns 21 chapters, and the revelations of the remaining years in Mecca consisting of another 21 chapters. The Madīnah Revelations constitute 24 chapters. A table showing this order in comparison with the traditional order appears in the chart on the following page.

We shall first trace all the ethical Qur'anic notions comprised in the revelations assigned to the first four years of Mecca following the chronological order of the chapters, giving the references of the verses which contain these notions

MECCAN REVELATIONS							MADIAN REVELATIONS		
From 1st. to 4th. Years			5th. and 6th. Years			7th. Year to the Hira		Name of Chapter	
Chro. Order	Trad. Name of Chapter	Chro. Order	Trad. Name of Chapter	Chro. Order	Trad. Name of Chapter	Chro. Order	Trad. Name of Chapter		
1	العنق	25	الزئزال	49	القدر	70	السجدة	91	البقرة
2	الدثر	26	الانطار	50	الطاهة	71	فصلت	92	البينة
3	الذهب	27	التكوير	51	نوح	72	الباقية	93	التاين
4	الشمس	28	النجم	52	الدھر	73	التعل	94	الجمعة
5	الکوثر	29	الانشاق	53	الدخان	74	الروم	95	الأطال
6	المززة	30	الطهات	54	ق	75	هود	96	محمد
7	الماعون	31	الطارقات	55	طه	76	ابراهيم	97	آل عمران
8	التكاثر	32	المرسلات	56	الشعراء	77	يوسف	98	الصف
9	النحل	33	النبا	57	الجم	78	الزمر	99	العديد
10	الليل	34	الطاشية	58	مريم	79	القسم	100	النساء
11	البلد	35	الجم	59	س	80	الزبر	101	الملاق
12	الشمس	36	القائمة	60	يس	81	العنكبوت	102	الجم
13	الضحى	37	المتفقين	61	الزورف	82	القمان	103	الأحزاب
14	القارن	38	الماقات	62	الجن	83	التورى	104	المنافقون
15	الطارق	39	الذاريات	63	الملك	84	يونس	105	النور
16	الشمس	40	الطور	64	الأنون	85	سبا	106	المجادلة
17	ص	41	البراقة	65	الأنباء	86	ططر	107	الجم
18	القلم	42	الطرح	66	الفرقان	87	الأعراف	108	الفتح
19	الأعلى	43	الرحمن	67	الاسراء	88	الأحزاب	109	التحریم
20	التين	44	الإخلاص	68	النمل	89	الأنام	110	المتحنة
21	الجم	45	الكاكرون	69	الكهف	90	الرعد	111	النصر
22	الجم	46	العلق					112	الجمرات
23	الجم	47	الناس					113	التوبة
24	الجم	48	الجمعة					114	الباقية

MECCAN REVELATIONS												MADIAN REVELATIONS		
From 1st. to 4th. Years						5th. and 6th. Years			7th. Year to the Hijra					
Chro. Order	Trad. Order	Name of Chapter	Chro. Order	Trad. Order	Name of Chapter	Chro. Order	Trad. Order	Name of Chapter	Chro. Order	Trad. Order	Name of Chapter	Chro. Order	Trad. Order	Name of Chapter
1	96	العلق	25	99	الزلزال	49	54	القمر	70	32	السجدة	91	2	المبقرة
2	74	المدثر	26	82	الانفطار	50	37	الصافات	71	41	فصلت	92	98	البيئ
3	111	الليل	27	81	التكوير	51	71	نوح	72	45	الجاثية	93	64	التين
4	106	قريش	28	53	النجم	52	76	الدهر	73	16	الشمس	94	62	الجمعة
5	108	الكوثر	29	84	الانشقاق	53	44	الدخان	74	30	الزمر	95	8	الأنفال
6	104	الهزلة	30	100	الطائيات	54	50	ق	75	11	هود	96	47	محمد
7	107	الماعون	31	79	النازعات	55	20	طه	76	14	ابراهيم	97	3	آل عمران
8	102	التكاثر	32	77	المرسلات	56	26	الشعراء	77	12	يوسف	98	61	الصف
9	105	الفيل	33	78	النبأ	57	15	الحجر	78	40	المؤمن	99	57	الحديد
10	92	الليل	34	88	الطاشية	58	19	مريم	79	28	القصص	100	4	النساء
11	90	البلد	35	89	الفجر	59	38	ص	80	39	الزمر	101	65	الطلاق
12	94	الشرح	36	75	القيامة	60	36	يس	81	29	العنكبوت	102	59	الحشر
13	93	الضحى	37	83	المطففين	61	43	الزخرف	82	31	لقمان	103	33	الأحزاب
14	97	القدر	38	89	الحاقة	62	72	الجن	83	42	الشورى	104	63	المنافقون
15	86	الطارق	39	51	الذاريات	63	67	الملك	84	10	يونس	105	24	التور
16	91	الشمس	40	52	الطور	64	23	المؤمنون	85	34	سأ	106	58	المجادلة
17	80	عس	41	56	الواقعة	65	21	الأنبياء	86	35	فاطر	107	22	الحج
18	68	القلم	42	70	المطوح	66	25	الفرقان	87	7	الأعراف	108	48	الفتح
19	87	الأعلى	43	55	الرحمن	67	17	الاسراء	88	46	الأحقاف	109	66	التحریم
20	195	التين	44	112	الاخلاص	68	27	النمل	89	6	الأنعام	110	60	المتحنة
21	103	العنكبوت	45	109	الكاغرون	69	18	الكهف	90	13	الزمر	111	110	النصر
22	85	البورج	46	113	القلق							112	49	الحجرات
23	73	المزمل	47	114	الناس							113	9	التوبة
24	101	القارعة	48	1	القارعة							114	5	المائدة

and ideas. This will be followed by a summary of the particular acts commanded or prohibited in the course of the development of these notions. Afterwards, the fundamental general ideas of ethics implicit or explicit in these verses are discussed and examined. The same method will be followed in dealing with the revelations assigned to the subsequent ages.

The tables which trace the Qura'nic ethical notions and ideas and their references are too detailed for presentation in the body of this chapter. The tables are therefore given as appendices. The chapter therefore is mainly made up of the summaries of commands and prohibitions picked up from these tables, and of the comments on the ethical notions and principles they contain.

1 1

IN THE EARLY MECCAN AGE

1. Appendix A of this work traces the Qur'anic ethical ideas in the Revelations assigned to the first four years of the Meccan period and gives the references of the verses which contain these notions. The particular ethical teachings comprised in the statements of the tables of this Appendix can be summarised as follows:-

a - Injunctions:

1. Observance of God's greatness and praising Him (4,13d) ^(*)
2. Avoidance of abominations. (5)
3. Cleanliness (6)
4. Endurance. (8,44).
5. Worship of God. (14)
6. Prayers. (15,78)
7. Giving for the sake of God. (25,39,79,81)
8. Emancipation of slaves. (27)

+Figures given after the items refer to their numerical order in App.A.

9. Feeding the orphans and the poor. (28, 31).
10. Mutual sympathy. (29)
11. Reflection (39)
12. Believing and doing good acts in general (40, 43, 80, 84)
13. Reading the Scripture, and observing some other rituals (46)
14. Avoidance of grave sins (Madīnan). (52)
15. Keeping trust. (82)

b. Prohibitions:

1. Obstruction of God's worship (3)
2. Recalling favours (7)
3. Failure to observe prayers (12, 20)
4. Failure to feed the poor (13, 19, 65)
5. Failure to control the tongue (13 b)
6. Disbelief (13 c, 45)
7. Maligning and scoffing, and jeering (16, 18, 38, 42)
8. Accumulation of wealth (17, 76)
9. Ostentatiousness (21, 23)
10. Failure to co-operate (22)
11. Discrimination on account of prestige (35)
12. Female infanticide.(51)
13. Unjust measure (69)

11 Apart from these particular teachings, certain fundamental ethical notions and assertions are traceable in Appendix A.

12. These can be summarised as follows:-

- i. A statement that the human nature tends to be transgressing, especially when the individual finds himself in easy circumstances granted to him by God's favours. Unduly he takes pride in these favours and behaves ungratefully and ostentatiously. In this connexion man is described as a lover and seeker of wealth,

and because of this he tends to be mean, forgetful of the fact that his prosperity is a gift from Providence. But when he is in strained conditions, he gives in to anxiety. ⁽¹⁾

ii. While the human inclination and tendency are described in the above terms, it is stated that man is endowed with the capability to distinguish between right and wrong. ⁽²⁾ Man is urged to make use of his capabilities, to curb his evil desires and bring the forces of evil under his control. ⁽³⁾ Success in this direction is promised abundant rewards in Paradise, whereas negligence and surrender to the forces of evil is threatened with a painful doom in Hell. ⁽⁴⁾ However, it is asserted that each will be responsible for his own acts, not for those of others. ⁽⁵⁾

iii. Table (a) above which summarises the particular injunctions, apart from its rituals, consists of items universally recognised as virtues, such as feeding the poor, helping the orphans and keeping the trust. Even the ritual items contained in the list can hardly be regarded anything but moral virtues, Worship and prayers are expressions of gratitude to God for His favours. On the other hand, table (b) consists of prohibitions which are obviously moral vices, such as ostentatiousness, unjust measure, and the abuses of the tongue. In other words, the particular Qur'anic ethical teachings - at least at this embryonic stage correspond with the universally acknowledged moral order. In this connexion, it is important to observe that ^{the} actual text of the Qur'ān does not speak of these moral virtues and vices in the form of direct order or prohibition during the stage under discussion. It does not use as it does in the case of ritual commands ⁽⁶⁾ the expression (do) or (do not do). The virtues are given in the context of praising the mu'minūn

(believers), as if they are symptoms of their faith, whereas the vices are mentioned in the context of condemning the adversaries as if they are manifestations of their attitude. An important fact emerges from these remarks; namely, that the Qur'an assumes the existence of a universally - acknowledged moral order to which the mu'minān conform and from which the adversaries diverge. In other words, there is no claim that Islam at this stage was attempting to institute new moral values. This assumption, therefore postulates that all acts whether good or evil stem from values which inhere in a universal social order.

- iv. From the above observations, and from the analysis of the particular virtues and vices where the emphasis is laid on the condemnation of Kufr (disbelief), and of disobedience, and on the importance of the observance of the greatness of God and of his worship, it is abundantly clear that what is really important is the attitude assumed by man, the attitude of surrender and humility to God in acknowledgement of His favours, vis a vis the attitude of rebellion and transgression. Moral virtues are, therefore, symptomatic of an attitude of surrender and peñity, while moral vices are the manifestations of the attitude of rebellion and haughtiness.⁽⁷⁾ It is the attitude that matters; actual acts are important merely in that they reveal the attitude of the mind. This hypothesis will be later strengthened, as we shall see, by the numerous instances which assure the forgiveness of occasional lapses; and this is apparently because such lapses are not true manifestations of an attitude of revolt.
- v. Thus the ethical teaching of the Qur'an during this early period of its development can be summarised as follows:-

1. A declaration of man's rebellious nature of which certain acts are manifestations.
2. The necessity of curbing this inclination by exercising self-control, by reflecting on and acknowledgement of God's favours and by worshipping Him and by extending help to the needy. This guides the individual in the direction of assuming an attitude of surrender which appears to be the central teaching of the Qur'ān.
3. A promise of abundant rewards for those who exercise self-control, and a warning of fearful doom for those who fail to do so. But the consequences of the human attitudes and acts are confined to the agents.

i i i

THE MIDDLE MECCAN PERIOD

1. Appendix B traces the ethical points enunciated in the Revelations assigned to the 5th and 6th years of the Meccan period. The particular teachings given in these statements as virtues or as vices are as follows:-

a. Particular commands:

1. Endurance, clemency, and seeking refuge in God (Items 7, 18, 27, 64, 71, 101 of Appx B.) *
2. Believing, (53, 66)
3. Kind treatment to parents, (31, 78)
4. Prayers, (~~31~~, 54, 59, 89, 92)
5. Alms-giving (~~31~~, 56, 92)
6. Telling the truth (~~32~~)
7. Fulfilling Promises (~~34~~³⁷)
8. God-fearing, taqwā (~~39~~³⁹ 46)
9. Avoidance of useless and harmful speeches. (55)
10. Chastity, (57, 68)
11. Modesty and humbleness (63)

*Figures following items are their numerical order in App. B.

12. Moderation (65) (81)
 13. Repentance (69)
 14. Avoidance of unjust (untrue) testimony (70)
 15. Harkening to reminders (72)
 16. Giving to relative^s, the poor and those stranded on the way. (79)
 17. Giving full measures and full weight (86)
 18. Keeping the senses aloof from sinful acts (87)
 19. Recitation of the Qur'ān (89, 96, 100)
 20. Worship of Allah and seeking refuge in Him (95)
 21. Mention of God's name when an undertaking is given (99)
 22. Respect for the under-privileged (101)
 23. Keeping trust (58)
- b. Particular vices
1. Polythiesm (77)
 2. Negligence of prayers (45)³⁹
 3. Hastiness (74)
 4. Extravagance (80)
 5. Infanticide (82)
 6. Illicit cohabitations (83)
 7. Murder (84)
 8. Encroachment on the property of the orphans (85)
 9. Haughtiness (88)
 10. Homo-sexuality (93)
 11. Deception by wealth and meanness with payment of dues (102)
 12. Running after the futile material world (103)

ii Moreover, the following observations can be derived from the contents of Appendix B:

- i. The idea is reiterated that man tends to be transgressor and ungrateful of God's favours.⁽⁸⁾ It is in fact this rebellious nature which underlies the predominant theme of the revelations of this age, which forcefully reflects the struggle between Muhammad and his opponents at the time. It is this rebellious and ungrateful attitude, the pride and haughtiness which blind man to the truth and its evidence. Therefore, the revelations argue with the adversaries, remind them of God's favours and the evidence in support of the faith. They also speak of the punishment stored for them if they persisted, and the rewards in Paradise if they repented; and remind them of the facts of earlier nations who rebelled against their Prophets.
- ii. It is again stated that man is capable of choosing either way;⁽⁹⁾ and he is therefore required to bring the forces of evil under control. These forces are portrayed in the evil desires which man is urged to curb.⁽¹⁰⁾ and in the concept of Satan whose enticements are to be resisted,⁽¹¹⁾ and in the temptation of wealth and material prestige against which he is warned.⁽¹²⁾
- iii. It is also repeatedly stated that rewards are stored for those who conquer the forces of evil, whereas severe punishment awaits those who succumb to them; but such rewards or punishments are confined to the agent responsible for the acts.⁽¹³⁾
- iv. A careful scrutiny of the particulars injunctions and prohibitions contained in Appendix B and summarised above reveals that they are all of a moral value, although in a varying degree. Again the virtues and vices are normally given in the context

- of a promise of reward or a threat of punishment, not in the form of a direct command or prohibition. This, as was observed in the earlier period, apparently assumes an already established moral order.
- v. Again the emphasis is on such things as fearing God, worshipping Him, harkening to the revelations, and the condemnation of polytheism and haughtiness. This, combined with the above remarks, again shows that what really matters is the attitude of man and not the specific acts in isolation of the attitude of the mind.
- vi. Thus, it is clear that the ethical hypotheses that can be derived from the revelations of this age, closely correspond to those arrived at in the discussion of the revelations of the preceding age. In other words the line of thought which apparently prevailed during the initial stage of Muhammad's call was continued when he became seriously engaged in a struggle with his opponents in Mecca as a result of the public announcement of his mission.

IV - THE LAST MECCAN PERIOD

1. From Appendix C which traces the Qur'anic ethical teaching in the chapters assigned to the last Meccan period, the following particular teachings can be summarised:

a - Virtues

The following virtuous acts are commanded or commended

1 - Reflection on the creations of God (2 a)*

2 - Fearing Allah (26,124)

3 - Humility to God (2 b,14,109)

4 - Spending (giving alms), for God's sake (2 d,43
84,99)

5 - Forgiveness and paying back in a better way

~~5 - Forgiveness and paying back in a better way (5, 9 a, 52,81)~~

6 - Endurance and seeking refuge in God (13,26,33,

+ Figures in brackets show order of the items in App. C. 40,47,51,60,66,73,91,
111,125)

- 7 - Justice (17)
- 8 - Giving assistance. (18)
- 9 - Fulfilment of Promises and oaths (22, ^{122,} ~~114,~~ 123)
- 10 - Assuming an attitude of understanding and tactfulness in inviting to the right path (26)
- 11 - Giving relatives, the poor, the neighbours and those stranded on the way. (30, 32, 69)
- 12 - Keeping up prayers (39, 42, 58, 82, 96)
- 13 - Worshipping God with a sincere and devoted heart (58, 88, 102)
- 14 - Truthfulness (59, 120)
- 15 - Respect and obedience to parents unless they require going on the wrong path (63, ~~70,~~ 91, 120)
- 16 - Recitation of the Qur'an (65, 98)
- 17 - Endeavouring to guide aright and restrain others from going wrong (72)
- 18 - Moderation, (politeness), in walking and talking (76)
- 19 - Repentance (78)
- 20 - Avoidance of (abstention from) indecencies and abominable mistakes (80)
- 21 - Mutual consultation (83)
- 22 - Self - purification (97)
- 23 - Reasonableness in spending and life generally (103)
- 24 - Listening to the reading of the Qur'an and reflecting on it (107)
- 25 - Giving full weight and full measure (120)

b - Vices (Prohibitions)

- 1 - Haughtiness (11, 46, 50, 75)
- 2 - Resentment of female birth (16)
- 3 - Indecency (obscene acts) (20, 80) open or hidden (101, 119)
- 4 - Aggression against other, injustice to others especially to the weak like theorphans (21, 104, 119)
- 5 - Consumption of:-
Carcass (dead animals) Pork and blood (25, 118)

- 6 - Ribā (taking interest on loans) (31)
- 7 - Unjust measure or weight (37)
- 8 - Siding with the party inimical to Islam (78)
- 9 - Self-deception (53)
- 10 - Shamelessness (74)
- 11 - Looking low on others on account of their poverty (113)
- 12 - Infanticide (115,119)
- 13 - Associating others with God (119)
- 14 - Murder (119)

c-The following particulars are authorised as permissible:

- 1 - Retaliation with justice, i.e. that the act of retaliation should not exceed the act of aggression (6,86)
- 2 - Vindicating oneself against injustice (85)
- 3 - Consumption of food beyond the limited range of prohibition (103,117)

II Apart from the above summary of the particular virtues and vices, praised or condemned in Appendix C the following observations can be made on the contents of the Appendix:-

- i. The predominant theme of these periods, which runs through all the chapters is man's rebellious attitude. Therefore, the chapters abound in condemnation of this attitude, argument against it, and the reminding of God's abundant favours and great creations, inviting man to reflect and repent by surrendering to God and adopting an attitude of humility and of recognition of His favours. A division is made of those who surrender and those who rebel.⁽¹⁴⁾ Man is frequently described as ungrateful, forgetful, miserable and propitiating when he suffers, but haughty, rebellious and disobedient when he is covered by God's favours.⁽¹⁵⁾
- ii. Here again it is asserted that the duty of the individual is to resist his rebellious and ungrateful nature by exercising self-control.⁽¹⁶⁾ and guarding

- against Satan's temptation. (17)
- iii. The punishment stored for those who succumb to the base desires and the seduction of Satan is prominently emphasised, while abundant rewards for those who resist the evil human tendencies and adopt a humble attitude towards God, showing piety to Him and battling against the evil forces through endurance and worship are repeatedly promised. (18) In this connexion the doom of the earlier nations is also cited as a warning.
- iv. It is however stated again that the consequences of the individual's acts are confined to him, not extending to others, (19) though the individual may gain an equivalent rewards or punishment of an action he has caused or initiated. (20)
- v. Here again a careful reading of the verses in which occur the particulars given in the Tables of specific virtues and vices above, reveals that the vices are frequently mentioned in the context of condemnation of the attitude of the unbelievers; whereas the virtues are chiefly given as characteristics of the believers or are commanded as a means of fortitude against the aggression of the adversaries. (21) In other words, the virtues are given as symptoms of the attitude of answering God's call by surrendering to Him and reflecting in His creations, whereas the vices are regarded as symptoms of the attitude of rebellion or rejection. It can be concluded, therefore that the assumption is that there are only two attitudes, an attitude of submission, with which ^{go} all virtues, and an attitude of rebellion with which go all vices. (22).
- vi. Again the particular ethical teachings ~~are~~^{are} contained in the tables of this period appear to be ^{nearly} all of a moral

nature. This means that the Qur'ān, up to the end of the age of Mecca, merely reflected the moral values prevailing at the time and does not claim to be introducing a new moral system.⁽²³⁾ In fact the verses assume a prior recognition of what the Qur'ān repeats, and give an impression that the Meccans are condemned on account of their violation of the recognised moral order. In this direction, the use is significant of the term, "ma'rūf معروف" i.e. acknowledged or approved, indicating desirable acts, and the term "Munkar منكّر" i.e. unrecognised or disapproved, in the sense of objectionable acts

viii. It now remains to ~~discuss~~ and compare the particular ethical teaching of the whole age of Mecca and to make some general comment. Comparative tables of these teachings are given in Appendix D.

A careful study of these tables leads to the following observations:-

- i. The major injunctions, such as believing, worshipping God, endurance, kindness and giving to the poor and the orphans are found throughout the age. They are apparently so important that they needed to be repeated and emphasised.
- ii. The absence of an item in one or the other of the periods which make up this age such as "keeping Trust" which is not mentioned in the third period, does not mean that a teaching is insignificant. Nor does an explicit addition in a later period mean that such was necessarily absent from the previous one. For example, respect to parents began to appear in the middle age, and so did the giving of full measure. After all, the virtues taught are not mutually exclusive, Moreover, the two examples just mentioned are implied in the

in the virtue of fearing God, or in that of righteousness. Furthermore, unjust measure and failure to co-operate are condemned in the first age, which implies the importance of the contraries. In addition, it has been asserted that the mention of the virtues and the vices was not meant to produce a new system of moral teaching. The underlying assumption was that a full moral system was prevailing; but the mention of specific virtues or vices arose from special circumstances. The Qur'ān accepted the prevailing moral order, at times reflected it and did not intend to make an organised systematic summary of it.

- iii. There remains one more observation which is of considerable importance, and which appears to be a significant turn in the Qur'anic moral teaching. In the last Meccan period, it can be discerned, that the Qur'ān began to prescribe rules governing the mundane life. We find a list of prohibited items^{of} food, and another list of permissible acts. However, the list of prohibitions and the list of permissible acts are apparently given as a reaction to objectionable ideas and claims assumed by the adversaries of Islam who arbitrarily prescribed certain artificial prohibitions. The Qur'ān responded by rejecting these claims, and therefore we meet with such statements as: "Say; Who has forbidden the ornaments created by God for the benefit of His slaves and the good things provided?.....Say; God only forbids indecencies open or hidden, guilt and injustice...."(V11 32-33) We also read: "Say: Bring forth your witnesses who are prepared to certify that God has forbidden this.....", "Say: come forward and let me

recite unto you what your Lord has forbidden unto you....." (Vi 150 151)

In other words, up to the end of the Meccan age, the Qur'ān assumes an already prevailing moral order violated by its apponents. Even when the Qur'ān appears to give a list of acts of prohibitions and declares others as permissible, it largely does not give the impression that these are new rules, but that they were formerly acknowledged and not newly enacted by the Qur'ān. In fact, the adversaries are condemned on account of their innovations.

iv. From all the above remarks, it appears that there has been a unity of thought throughout the Meccan Revelations so far as the ethical teaching is concerned.

V - IN THE REVELATION OF MADĪNAH

1. Appendix E traces the Qur'anic ethical ideas in the Revelations assigned to the age of Madīnah; and the particular teachings contained in the tables of this Appendix may be summarised as follows:

A. Injunctions:

1. Piety and God-fearing (2, 51, 58, 115, 189, 173, 175~~2+2~~)*
2. Believing and surrendering and believing in the details of the articles of the faith (3, 24, 109, 161, 188)
3. Keeping prayers, and prayers and ablution rituals (4, 9, 12, 27, 51, 150) (137, 138, 185, 223, 267, 282)
4. Spending, (alms-giving) charity and in the defence (5, 12, 27, 31, 41, 52, 62, 82, 97, 110, 157, 186, 196, 223, 267, 274, 265).
5. Worshipping God (6, 131, 226)
6. Guarding against the seduction of Satan who caused the expulsion of Adam from Paradise (8, 21, 85, 102, 202)

*Figures following items give their orde in App. E.

7. Seeking fortitude in endurance, in relying on God, and in prayers (11, 95)
8. Forgiving the adversaries, even if it means meeting their aggression by obligation (13, 50, 98, 164, 203)
9. Gratitude to God and Praising Him (16, 190, 243)
10. Patience and endurance in misfortunes - loss of lives, danger to life, wars, loss of wealth etc., all of which are trials to test the degree of human endurance (17, 24, 69, 82, 104, 112, 188, 223, ~~228~~)
11. Pilgrimage rituals (18, 33, 221, 277, 304)
12. Repentance, and the acceptance of it is assured (19, 66, 82, 84, 99, 122, 152, 235, 244)
13. Fulfilment of commitments (24, 181, 276)
14. Fasting (29)
15. Fighting in defence and related matters (30, 67, 76, 78, 106, 108, 144, 236, 256, 257, 270)
16. Self-sacrifice for the sake of God (36, 172)
17. To be peaceful (37)
18. Spending generously from the best quality, and without injuring the feelings of the one who takes (41, 42, 43, 88)
19. Giving up business at the time of Friday congregation (54)
20. Making peace and settling disputes, especially between married couples (59, 158, 247)
21. To be ready and prepared for eventualities (73)
22. Being truthful (82, 188, 273, 308)
23. Respect for trust (86, 140)
24. The obligation of pilgrimage (90)
25. Unity (to be united) (93, 229)
26. Inviting to the right guidance and warning against the wrong path (92, 224, 266)
27. Observance of God (105)
28. Respect for the rights of the orphans (116, 166)

29. Observing the rights of women (157,169)
30. Respect and helpfulness to parents (132)
31. Grading of those who deserve one's help in the following order: The parents, the neighbouring relatives, the orphans, the poor, the non-related neighbours, and those stranded on the way (133)
32. Exercise of justice in judging (141)
33. Obedience to God and His Apostle (60,79,83,85,25, 142,187,188,203,232,258,303).
34. Obedience to those in authority along with obedience to God and His Apostle (142)
35. To answer greeting in equal or better terms (145)
36. Expiation in case of a murderer's punishment is reduced to payment of blood wealth (146)
37. Emigration for the safety of the faith (149)
38. Rituals of Prayers (137,185)
39. Guiding to the right path, helping in settling disputes, and in fulfilling obligations like charities (155).
40. To be just in giving testimony, even when close relatives are involved (160,283)
41. To rely on God, not to despair (176)
42. To follow the personal example of the Prophet (180)
43. Chastity (182-238)
44. To talk rightly and truthfully (193)
45. To cast down one's eyes and guard one's private parts (205,206)
46. That women should cover their fascinating parts in the presence of strangers (206).
47. To give priority to ritual duties over mundane activities (208)
48. The obligation of expiation on saying the word of zihar. (213)
49. Righteousness, and doing good in general (227,278)
50. Help maintain mosques (258)
51. Co-operation for good ends. (278)
52. Endeavour in seeking God's favours (287,293)

53. To seek guidance from the revelations when making decision or giving judgement (291)
54. Expiating for breaking an oath (299)
55. Oaths are to be respected (300)
56. To apply the principle of retaliation, a soul for a soul (25)
57. To make a will, and how to make it (26,307)
58. To approach dwellings from the normal entrance (29)
59. Rules to be followed in marriage, conjugal mutual rights and obligations, divorce, wet-nursing, waiting imposed on wives on separation, bride-wealth and gift due to a divorcee (40,124,191,241,207)
60. To record loans, and how to do it (45)
61. To mortgage on loan as security in the absence of writing (46)
62. To resume business and normal life when the Friday congregation is over (55)
63. Method to be followed in the distribution of war spoils (68,171)
64. Guidance on what is to be done with war prisoners (74,77)
65. Rules to be followed in the distribution of an estate of the deceased (118,168)
66. Guidance on the rights of women (123)
67. On settlement of disputes between married couples (130)
68. That safeguards against eventualities should be adequately taken (143)
69. Zihār and how to expiate it (177,212,213)
70. Manners to be observed in visiting private houses (192,204,210)
71. Manners to be observed in assembling and in address (219,215,245)
72. To seek confirmation before acting seriously on unconfirmed news (246).
73. That a man should be regarded equal, and no discrimination except on the basis of piety (252)

74. Guidance on military agreements (255)

b. Prohibitions:

1. Behaving contrary to what one teaches (10)*
2. Except in emergency, consumption of:-
Flesh of unslaughtered animals,
Flesh of the pig,
Blood,
Flesh of an animal slaughtered in the name of an idol
(22,280)
3. Unauthorised consuming or use of others' properties
(28,126,260).
4. Revealing contrary to what lies in the heart (34,222)
5. Haughtiness (35,134)
6. Drinking wine (38,301)
7. Gambling (39,301)
8. Insulting or hurting the poor when paying him alms(41)
9. Ribā, (taking interest on loans)(44), multiple interest
(96,166).
10. Negligence of religious duties for occupation in
wordly enterprises (56,195
11. Defection from battle in holy war (63,100,179,231,292)
12. Cheating and dishonesty (64)
13. Disputing or disunity (70,92)
14. Disregard of obligations (56,
72)
15. Befriending or siding with the enemys of the faith
(94,216) even though they are close relatives (239,
259,294)
16. Injustice (101)
17. Misery that prevents from spending in the way of God
(103,113,135)
18. Failure to fulfil undertakings (107)
19. Succumbing to the distraction of the mterial world (111)
20. Murder (127,147,258).
21. Craving the favours in the hands of others (28)
22. Ostentatiousness (134)

+Figures in brackets refer to the order of the items in A PP.E.

23. Disbelief (135,242)
24. Making a show of charity (136)

~~*. Numerical order of items in the Appendix are given in brackets.~~

25. Rushing with an accusation without good grounds (148)
26. Rising in the defence of the evil party (151)
27. Deliberate false accusation (154)
28. Succumbing to Satan's temptation (138,302)
29. Oppression. (165)
30. Adoption of children as one's own children (178)
31. Indecency, (obscene acts)(182)
32. Exposition by women of their attractions in front of strangers (184)
33. Disobedience to God (189)
34. Conspiring and conversing privately (214,237)
35. Irregularity of worship (219)
36. Repelling or obstruction of the way of God and denying access to the Sacred Mosque in Mecca (220,261)
37. Abstaining from permissible things or acts (233,298)
38. Stealing (242)
39. Illicit cohabitation (242)
40. Infanticide (242)
41. Devising scandals (242,200)
42. Failure to observe obligatory acts (242)
43. Insulting mocking and scoffing, and reviling by nicknames (163,248)
44. Basing important discussions on suspicion (249)
45. Spying on others or seeking to intrude on the privacy of others (250)
46. Going behind the backs of one another (back-biting)(251)
47. Failure to fulfil undertakings or promises or to break covenants (248)

48. Giving publicity to human failures (201)
49. Accumulation of wealth without paying commitments (262)
50. Postponement of the Sacred month to suit military interests (263)
51. Reluctance to answer the call for defending the faith (264)
52. Praying over dead unbelievers (269)
53. Spreading the seeds of discord among Muslims (271,295)
54. Disobedience in general (296)
55. Failure to warn others against commission of sin (297)
56. Use of stone altars, and divining arrows (301)
57. Intruding and raising unnecessary questions (305)
58. Meddling in the affairs of others or posing as preachers without sincerity (306)
59. Risking or exposing oneself to danger (32)

C. Temporal Punishment on the commission of the following specific offences.

1. Commission of ^{pc}indency - zina by women (120)
2. Commission of indenency zina by men (121)
3. Highway robbery (286)
4. Stealing (288)
5. Illicit cohabitation (198)
6. Accusation of illicit cohabitation not supported by four witnesses (199)

D. Permissibilities:

1. Consuming good (harmless) food (20)
2. Consuming prohibited food in case of emergency (23)
3. To retaliate by afflicting no more harm than the original offence. (225)
4. To consume:
 - good food (harmless food) (281)
 - the flesh of animals caught by trained beasts (281) and food prepared by the People of the Book (281)
5. To associate with adherents of other faiths who do not behave aggressively against the Muslims (240)
6. To marry women from amongs the People of the Book (281)

111 The following comments on the contents of Appendix E may be made:

- i The theme of the attitude of rebellion still predominates. It is at the bottom of the numerous passages which condemn the adversaries of Muhammad whether they are the old enemies of Mecca the struggle with whom assumed a turn of serious military conflict - or the fresh enemies in Madīna, namely the People of the Book and the Hypocrites. The revelations abound in warning those who assumed this disobedient attitude of serious punishment, remind them of God's favours and the signs of His greatness and providence, and invite them to reflect, to reform and repent. ⁽²⁴⁾ On the other hand, the revelations urge those who have surrendered and believed to endure and seek fortitude in God, in the performance of rituals and the recitation of the Qur'ān, and they are promised abundant rewards for their attitude and for their endurance. ⁽²⁵⁾ They are urged to be tactful and to behave in the best manner when they have to argue with their opponents, and to meet their aggression by extending obligation; ⁽²⁶⁾ but they should defend their faith undauntedly, sacrificing their lives and wealth for the sake of God. ⁽²⁷⁾
- ii. The paramount importance of the attitude assumed by the individual is emphasised by declaring that kufr ⁽²⁹⁾ cancels any good work ⁽²⁸⁾ and that it is unpardonable except by repenting and assuming an attitude of surrender. ⁽³⁰⁾ Kufr is the major manifestation of the attitude of rebellion and it is therefore the only act declared as unpardonable and as rendering good acts valueless. On the other hand, forgiveness is assured for the unpersistent commission of objectionable acts by those who have surrendered; and it is to be

noted that such a commission does not deprive them of the honorific titles of Muttaqūn (God fearing) and Muhainūn (good-doers)³¹⁾ Thus what matters is not the actual act in isolation; it is the attitude which accompanies the acts.⁽³²⁾

- iii. The Madinese revelations reiterate that man should resist the forces of evil; the human inclinations, the seduction of Satan and the temptation of the transitory world.⁽³³⁾ It is also declared that all that the Qur'ān requires is not beyond the human ability.⁽³⁴⁾
- iv. The principle that no soul bears the consequences of acts of the others is again emphasised.⁽³⁵⁾ and it is repeatedly declared that no generation will be questioned for the acts committed by the ancestors.⁽³⁶⁾ Thus, the notion of original hereditary sin has no place in the Qur'ān⁽³⁷⁾
- v. The summary of the particular ethical teachings of the revelation of Madīnah as given above is made up of four tables; a table of injunctions, another of prohibitions, a third giving specific corporal punishments for the commission of certain offences; and the last is a list of items declared permissible. While the lists of injunctions and prohibitions contained most of the items which occurred in the revelations of Mecca, as may be found in the comparative tables in App. F., it can be seen that the Madinese lists are far more extensive. Apart from the purely moral issues, the ritual teaching has been widely expanded. Details of the ceremony of ablution to be carried out before the performance of the ritual of prayers are given and the acts prohibited during the ritual of pilgrimage are explained. The lists also contain a wide range of topics pertaining to the (mundane) life, such as marriage, divorce, maintenance,

loans, mortgage, the law of evidence, inheritance, etc, Taking the list of (permissibles) into consideration, it becomes clear that, from the point of view of the Qur'ān, the human acts may be desirable, undesirable or simply permissible (38) or indifferent. Thus, the Qur'ān in Madīnah assumes the role of a legislator giving direct commands and equivocal warnings. While the mental attitude continues to receive due attention, the actual acts are now brought to the fore and are given a paramount attention. In the interest of the community, and to meet the need of maintaining law and order, the emphasis was shifted on the particular teachings and guidance.

- vi. It had been observed that the Qur'ān throughout the Meccan age assumed and implicitly confirmed an already prevailing moral order. This implicit approval or confirmation was explicitly given, towards the close of the Meccan age, in the form of direct commands of particular acts or direct prohibition of others which are of purely moral nature. (39) In Madīnah, the assumption of a prevailing moral order continues, and is more explicitly acknowledged. We now meet with such expressions as "Indeed God commands you to return the trusts to their owners", (IXI, 58), and, "Indeed, God commands justice.....and forbids indecency and disrespectful conduct" (40) (XVI 90) Moreover the Qur'ān gives the impression that there is a considerable degree of uniformity between the teaching contained therein and the guidance ~~between the teaching~~ delivered to earlier nations. Thus, the Qur'ān concludes its passages which lay down rules on inheritance and marriage in the initial part of Chapter IV by the following statement.

"God wishes to explain to you and to guide you in the traditions of those who preceded you".....(IV,26)

This idea that the Qur'ān receives earlier teachings is further portrayed where it is stated that similar injunctions and prohibitions were imposed on the Jews. The Qur'ān reads: "And (remember) when a covenant was made^{with} the Israelites to worship none but Allah, to be kind to the parents, to the relatives, to the orphans and to the needy, and to speak good to the people, to observe the prayers and pay the alms" 11 83 (41)

Again it is stated that the Evangel of Christ confirmed the contents of the Torah,⁽⁴²⁾ and the Book revealed unto Muhammad confirms the Torah and the Evangel.⁽⁴³⁾

- vii. It is interesting to note that the Qur'ānic guidance on topics related to (mundane) life is apparently given in importance equivalent to that of the ritual and the moral guidance. It is described as the ḥudūd, the boundaries of Allah's teaching, the violation of which leads to the eternal doom in Fire⁽⁴⁴⁾ It is significant that this declaration occurs in the middle of passages on the topics of inheritance and marriage. A similar warning concludes the prohibition of acting contrary to a decision taken by God and His Apostle.⁽⁴⁵⁾ According to the Qur'ānic interpreters, the occasion was the hesitation on the part of Zainab Bint Jahsh, or Umm Kulthūm Bint 'Uqbah, to yield to the Prophet's advice to marry Zaid b. Ḥārithah⁽⁴⁶⁾. The term ḥudūd is also applied to the Qur'ānic extensive guidance on divorce and related matters,⁽⁴⁷⁾ to its guidance on

expiation for zihār⁽⁴⁸⁾ to its teaching on abstention during fasting,⁽⁴⁹⁾ and to the Qur'ānic guidance in general.⁽⁵⁰⁾ The implication is that all aspects of the Qur'ānic teaching, the ceremonial, the moral and the 'mundane' aspects are of equal value, and the violation of any kind is considered as sin,⁽⁵¹⁾ thereby given a religious dress.

Viii. It can thus be summarised that while the Qur'ānic ethical guidance mainly helps the moral conscience and confirms its judgement, it starts ritual teachings and gives guidance on the (mundane) aspects of life where the moral judgement may not be uniform.

Thus, the purview of the Qur'ān embraces all acts and there is no room for non-divine law. The moral, the ceremonial and other obligations are all religious obligations; and this religious characteristic of the acts has overshadowed any others. In other words, to the adherent of Muḥammad's faith a moral obligation is more an obligation by virtue of being commanded in the canon law. On the other hand, no distinction can be made between a moral transgression and a ceremonial offence, or between crime and sin. Thus it is God who commands compliance with the judgement of the moral conscience, and it is He who initiates ritual guidance and also guides on the needs of all aspects of life. He had guided the former nations and with a similar system, He is guiding Muhammad and His followers.

ix. One more point is to be observed here. The Madinese revelations lay a special emphasis on the obedience to God and His Apostle. It is true that such an obedience was implicitly required in the Meccan

revelation. (Sūra LXXI, 23, a Meccan verse), warns those who dare disobey God and His Apostle, and in another Meccan text XVI, 216, Muḥammad is addressed: "But if they disobey you, say: I am clear of what you do". Moreover the Meccan chapters relate the commands made by earlier Prophets to their nations to fear God and obey them, (the Prophets.)⁽⁵²⁾ The implication is that Muhammad expected obedience like his brothers, the earlier Prophets; but in the Madinese revelations, this is more directly and explicitly expressed. Obedience to God and His Apostle is directly commanded in no less than 12 verses.⁽⁵³⁾ and is praised and promised rewards in no less than seven.⁽⁵⁴⁾ Obedience to the Prophet alone is commanded or commended in not less than two verses:⁽⁵⁵⁾ and it is declared: "Whoever obeys the Messenger he has obeyed Allah". (IV 80) Disobedience to God and His Apostle.⁽⁵⁶⁾ or to His Apostle alone.⁽⁵⁷⁾ is condemned in the Madinese verses. Perhaps the command of obedience and the prohibition of disobedience needed more emphasis in Madīnah in the interest of the heterogeneous Muslim community and in view of the expansion of the Islamic teaching. The Qur'ān with this emphasis aptly concludes its ethical guidance by summarising its teaching in two concepts, namely an attitude of surrender and obedience, and another of rebellion and disobedience:

VI - CHARACTERISTICS OF THE QUR'ĀNIC CONCEPT
OF SIN

The Characteristics of the concept of sin as can be derived from all the above discussion can be summarised as follows:

- i. We have seen how the Qur'ān sums up its ethical teaching in two concepts, an attitude of obedience and surrender, and an attitude of disobedience and rebellion. Thus, what is important is this attitude, not the individual specific acts in isolation. Actual acts stem from the assumed attitudes. The attitude of obedience and surrender leads to adhering to virtuous and approved acts; whereas the attitude of rebellion and disobedience tempts the agent to commit vices and disapproved acts, and inclines him to fail in fulfilling his obligations
- ii. The latter attitude, namely that of rebellion or disobedience nearly sums up the Qur'ānic concept of sin which is the assumption of this rebellious attitude, not simply the actual objectionable acts or the failure to fulfil one's obligations, which are in fact symptoms of this attitude. The objectionable acts in themselves do not apparently constitute sin in isolation; but they appear to be regarded as manifestations of this attitude⁵⁸ which is the basic element of the concept of sin. Therefore the ~~in~~impersistent commission of objectionable acts does not deprive of the honorific epithet "al-Muttaqūn" or the epithet "alMuhsinūn"; and it is assured that this wrong-doer is absolved on pleading. (59)
- iii. While the primary concept of sin is apparently the rebellious attitude towards God which leads to the negligence of the Divine commands, the concept comprises the actual objectionable acts which symbolise and manifest this attitude. In other words,

while sin primarily denotes this rebellious attitude, it also indicates the particular symptoms of this attitude, namely the specific objectionable acts.

- iv. The particular objectionable acts - positive or negative - are not confined to the commission of what is regarded as purely morally wrong or failure to perform a purely moral obligation, such as cheating or failure to extend assistance to the needy. They include the commission of ritual or 'mundane' proscriptions such as hunting game~~s~~ on pilgrimage and marrying a foster daughter, and the failure to perform prescribed rituals or (mundane) duties, such as the rites of prayers and the obligation to contribute to the cost of the holy war. Thus, the acts of sin may be a positive commission or a negative omission, and may be of moral, ritual, or mundane nature. They are all regarded as religious offences or sins; and there is no distinction between crime and sin.
- v. The basic element of sin, namely the assumption of an attitude of rebellion towards God and the established social order is stated to stem from the evil tendencies of the human nature, being greedy, ungrateful, and unmindful of its former prohibitions and humility at the time of misfortune and being inclined towards the fulfilment of carnal desires and the attainment of transitional ends. These tendencies are projected from the 2nd part of the Meccan age into the concept of Satan and his temptation. Man is urged to resist the temptation of these desires and not to yield to the seduction of Satan. He should guard against the deception of the glory of this transitory world, manifested in wealth and the number of children.

- vi. Those who succeed in restraining their evil desires and in resisting the temptation of Satan, surrendering to the Divine Commands and obeying in humility the Divine guidance are promised an eternal life in Paradise; and those who fail to do so, giving way to pride, ostentatiousness and haughtiness, rebelling and disobeying, making no use of the reminders and the signs brought under their eyes, are to be placed in Hell to suffer all awful sorts of punishment.
- vii. It is asserted, however, that no one will benefit from the righteousness of others, nor will anyone suffer on account of the faults of the others. It is moreover asserted that no generation will be asked or questioned on account of what was committed by the ancestors. Thus, sin is not a hereditary characteristic transmitted from ancestors to descendents; and there is no place for the concept of original generic sin in Islam.

C H A P T E R I I

THE QUR'ANIC TERMINOLOGY OF SIN

I

INTRODUCTION

By sin we do not mean a word which describes a specific prohibited act, but a word which describes the attitude of disobedience to the divine command, or a word which denotes the general idea of an act regarded from the religious point of view as a mistake, a fault, evil, crime, immorality, and so forth.⁽¹⁾ Our concern with these terms is in view of the fact that our aim so far is to investigate the general theoretical concept of sin by exploring the existance of any idea or hypothesis about sin underlying the various Qur'anic uses of these general words, and the passages in which they are used.

A careful survey of the Qur'anic text reveals the existance of some thirty such words used in the sense of sin or so interpreted, appearing together with their frequency over the various ages of the Revelation, on the following page. In Appendix G references of the occurances of these words are given. The treatment of this vocabulary again follows the chronological order suggested by Noldeke; i.e., the words are treated in accordance with their supposed chronological precedence. Although the list does not claim to be absolutely comprehensive, words left out like imr in XVIII, 71, fariyy in XIX, 27 and idd in XIX, 89, have very little claim here. They do not denote evil acts, but describe such acts as peculiar, strange or false.

II

(I) طغیان : Tughyān. (kin-derivatives: taghā, aor.; aṭghā, IV; ṭaghīn and ṭaghīyah, pl. ṭaghūn, past act. Another version of the word is taghwā)

The basic meaning of the word appears to be the idea of the

Nos.	Words	Meccan Period			Medinan Period	Total
		from 1st to 5th years	5th and 6th years	the last years		
1.	طغيان ṭughīān	9	7	3	3	22
2.	خطيئة khati'ah	3	4	6	6	19
3.	رجز rujz	1	-	-	-	1
4.	ضلال ḍalāl	9	41	80	31	161
5.	إجرام 'ijrām	8	14	27	2	51
6.	وزر wizr	2	2	5	-	9
7.	فجور fujūr	5	2	-	-	7
8.	ذنب dhanb	3	4	11	16	34
9.	عدوان 'udwān	3	3	7	26	39
10.	إثم 'ithm	5	3	4	24	36
11.	عصيان 'iṣiān	3	8	7	14	32
12.	شر sharr	1	1	-	-	2
13.	ظلم ḡulm	3	46	77	77	203
14.	فساد fasād	1	4	14	11	30
15.	عتو 'utuww	1	3	-	2	6
16.	إسراف 'israf	1	5	6	2	14
17.	فسق fisq	1	5	9	38	53
18.	حنث ḥinth	1	-	-	-	1
19.	غى ḡhayy		5	5	1	11
20.	إيأا 'iba'		6	-	1	7
21.	بغى baghy		2	10	4	16
22.	سيئة sayyi'ah		8	34	30	72
23.	حرام ḥaram		2	14	13	29
24.	فاحشة faḥishah		2	8	12	22
25.	منكر munkar		1	4	9	14
26.	لم lamam				1	1
27.	جناح junāḥ				19	19
28.	حوب ḥub				1	1
29.	حج ḥaraj				8	8
30.	رجس rijs				5	5

image of "flooding", or "the overflow of water", a meaning in which the word is also employed in the Qur'⁽²⁾ān. Hence the employment of the word in the moral sense of 'exceeding the bounds', or being a 'tyrant or unjust'⁽³⁾. Thus the Qur'⁽³⁾ān reads:

"Nay! Indeed man yatghā (steps over the limits) when he feels to be in easy circumstances". XCVI, 6 - 7.

As seen from Appendix Qa, there are about 22 Qur'anic passages in which tughyān or its kin-derivatives is used in its moral sense. Because of its far reaching implications, as can be seen from the context, the word is frequently associated with disbelief and disobedience, an attitude in which man stands in opposition to God and to His Apostles. Thus, the Qur'⁽³⁾ān reads :-

"Go to Pharaoh; he has exceeded the limits ^{طغى} "XX, 24.

"As for Thamūd, they were destroyed bi-ṭaghwāhā, (because of their exorbitance)". IXIX, 5.

"...and indeed for many of them what is being revealed to you from your Lord will increase the tughyānan, (excess), and disbelief". VII, 64.

Two kin-derivations of the word, viz, ṭaṭghā and ṭaghīn are employed however in the sense of giving unjust measure, LV, 8, and with-holding the right of the poor from the property of the rich, LXVLL, 31. In this context, the word conveys the sense of over-stepping the bounds by behaving unjustly.

A derivative, tāghūt⁽⁴⁾, is employed in the sense of idols or paganism. We read, e.g.,

"Those whom God has cursed, and with whom God is displeased, and from whom He has made monkeys and pigs, and who worship the 'tāghūt', for them will be the worst abode and they are worse among those who went astray from the right path". V, 60.

The same derivative, tāghūt, is used in the sense of a 'tyrant'. Thus we read,

"Are you not aware of those who pretend to believe you and in that which was sent down to you, wish to refer in arbitration to the tāghūt"⁽⁵⁾ IV, 60.

Thus tughīān, like its derivatives, does not simply denote the actual commission of a prohibition or the actual omission of a command, but describes, in strong terms, the wrong attitude which leads to such a commission or omission. In other words, it is not a simple term of sin, but a descriptive word of attitude.

Another observation concerning the use of this word in the Qurān is that use was made of it chiefly in the Meccan revelations probably because of its distinct implications; and little use is made of it in the Madinan revelations.⁽⁶⁾

(2) ^{حطية} We shall next consider is khaṭī'ah, from the root khaṭa' or khit' ^{حظ}. A kin-derivative of this word, like a derivative of the word tughīān, occurred in the chapter placed first in the choronological order; viz., xcvi, 16. It is to be recalled that the Qurānic teaching at the time of the revelation of this chapter did not go beyond the basic elements of the faith, and therefore the wrong act indicated by the term here was apparently the rejection of the faith.

The plural of khaṭī'ah is khaṭā'ā or khaṭī'āt, both of which occur in the Qur'ān. Other derivatives of the root are khati'a, aor., and akhta'a 4th. Form.

The root meaning of the word is the idea of 'missing the mark'; hence its employment in the moral sense of 'being away from the right path! Ibn Manzūb⁽⁷⁾ in treating the word quotes the following line attributed to the renowned pre-Islamic poet, Umru' al-Qais, in which he employs the word in its original sense: "Woe to Hind when they missed kāhil ^{يا الهفند اذ ظنن كاهلا}". The same authority quotes 'Abd Allah b. 'Umar, using the word in its original sense as follows: "And they put a hen as a target at which they aimed. They agreed that every khaṭī'ah, (the one which misses the target), from amongst their arrows should be given to the owner of the hen."

Besides this physical sense of missing or falling short of the target, the word and its kin-derivatives appears to have been used also in the moral sense during the Jāhiliyyah age. This is attested by the following ~~reports~~ reports:

In al-Muhabbar, p. 323, it is related that Juraibah b. Ashjam al-Faq' ūsi addressed his son, referring to the institution of tying a camel by the tomb of the dead till the camel dies of hunger and thirst so that on resurrection the dead would ride it instead of walking:

يا سعدة ما اهلكن فاني
لا تتركن اباؤك بعد ارجلا
او صيكن ان انا العجاة الاقرب
في الحشر يصير الدين ونسك
وتق الخطية ان ذلك اصوب
واحمل اباؤك على غير صالح

Ibn Ishāq, vol. I, p. 143, relates that Warāqah b. Nawfal, 'Ubaid Allāh b. Jahsh, Zaid b. Nufail and 'uthmān b. Ḥuwairith gathered together, (during the Jāhiliyyah), on a feast day and whispered to one another: "They, (Quraish), akhta'ū the religion of Ibrāhīm. What is of a stone that neither hears nor sees!"

The same authority, I, p. 146, relates that Umayyah b. al-Ṣalt, a Jāhili poet, said: "I would ^{say much} abound if I were to praise you my lord, (seeking forgiveness for) what is beyond that which you have absolved of khaṭā'iyā, my offences."

From this evidence it is clear that the pre-Islamic Arabs used the term khaṭī'ah, and that they used it in the moral sense, (8) indicating the idea of missing or deviating from the right course.

While lexicographers and Qur'ānic commentators agree that the word khaṭī'ah and its kin-derivatives denote the idea of 'committing a mistake', they dispute whether some of these derivatives are confined to deliberate commission, or to inadvertent commission, or common to both. They are generally agreed that khaṭa' and akhta'a, verbal n. and 4th. Form respectively, denote a mistaken error, whereas khiṭ' and khaṭī'ah mean a deliberate offence. In support of this interpretation, the following Qur'ānic passages are Quoted:

- I - "It is not for a believer to slay another believer except khaṭa'an, by mistake, iv, 92.
- II - "And you will not be taken to account for what you unintentionally committed, فما أخطأتم به, but for what your hearts meant to do". xxxiii, 5.

III - "Indeed their (children) killing was a great mistake
 كان خطأ كبيرا " xvii, 31.

IV - "On account of their (Noah's people's) sins, ^{مما خطيئته},
 they were drowned and entered into Fire". lxxi, 25.

The above quotations, however, are by no means^a conclusive evidence of the alleged limitations of the Qur'anic use of the words. khata' in the first quotation does not mean 'an unintended mistake'. If the circumstances of the revelation of the verse were the killing of a believer unknowingly, or a man who has declared his faith in suspicious circumstances, as Tabarī tell us,⁽⁹⁾ the meaning of the word is 'an intended mistake committed in good faith but without adequate precautions'; hence the stipulation of an expiatory act explained in the later words of the verse. Moreover, the word khiṭ' in the 3rd, quotation, which, ~~is as~~ agreed by these authorities, means 'a deliberate mistake', is read khata' by the Madīnan readers.⁽¹⁰⁾ Again, the interpretation of 'akhṭa'tum in the 2nd. quotation as an unintentional mistake disagrees with the context. The text speaks of the new prohibition of the Jāhili practice of adoption; and therefore the reference here is to the earlier mistake of deliberately calling a child after an unreal father in the Jāhiliyyah age, though this has been forgiven. It is not a reference to calling now a child after an unreal father unknowingly, as Tabarī wants us to believe.⁽¹¹⁾ Tabarī himself interprets the same verb in II, 286 which reads: "Our Lord! Do not condemn us if we forget makhata'na", in the sense of committing a ~~culpable~~ culpable mistake; otherwise it makes no sense in seeking its forgiveness.⁽¹²⁾ The verse thus means: "Our Lord! Do not condemn us if we forget (to carry out our religious duties), or commit culpable offences." A further confusion arises from the interpretation by Tabarī⁽¹³⁾ of khaṭī'ah in iv, lll, which reads: "Whoso, having committed a khaṭī'ah or an ithm, throws it upon the innocent, has burdened himself with calumny and an obvious ithm.", as 'an unintentional mistake' while it is agreed that this particular derivative means the oposite. Al-Baidāwī interprets it as 'a small sin', as distinct from ithm which, according to him, means

'a grave sin'⁽¹⁴⁾. We do not subscribe to this interpretation or division, as will be seen in the following chapter; but the dilemma of both authors appears to be the combination of the two terms together, joined by a conjunction in one verse, and the assumption from this that the two words must mean two different things. But it is probable that the use of the two words is in order to convey the connotations peculiar to each, and that of khaṭī'ah is 'being on the wrong path'.

Thus the meaning content of the term khaṭī'ah and its kin-derivatives is 'the commission of a mistake, plus the idea of falling out of the right path'. Both the ideas of deliberation and of missing the right path are implied. Pharaoh, e.g., deliberately opposed Moses, but was on the wrong path. In the physical usage of the word, both elements obviously exist. There is intention by aiming at a target, and ~~khawā~~ there is a failure in missing the target. In the moral sense, a sinner aims at an act deliberately, but his act misses the right path.

A perusal of the passages in which the term khaṭī'ah and its kin-derivatives occur, shows that the term in question is more associated with the idea of active commission of offences, in contrast to omission of obligations. Moreover, the term does not seem to be limited to any particular type of sin; it covers a wide range of offences in its Qur'anic usage, including kufr, infanticide, illegal cohabitation and evil in general.⁽¹⁵⁾ Thus we read:

"And Pharaoh and those before him and the cities overturned, committed khāṭī'ah, (obviously here, rejection of the faith). "LXIX, 9.

"Take him, fetter him, then roast him in ~~the~~ Hell Fire, and then put him in a chain the length whereof is seventy cubits. Verily he believed not in God the Great, and he urged not the feeding of the needy. So this day he has here no friend, nor any food except putrid pus which none but the khāṭī'un eat." *ibid*, 30 - 7.

"Slay not your children for fear of poverty; We will provide for them and for you. Verily the slaying of them is a great khiṭ'." xvii, 33.

"Joseph, Disregard this. (And you, al-'Azīz' wife), pray for forgiveness for your sin. You have been one ^{of} al-khāṭi'in." xli, 29.

"Nay, but ~~whose~~ has earned an evil and his khaṭi'ah has surrounded him, such are the fellows of the Fire. . ." II, 75.

"And (it is He) Who I trust will absolve my khaṭi'ati on the Day of Religion". xxvi, 82.

(3) رُجْز rujz of rijz (kin-derivatives: rajiza aor.1 rajaz; inf. no.; rujz or rijz, simple subst.)

Whether the first radical of this word is having a damma or a kasrah vowel, its basic meaning appears to be the idea of 'quivering' or 'convulsion' which is said to be a symptom of a special camel disease known as rajaz: hence the famous poetical meter is called rajaz. Hence, also, it seems, the employment of the word in the sense of feelings associated with 'shivering' and 'convulsion'; such as fear and anger. This is apparently the meaning of the word in the following passage:

"Rise and warn! Thy Lord magnify. Thy garment purify. And from the rujz keep away." lxxiv, 2 - 5.

According to Tabarī, there are two readings of the word here, rujz and rijz which, he says are two dialects. He interprets the word, however, in the sense of polytheism, ⁽¹⁶⁾ which implies that the word is a general term indicating 'evil' or 'wrong' or 'sin', and is alluding here to the practice of polytheism. Semantically, however, the word more probably means here 'anger' or fear, so that the Prophet is here commanded to be free from fear and anger. According to Richard Bell, the word seems to be related to the Syr. word, rugza = ⁽¹⁷⁾ wrath, and this supports our interpretation.

The word seems to be invariably associated with the ideas of 'anger', 'fear', consequitiveness of vehement motions, and 'trembling'. Let us examine the other Qur'anic occurrences of the word. In the

following instance the word refers to the work of Satan's seduction:

"And He sends down from the sky upon you, ^{water,} that thereby He might purify you and remove from you the rijz of Satan". viii, II. Here it apparently means doubt.

In the rest of the occurrences of the word, it obviously means 'punishment', or 'affliction', or 'misfortune', or 'terror'. The following quotations suffice:

"And when the rijz fell on them, they cried: O Moses! Pray for us unto your Lord by the covenant He has with you. If you remove the rijz away from us, we shall trust to you and send with you the children of Israel. And when We did remove the rijz away from them till a term which they must reach, there they broke their covenant". vii, 134 - 5,

"This is a guidance; and those who reject the signs, (or the revelations), of their Lord, for them there is a painful doom of rijz" xlv, 11.

It is obvious that 'Satan's temptation' tends to make its victim dubious and shaky; and the meanings of 'punishment', 'terror', and 'affliction' are associated with the ideas of wrath, fear and trembling. The association between the word under discussion and the idea of 'anger' or 'wrath' is further emphasised by the replacement of the word rijz by the word ghadab, (anger or wrath), in verses similar to vii, 134, cited above. We read:

"Verily those who took the calf, ghadabun, (anger), from their Lord, and humiliation in this nearer life shall reach". vii, ⁽¹⁸⁾152.

Thus the idea of wrath, trembling, shaking, is always present in the word under discussion, although in each specific context it may convey any other meaning associated with these ideas. Moreover, in none of its Qur'anic usages the word is capable of being interpreted in the sense of sin-except in the case of passage lxxiv, 5 quoted above; but such rendering would result in the absence of a common element between the various occurrences in the word. We are therefore reluctant to regard this word as a general technical term of sin.

(4) ضلال (dalāl n.a.) †kin-derivatives: dalla, aor.; dāll, part. act., (pl. dāllūn); 'idlāl, n.a. of adalla iv; mudīl, part. act.)

In the Safaitic Inscription ضلال

P. 340: ضل verb 407 "he lost"; ضل 409 probably "those who lost", i.e., died; ضلى 305₄ and ضلن 305₃ "the deceased".

It seems that the primary meaning of the root of this word is the idea of losing or being lost; hence, dāllah: a missing she-camel; hence: to, lose one's way or to be wide of the mark, to be indistinguishably lost or missed or to be confused; hence - in the moral sense - to behave unprofitably or clumsily, to err, to deviate from the right path; intentionally or unintentionally. Hence, adalla: to mislead, to cause some one to be in such a state.

It is also probable that the root has some relationship to the words 'dhill', shade, and 'dhalām', darkness; hence the idea of concealment, vagueness and confusion is also implied. It also appears that all these moral elements combined are always conveyed at a varying degree, and the context emphasises one or the other of this combination of ingredients. (19)

The Qur'an employs the word in all those meanings. The idea of loss is prominent in such statements as follows:

"And it is lost to them, waḍalla 'anhum, those, (the idols), they used to ask (worship) formerly" XLI, 48,

"Those who disbelieved and obstructed the way of Allah, Allah will render their deeds lost or in vain أضلهم XLI, I.,

"And those who have been killed in the way of Allah, He will not render their deeds in vain". *ibid*, 4, and

"A group He guides (to Paradise), and another group deserves to lose وفريقا حق عليها الضلالة". VII: 30

The idea of confusion is the major implication of the word in the following statement:

"And call to witness two from amongst your men. If not two men, then a man and two women from amongst those who satisfy you as witness so that if one of taḍilla is confused, then the other reminds her" II, 282. (20)

The Qur'ān also employs the word in the sense made up of the moral combination mentioned above, namely the combination consisting of the ideas of behaving clumsily, of being on the wrong path and of being lost. Because of these significant implications, the Qur'ān employs the word with reference to 'shirk', to 'Kufr' and to the manifestations of Kufr, viz., 'takdhib' and despair of the divine mercy. Thus, the Qur'ān reads:

".....and who prefers Kufr to īmān, dalla, has lost the way to, the middle path" II. 108 . And

it also reads:

".....and who ascribes partnership to Allah, he thereby has gone far away from the right path, dalla dalālan ba'ida" v, 116.

It also reads:

"Whoever disobeys God and His Apostle, he thereby is clear away from the right path, dalla dalālan mubīna" XXXIII, 36

"Then you who are astray, (dallūna), who cry lies, (mukadhhibūna): you shall eat of the infernal tree". LVI, 51 - 2,

"Those who hold it as true, (the Last Hour), are in fear of it; and those who dispute concerning the Hour are in far dalāl" XLII. 17, and

"Who would despair of the mercy of his Lord save those who are astray, (dallūn)" XV. 56.

In all these instances, the idea of loss is present, since turning away from the right path is to lose it, and it results in waste, waste of deed and waste of the person.

Causing to go away from the right path is ascribed to Satan, to the idols, to Pharaoh, to al-Sāmīrī and to evil desires. The Qur'ān reads:

".....And Satan wishes to seduce them far away from the right path" IV, 60.

"My Lord! They - the idols - adlālna, have caused many people to go away from the right path" XIV: 36

"And Pharaoh adalla seduced his people away from the right path" XX. 79.

".....And al-Samirī adallahum, (seduced them away from the right way)". XX,85

"And do not follow the desire, lest it should lead you away from the right path." XXXVIII,26

idlāl is also attributed to God in about 33 verses, but since this question will be dealt with at length in Part II of this work in connexion with the problem of qadar, it is sufficient to quote here as a sample the following verse:

"Who shall guide him whom God has led astray" XXX,29

We shall see later that this ascription of 'misleading' to God is not real; and that the choice of either way lies with man. We may just quote here J. W. Sweetman's remark where he says: "It is, however, quite possible that the term may be used in a secondary sense, meaning 'to allow to astray'!" He adds that if this is the case, then this would mean the attribution of free-will to man in so far as man had the power to resist God and sin against Him."⁽²¹⁾

To sum up, we may say that while the Fourth Form and its derivatives of the root qalāl denote the idea of seducing or leading astray, the ~~Third~~ ^{First} Form and its derivatives describe the state of sinning with particular reference to kufr and related attitudes. It is also worth noting that the Qur'anic use of the word is predominantly and aptly Meccan.⁽²²⁾

(5) اجرام ijrām (ajḡrama iv; mujrim - pl. mujrimun - past. act)

The primary meaning of the word seems to be the idea of cutting, severing and separating; shearing the wool of a sheep, and cutting the fruit of a palm-tree. The employment of the word in the sense of crime may be related to this, in that a criminal acts and violates the moral code, and severs himself from the community whose members commonly respect the rules, and he probably earns for himself the status of an outcast who is severed from the rest of the community. The connotation of separation and estrangement is clear in the following lines attributed to "Antara and al-Nabighah" respectively:

"The lances of Banu Baghid drove (me) away from you; and those who launched the war concealed man lam yujrimi, one who does not cause to deserve this severance)"⁽²³⁾

"I swear not to come to you if I should be considered a mujrim, and not to seek protection besides you"⁽²⁴⁾

The Meccan Quran abounds in the use of the word and its main-derivatives, particularly the participle pl., in the sense of violating the moral order and committing crime, with particular reference to Kufr and its various manifestations. In the following passage, mujrimūn is apparently synonymous with Kāfirūn:

"Eh! You have come to Us like when We created you for the first time, but you claimed We would not appoint for you a day (for judgement). And the book will be placed; and you will see the mujrimīna^{afraid} of (being exposed by) that which is therein." XVIII, 48 - 9.

In the following the term is synonymous with munāfiqūn, the hypocrites:

"The hypocrites fear ^{that} but a surah^{man sent down} be descended proclaiming what is in their heart.

Say, make no excuse; you have chosen Kufr and quitted īmān. If We forgive one a party of you We shall punish another party because they have become mujrimīn" IX, 64 - 6.

In the following, the term is tied up with arrogance and haughtiness, which is elsewhere declared to be the source of Kufr:

"As for those who rejected the faith, (it will be said to them), were not My signs recited unto you, but you were haughty and were a party of mujrimīn" XLV, 30.

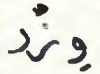
Again in the following verse, the word is connected with takdhīb:

"If they accuse you as a liar, say: Your Lord is of all embracing mercy, but His violence will not be turned back from the party of mujrimīn" VI, 148

In the following verse - the only instance where the verbal noun is used - the term denotes the consequence of the commission of a crime which is here 'falsehood and fabrication':

"Would they say, he (Hūd) has fabricated it, (his claim to Prophethood)? Say, if it is true that I have fabricated it, it will be only on me (the consequences of) my fabrication" XI, 35.

There are two interesting points to be observed about this term. On the one hand, its Quranic application does not depend on a person having been proved guilty through a trial. The passage first quoted above stamp the people concerned as mujrimīn on resurrection, apparently before questing them. The assumption is probably that God absolutely and unmistakably knows who are the criminals. On the other hand, the use of the term is overwhelmingly Meccan, with only two Madineses instances. This again reflects the difference between the Meccan and Madinan conditions. The term possesses rather harsh connotations which suited the violent attitude of the Meccan in comparison with the relatively salutary atmosphere of Madinah. (25)

(6)  wizr or wazar (wazara, ʿor.; wāzīr - Fem. wāzīrah - part. act.).

The ward wizr is generally interpreted as "burden", but Tabarī disputes this interpretation on the grounds that he never

came across an evidence in support of it in the literature at his disposal. He interprets it instead as 'sin' ⁽²⁶⁾

The interpretation of wizr as 'sin' however does not seem to be quite suitable, because it does not run smoothly in some of the verses in which it occurred. Let us take, e.g., VI, 164 which reads: "walā taziru wāziratun wizra ukhrā" ⁽²⁷⁾ According to this interpretation, the verse will be rendered, "No sinning soul sins the sin of another" which is rather meaningless.

The meaning of the word seems to be made up of a combination of the ideas of a danger to be repelled, the means of repelling such a danger, and the heaviness of such means as they may be heavy artillery; the context may bring out, ^{one} of these elements more prominently than the others. In the following line attributed to al-Āshā of Qays, the word is obviously employed in the sense of military equipment:

"I prepared for the war awzārahā, long lances and male horses" ⁽²⁸⁾

The same, i.e. military equipment or means of defence, appears to be the meaning of the word in the following Qurānic verses:

"Nay! There will be, (on the Day of Resurrection), no wazar! ⁽²⁹⁾ LXXV, II.

"When you have routed them, make the bond tight; then there will be neither grace or ransom until the war lays down awzāharā" XL, 4.

From this sense of 'military equipment' or 'means of defence', its meaning was extended to two ideas, ^{the idea of} 'heavy burdens', since ^{artillery} ^{is} ^{and} normally heavy; hence the Qurān reads:

".....but we were laden with awzār of ornaments of the folk" XX, 87; and to the idea of 'moral responsibility for evil acts' or 'punishment thereof', since man has to defend his act, and the punishment has in common with ^{artillery} ^{being} disliked and not much desired. In this sense, the word can be regarded as equivalent to the English term 'onus' which is defined as, the "responsibility

for or burden of doing something"⁽³⁰⁾

Hence the Qurān reads:

"Whos^e turns away from it, (the Reminder), he verily will bear a wizr on the Day of Resurrection" XX, 100.

"So that they may bear thir^e wizr undiminished, and some of the awzār of those they mislead" XVI, 25, and

".....and no soul burdened by its own punishment will bear the punishment of another soul" VI: 164.

Thus, in the moral sense the word wizr denotes the idea of punishment or responsibility of evil acts; and as far as the Qur'anic employment of the word is concerned, it does not denote the actual act of sin. In other words, wizr is closely related to 'sin' being its consequence, but it is not sin itself. An interesting observation is that وزر is dropped in the Madīnan revelations, which reflects the relaxations which followed the advent of the Hijrah.

(7) فجور fujūr (fājūr-pl. fujjār or fajarah - part. act).

The root meaning of this is apparently: 'to split', 'to cut open'. In this sense, a kin - derivative of the word, fajjarna is used in the following verse:

"And We split the earth open with springs" LIV, 12

From this physical meaning seems to be derived the use of the word in the moral sense of 'cutting through or outraging the moral code' by committing outrageous faults. In this moral sense the word appears to be employed in the following line (attributed to 'aḥr b. Nufāil:

"That God destroyed many men whose behaviour was al-fujūru".⁽³¹⁾

The Quran employs the term in the same way, with the implications of indifference to God's greatness, and ingratitude for His favours. Hence the association of the term, like the term ijrām, with kufr and its various manifestations. The Qurān reads:-

"And Noah said, if You leave them (unpunished), they will mislead Your slaves and will not produce except fājiran kaffāran" LXXI, 27.

"they are those who are the Kafarah and the fajarah " LXXX, 42

The term is also formally contrasted with taqwā, and fujjār is contrasted with abrār. We read:

"And by a soul and Him Who created it; and inspired into it its fujūr or taqwā.

and read "Verily, the abrār, (righteous), shall be in (Heavenly) bless, while the fujjār shall be in the Hell Fire".

LXXXII, 13-14.

The term under discussion was made use of by the Qurān only during the two early parts of the Meccan revelation, to denote the outrageous attitude of the adversaries of Muhammad in Mecca. Like the term ijrām, fujur possesses flagrant connotations, and therefore served in describing the violent attitude of Mecca like its sister term with similar implications.

(8) ذنب dhanb is a quasi infinitive of 'adhnaba'⁽³²⁾ The root meaning of the word conveys the idea of 'being at the back', 'to be hanging on', and 'having associated with obsenity'. Hence, 'dhanab', tail, and 'dhanūb', bucket, and - in the moral sense - an act bringing back to the agent undesirable and shameful consequences which hang on to him, i.e., crimes and all acts of shameful associations.

In the sense of 'something that brings disgrace' the word is used by Abū Khāzin al-Bābilī in the following line:-

(33) كفان بالشيب ذنبا عند غانية وبالشباب شفيها أيم الرجل

And in the sense of 'moral offence' al-Nābighah uses the word in the following line:-

(34) كذبتني فقلت ذنبا حري وتركتني كذبتني العري كوي غيره وهو راتع

The Qurān uses the term with reference to all kinds of offences committed against God. Here the word is associated with 'Kufr':

"Like the habit of the people of Pharaoh and those before them; they rejected (kafarū) the signs of God, and God took them for their sins (dhunūbihim) VIII, 52.

Here it is associated with 'ṭakdhīb':

"They shall be fuel for the Fire, like Pharaoh's people and those before them; they cried lies, kaḥdhabu, to Our signs and God siezed them for their sins (dhunubihim)" II, II; VIII, 54; XCI, 11 - 14.

In the following verse, the word refers to 'seduction' or 'attempting to seduce':

"Thou, (al-Aziz's wife who attempted but failed to seduce Joseph), ask forgiveness for thy sin (dhanb); thou art one of the sinners, (al-Khāṭi'ūn)" XII, 29.

From the last quotation the word 'dhanb' appears to be synonymous with Khaṭi'ah, and the idea of bringing the two terms together is perhaps that each conveys its special connotation while they refer to the same thing. 'dhanb' conveys the connotation of the act being base, and the other word conveys the idea that the act is outside the right path.

In the following verse, the word refers to sin in general, conveying 'fāḥishah' and ~~ṭakdhīb~~ 'zulm':

".....And God loves the good-doers', those who when they commit fāḥishah or wrong (ḡalamū) themselves, remember God and ask forgiveness for their sins (dhunūbihim)" III, 125.

It is again used in the geneal sense of sin in the following verses:-

".....And some others acknowledged their sins (dhunubihim); they mixed good deeds with evil deed, (sayyi'an)". IV, 108

"Our Lord! We heard a caller calling unto īmān, saying, 'believe in your Lord', and we have believed. Our Lord, ~~far~~

forgive our sins (dhunūbanā) and remit our evil deeds (sayyi'atīnā), III, 193

The combination invited the attention of Zamakhsharī who, assuming that such combination implies that the two terms are utterly different, assigns dhanb to grave sins and sayyiah to venial ones.⁽³⁵⁾ We shall see presently that the latter term covers all sins, and the whole question of classifying sin into big and small ones will be ~~discussed~~ discussed in the following chapter. However the distinction cannot be applied to the previous verse where dhanb and sayyi'ah appear to be identical since they refer to the same thing. The idea of combining two terms, as said earlier is to benefit from the peculiar implication of each of them.

Thus, dhanb, like Khaṭī'ah is a term which may denote sin of any type; but it seems to be more on the side of active commission of offences rather than omission of duties. Use of the term it is noteworthy, was made equally in the Meccan and the Madīnan revelations, but in the latter part the term is in the most part associated with the idea of absolving sin. This reflects the shift in the sense of sin in Madīnah. While terms of sin referred to the serious and unpardonable attitude of rebellion in Mecca, they began to identify ^{on} pardonable offences in Madīnah. The faith was not so seriously threatened, and attention began to concentrate on organisational rules and regulations which should not be offended in the interest of the community. dhanb, like Khaṭī'ah and sayyiah has earned a great popularity as a term of sin; ⁽³⁶⁾ and along with them, it is used by Muslims in their prayer for forgiveness.

(9) ادوان 'udwān (kin-derivatives: 'adā, aor., 'ādīn - pl. 'adūn - past. act.)

The original meaning of the root, it appears, conveys the idea of 'physical transference'; hence, 'adwā, infection, because disease travels thereby from one to another; and 'adwā, running, because a runner travels from a place to another. To this meaning belongs the use of the word in the sense of 'turning away' in which

the verb ta'du is employed in the following verse:

".....and let not your eyes turn away from them, (the worshippers of Allah), desiring the pomp of the near life" XVIII, 28.

To this idea of physical transference is probably related the words 'udwān and i'tidā', aggression, hostility, injustice or wronging others which is a specific kind of sin; because aggression, injustice, etc., involve an injury, real or potential, which travels from the aggressor to the victim. In this case, the verb reaches its object by means of the preposition 'alā, against, whether it is mentioned or assumed. To this employment probably belongs the word 'adāwah which implies a potential travel of hostilities and harms between the parties concerned.

The Quran employs the word 'udwān and its kin-derivatives in the above sense, namely, aggression, injustice and hostility. We read,

".....Verily Allah does not love al-Mu'tadīn (transgressors)", II, 190.

"And fight them till there is no longer any disturbance and till religion has become exclusively to God, but if they cease, then no 'udwān except against those who transgress" II, 193.

"Whose i'tadā 'alāikum, (wronged you), i'tadū⁽³⁷⁾ 'alāhi as much as he has i'tadā 'alāikum, (return his wrong in retaliation without injustice)" II, 194.

The next step is the transition from this specific sense of injustice or transgression. ~~The term is extended to the sense of~~ 'transgressing against the moral law' or 'transgression against the ritual law'. This is in fact the usage of the word which concerns us more here. In the early stage of the Quranic employment of the term, i.e., in Mecca, the term conveyed the former meaning, viz., 'violent transgression against the moral law' with particular reference to Kufr, or such vehement transgression as sodomy and fornication. In the following verse the term apparently stands for Kufr, but not necessarily without the connotation of transgressor:

"Then after him, (Noah), We sent messengers to their folk. They brought clear proofs to them; but they were not ready to embrace what they had formerly rejected. Thus We stamp on the heart of the mu'tadīn" X, 74.

In the following verse, the reference is to sodomy:

"What! Of all creatures you come unto the males, and leave the wives whom your Lord has created for you! Nay, but you are a people who are 'adūn'⁽³⁸⁾ XXVI, 165- 6.

In the following, the term is in reference to fornication:

"And they - the successful party - are those who guard their modesty, saved from their wives or what their right hands possess; for them they are not blame-worthy,

But whose craves beyond that, such are al-'adūn" XXIII, 6 - 7.

With the introduction of rules to regulate the human relations and social activities, which started late in Mecca with certain restrictions on food, the term became very useful as an expression of violating these rules. The food restrictions were extensively augmented in Madīna by rules concerning sales and commercial activities, marriage, betrothal, divorce, inheritance, etc, etc. These divine rules, by virtue^{of} being more restrictive, are described as hudud, 'boundaries'; and violating them was described as i'tidā', violation or transgression, leading to punishment. In view of the fact that those legislations were largely introduced in Madīna^{of} and the close association between these rules and the term under discussion, the term is more frequently met in the Madīnan revelations.

Let us illustrate the use of the term in this sense by the following quotations:-

"God has forbidden you only carrion, blood, swineflesh and that over whose immolation other names than that of Allah were mentioned; but whoso is driven by necessity neither craving nor 'adīn verily God is forgiving and

and merciful⁽³⁹⁾ XVI, 115.

"O you who believe; do not forbid good things which God has made lawful to you and lā ta'tadū, (do not thereby overstep the bounds); God loves not al-mu'tadīn" V, 86.

"These (i.e., the rules that have just been mentioned concerning wine, gambling, marriage, cohabitation during the menstruation, ac̣ths and divorce), are the ḥudūd, (the limits) of Allah.

"Therefore, do not ta'tadūhā; and whoso yata'adda ḥudūd Allah, they are indeed the wrong doers". II 229⁽⁴⁰⁾

"These, (the preceding rules of inheritance), are the ḥudūd of Allah; and whoso obeys Allah and His Apostle, God will let him enter Gardens under which rivers flow; abiding therein; and that is the great success. And whoso disobeys God and His Apostle and yata'adda ḥudūdahū, (transgresses His limits) He will^{let} him enter the Fire where they abide; his will be a shameful doom!" IV, 13 - 14

To summarise we may say that the term 'udwān and its kin-derivatives is employed in the Qurān to convey one of these meanings, first, the physical image of turning away from; second, the moral wrong of injustice and transgression which is in itself a specific sin; and lastly the general meaning of the sin of transgression. In the last meaning, the word was first employed to indicate the violation of the moral code by the commission of Kufr, or shameful acts such as sodomy and fornication; and was later employed to denote the idea of over-stepping the ritual bounds or the rules divinely laid down for organising the human behaviours. The word, however, probably on account of its immediate specific connotation of transgressing and overstepping, does not appear to have gained as a popular term of sin,⁽⁴¹⁾ like the other term such as aḍ dhanb which could get rid of their specific connotations and thus become a 'neutral' general term of sin.

- (10) اثم ithm (kin-derivatives: 'āthim-pl. 'āthimūn - past, act, athām, i.e. habitual āthim, athām, i.e., consequence of ithm, verbal infinitive II).

This ithm is one of the most controversial terms among the Qurānic vocabulary of sin as far as its basic meaning is concerned. The Qurānic commentators as well as lexicographers differed whether it is an unlawful deed committed specifically intentionally and is therefore ^{un-}pardonable, or, like dhamb, covers all such deeds whether they are committed intentionally or unintentionally.⁽⁴²⁾ The Qamus defines it as a commission of a forbidden act, which brings it near to the term 'udwān. We do not however subscribe to these limits.

From the contexts of the occurrences of ithm in the Qurān and in the Jābiliyya Poetry, the term, whether it is an infinitive or a simple substance, appears to convey the idea of 'crime' accompanied by the connotation of injury, injustice and falsehood. A Jābili poet is related to have said:

"If you say, there is no equal to her among her people lam ta'thami. (you will not be guilty of ithm)"⁽⁴³⁾

The Poet apparently implies, you have not thereby inflicted injustice upon the others.

In its Qurānic usage, the term nearly always smells of the connotation of injustice, harm or injury to the property or the honour of the others, or injury to oneself, apart from its fundamental content of crime. In the following Qurānic verses which are believed to be of the earliest occurrences of the term, the word strongly smells of the idea of aggression or injustice:

"And no one counts it false (the Day of Judgement), except every one who is aggressive and athim" LXXXIII, 12

"And do not obey any swearer, contemptible, a maligner who goes about with calumny, a hinderer of the good, aggressive and athim". LXVIII, 12

Falsehood is apparently associated with the word in the following verse:-

"Woe to every liar athim"

We therefore find the term in the most part referring to sins involving injustice. In the following verse, the sin is encroachment on the property of others:

"And eat not up your property amongst you in ~~vanity~~, nor seek by it to gain the bearing of the judges that you may knowingly devour a portion of the property of the people with ithm" II, 188.

In the following verse, the referance is to the sin of slander, in the context of the famour story of 'A'ishah:

"Unto every man of them will be paid what he has earned of ithm" XXIV, II.

And here again it refers to injuring others:

"And those who malign believing men and women undeservedly, they bear the guilt of slander and manifest ithm" XXXIII, 58

In the following verse, the idea of "injustice to others" is there, and the offence described by the term ^{is} a sin of the heart:

".....shun much of suspicion; indeed some suspicion is an ithm" XLIX, 12.

Thus, ithm is applicable both to overt and exovert sins; and this is explicitly stated in the following verse:

"Shun outward and inward ithms; those who earn ithm will be repaid for what they have earned". VI, 120.

The implication of injustice or inflicting injury attaches to the term even when it conveys ~~the~~ wrong attitude towards God whilst other men are not involved. Thus we read:

"And whoso earns an ithm, he gains it against himself" IV, III, and

"And whoso ascribes partners to God, he has falsely brought out a grave ithm."

From the above quotations, it can be seen that the crime that may be referred to by the term ithm may be 'rejection of the doctrine of resurrection', the sins of swearing, maligning calumny, preventing good, transgression, consuming the property of others unduly, slandering, injuring others in any way, thinking ill of others and

ascribing partnership to God; Besides, it is applied to usury. We read:

"God blights usury and multiplies alms; and He loves not the impious athim" II, 276, to murder:

"Indeed I (Abel) would rather let you bear (the punishment) of my wrong, ithm, and your ithm"; V, 29
and wine-drinking and gambling:

"They question you about wine and games of chance; say: in both there is a formidable ithm and benefit for people; but their ithm is greater than their benefit". II, 219.

In the verse^s just quoted, the connotation of harm is remarkable; and the harm entailed in the two crimes of wine-drinking and gambling is compared to the benefit they seem to bring forth.

In the following example the term is connected with the violation of the restriction on food:

"But whoso is under stress in a time of famine, (and had to eat what has just been forbidden earlier in the verse), without being perversely inclined to ithm, Allah is forgiving and merciful". V, 3.

In the following example, the term is employed in connexion with failure to observe certain ceremonial requirements in pilgrimage

"And remember Allah through the appointed days, (i.e. the two or three days which follow 'Id al-Nahr); whoso hastens (his departure) in two days, no ithm is counted upon him; and whoso delays, it is no ithm for him" II, 203

And in the following instance, the term is used in connexion with concealing the evidence:

"And if you be on a journey and do not find anyone who can write, (let the^{ke} be) a pledge taken; but if one of you trust^s another, let him who is trusted pay what is entrusted to him and let him show piety to his Lord. Do not conceal the evidence; whose conceal^s it, his heart is athim." II, 283. In the last example, the term seems to have the connotation of "his heart is bent on harming those involved by concealing the evidence.

The term and its kin-derivative, athām, is metaphorically employed in the sense of its consequence, i.e., punishment.

We read:

"Whoso is driven by necessity, neither craving nor transgressing, there is no ithm upon him" II,173, and:

"And whoso does this, (i.e. ascribing partners to God, murder and fornication), he shall receive athāman, doubled to him will be the punishment on the day of resurrection, and he will abide in it disgraced, except those who repents, believe and work righteous work, God will substitute good deeds for their evil deeds." XXV, 68 - 69.

An interesting observation is that although the application of the term is so nearly universal, it seems that it does not cover the forbidden obscene acts, normally denoted by the term fāhishah which will be discussed presently. This in fact is made more clear by joining the two terms by a conjunction which ^{normally} implies that they mean two things, different in entity or in connotation.

"Say my Lord has only forbidden the fawāhish, (Pl. of fāhishah), open or concealed, and ithm and unwarranted aggression" VII, 33, and

"And (the mu'minūn) are those who shun the formidable ithms and fawāhish". XLII, 37.

Thus ithm is a term which covers, apart from obscene sins, all other types of sins, moral or ~~p~~atural, sins of omission and sins of commission. Although it smells of the connotation of injury, the association seems to have diminished in the course of the use of the word, so that it has become a 'neutral' general term of sin simply denoting a crime or offence of any kind. Its popularity as a Quranic term of sin, equal to that of dhanb and khaṭi'ah is reflected in the greater frequency of its employment in the Madinan revelations.⁽⁴⁴⁾

(11) عصيان 'iṣyān (iṣyān is an infinitive noun, but according to Misbāh it is a simple substance. Its kin-derivatives are: 'asā, aor; 'āsin, part. act.; and 'aṣiyy, emphatic form of part. act; and ma'siyah, infinitive noun)

The hasiṣ meaning of this word is 'to disobey', 'to rebel' or 'to oppose one's master'; hence 'iṣyān is employed in the sense of 'disobedience to the divine command by neglecting duties or by committing prohibitions'. In the following verse, the word is apparently employed in the sense of omitting an obligation:

"O Prophet; if believing women come unto you, taking oath of allegiance unto you that they will ascribe nothing as partner to God and will neither steal nor commit adultery, nor will their children nor produce any lie that they have devised between their hands and feet, nor that they shall ya'sīnaka in fulfilling a ma'rūf, then accept their allegiance" LX, 12.

In the following verse, the word is applied to 'commission of prohibition' :

"Then they - Adam and Eve - ate from it - i.e., the forbidden tree -, and then their modest parts became exposed to them. They began to hide by Adam heaping on themselves some of the leaves of the Garden. And thus 'aṣā his Lord". XX, 121.

In the following, the word is associated with Kufr:

"Then (Moses) displayed to him (Pharaoh) the great sign; then he rejected (the sign) and 'aṣā". LXXIX, 21

"And this is 'Ād. They rejected the signs of their Lord and 'aṣaw. His messengers" XI, 59.

In the following, the word refers to 'failure to carry out a military order:

"Allah has made good His promise to you when you were sweeping them away by His permission, until when you flinched and disputed concerning the order and 'aṣajtum ⁽⁴⁵⁾ after He had shown you what you love" III, 152.

In the following verse, the term is apparently applied to failure in observing the rules of inheritance set out in the preceding verses:

"And whoso ya'ṣi Allah and His Apostle and violates His bounds
He will let him enter Hell Fire where he will abide" IV, 14

'iṣyān, disobedience, is condemned, whether it is disobedience both to God and His Apostle as in the verse just quoted; or to God alone or to the Prophet alone, the assumption being that disobedience or obedience to one is the same to the other. Thus we read:

"Say, verily I fear if I 'aṣaytu, (disobeyed), my Lord, the chastisement on a great day" VI, 15 (cf: X,15 and XXXIX,15)

"And they whisper in the ears of each other with ithm, 'udwān and ma'ṣiyat of the messenger" LVIII, 9.

It is thus clear that iṣyān and its kin-derivatives are employed in the Qur'an denoting any act of disobedience, whether it is an act of omission or commission. It is also applicable to all types of sin, Kufr or others. The word conveys the idea of rebellion against the divine command, and it is therefore a strong term, conveying the idea of assuming an attitude of rebellion. The employment of the word is equally distributed between the Meccan and the Madīnan revelations. A notable observation is the rare and late occurrence of the derivative ma'ṣiyah in the Qur'an, having occurred only twice in two consecutive verses which belong to a late chapter, namely Ch. LVIII. Nevertheless, this derivative was destined to earn later an overwhelming popularity as a term of sin. Canon collections of Hadith employ it in their chapters 'headings; and the Concordance of Tradition, T. IV, Pp. 254-5, quotes about 30 early Hadiths in which this derivative is employed denoting sin.

(12) شَرٌّ Sharr. This word is the infinitive noun of sharra, aor. It may be used as a part act. Pl. ašhrār, and may also be used to denote the comparative or superlative degrees.

The primary meaning of the word may be the idea of 'unevenness; hence it is said: sharshara al-sikkīna in the sense that he rubbed

the knife upon a stone till its edge became rough.⁽⁴⁶⁾ Hence the idea of 'being oblique', 'being undesired or unfortunate', and in the moral sense, 'deviating or bending from the right course' or simply 'evil'. It is therefore the antithesis of Khair, happiness, good fortune, and good deed. In the following verses, the word denotes a physical evil or misfortune:

"And We try you with khair and sharr, (prosperity and adversity), for ordeal; and you will be returned unto us" XXI, 25.

"Man is verily created anxious, fretful when sharr befalls him, and grudging when khair touches him." LXX, 19 - 20.

In the following verses, the term is used in the moral sense of 'evil act', while its antithesis denotes 'righteous act':

"Whoso does khair-an the weight of an atom, he will see it, (its reward); and whoso does sharran the weight of an atom will see it" XCIX, 7-8.

As a ~~part~~.act., the word describes an evildoer or wicked. We read:

"And they say: what ails us that we do not behold men whom we were ^{used} about to count among the ashrār" XXXVIII, 62

"Those who rejected the faith among the people of the Book and the polytheists are in the Fire of Gehenna where they abide; they are sharrul-hariyyah, (the wicked of the Creation)" XCVIII, 6.

In the following instances, the word denotes a comparative or superlative degrees, both with reference to the physical and the moral sense:

"This - but for the proud transgressors there is sharr (worst) resort; Gehenna in which they shall roast" XXXVIII, 55-56.

"Indeed sharr, (the worst), of the beasts in the sight of Allah are those who are deaf and dumb who do not understand" VIII, 22.

Thus the word sharr may be used as inf.n., ~~part~~.act., or comparative or superlative; and may denote a physical misfortune or an evil act and may describe a wicked person. However, the word is charged with much of the connotation of 'misfortune', and its use

Qurānic use in the moral sense is comparatively infrequent and chiefly belongs to the Meccā revelation. It is aptly described in the words of J.W. Sweetnam, "Sharr is used in a very general sense for all evils whether these can be thought of as moral evils or not."⁽⁴⁷⁾ Early Tradition, however, makes greater use of the word in the moral sense.⁽⁴⁸⁾

(13) ظلم zūlm (kin-derivatives : ḡalama aor., ḡālim - Pl. ḡālīm - part. act., ḡalūm, emphatic part. act.; mazlūm part. pass).

The original meaning of this word seems to be the image of darkness; hence, ḡalām, darkness.⁽⁴⁹⁾ From this is apparently derived the idea of 'misplacing a thing', in which^{meaning} the word is actually employed,⁽⁵⁰⁾ since such is likely to happen in the dark. The next step is the employment of the word in the sense of 'injustice', whether this involves property or otherwise, since injustice implies misplacement of rights. In the sense of 'injustice' the word is employed in the following lines attributed to Abu Zaid al-Ṭā'ī and Abu Rāfi' b. Hurajm respectively:⁽⁵¹⁾

"He then ḡazallama (encroached on) my property and bent my hand; may Allah who is able to defeat him, bend his hand!"

"Why! should you not ḡalamtum (wrong) any other than your uncle if^{you} should ever be transgressor?"

The Quran frequently employs the word in this sense of 'injustice' condemned as a particular sin.

Thus we read:

"And whoso defends himself, having suffered zūlm, there is no way (of blame) against him; the way, (blame), is only against those who yazlimūna (oppress) the people" XLII, 41 - 42.

"And whoso is slain mazlūman, (with injustice), We have given power⁽⁵²⁾ to his heir" XVII, 33.

God is declared free from zūlm. Thus we read:

"God does not yazlimu (wrong), people whatsoever, but people

wrong themselves" X, 44

"Whoso does righteousness, it is for himself; and whoever does evil, it is against it; and your Lord is not by any means zallām(wronging) the slaves" XLI,

Thus zulm in the sense of applies to injustice done by a man to a man, and is inattributable to God Who is Just. The agent, however, may do injustice to himself by overstepping the bounds and thus deserve the divine chastisement as may be taken from the two verse just quoted and from the following verse in which zulm is employed as somewhat a synonym of 'udwān.

"And whoso oversteps the bounds of Allah, then it is they who are zālimūn"II, 229.

The idea of man wronging himself by sinning is also indicated in the following and similar verses:-

"They did not zalamūnā,(wrong us); but they zalamū,(wronged), themselves" V, 57.

"Who steps over the bounds of God, he (thereby) zalama (wronged) himself" LXV, 1

"And on him, (Abraham) and on Isaac, We bestowed Our blessing; and among their offsprings some are righteous and some are clearly zālimun li-nafsihī (wronging themselves)" XXXVII, 113.

It is probably safe to venture to assert that it is from this idea of doing injustice to one-self by overstepping the bounds that the word is employed in the general sense of sin, retaining at the same time, the connotation of injustice, either to the divine rules by violating them, or to oneself by inviting the divine punishment by sinning. In this general sense of sin we may count about 290 instances where zulm and its kin-derivatives are used, with reference to shirk, to its hindered Kufr, to commission of any other positive sin, and to failure in fulfilling one's duties. Thus we read:

"And (remember) when Luqman admonished his son: O my son, do not ascribe partnership to Allah, verily shirk is a great zulm." XXXI, 13.

"It is only the zālimūn who reject our tokens" XXIX, 49

"And it is al-Kāfirūna who are zālimūn " II, 254

"Then, after them, We sent Moses with Our tokens to Pharaoh and his chiefs; by the zalamū (wronged) thereby" VII, 103

"Those who have embraced īmān and do not obscure their īmān by zulm; theirs is safety" VI, 82.

"But whoso repents after his zulm and amends, God will repent towards him" V, 39

"And whoso does not rule in accordance with what God has revealed, it is they who are zālimūn" V, 45

"And those who do not repent, it is they who are zālimūn", XLIX, II

"They - the people of the garden who had decided to deprive the poor of their right in the crop - said :
God forbid! We have been zālimīn"

"God forbids you only those who warned against you on account of religion and drove you out of your dwellings and helped to drive you out, that you make friends with them.
Whoso befriends them, such are the zālimūn" LX, 8.

Thus zulm and its kin-derivatives denotes in the Qurān one of two meanings; the particular meaning of injustice or oppression, which is a specific sin, and the general meaning of sin - charged with the connotation of injustice - whether it is a sin of omission or commission. The term is widely used both in the Meccan and Medīnan revelations. However, the element of injustice implied in the term is overwhelming; and this is probably the reason why the word does not appear to have earned recognition in later ages as a general technical term of sin but as a specific word denoting ⁵³injustice.

(14) فساد fasād. (Kin-derivatives: fasada aor., fāsīd, part.act., afsada IV, mufsid, Pl. mufsidūn - part. act.)

It seems that the primary meaning of this word is 'to decay' or 'to become rotten'; hence, in the moral sense, 'to be vicious, to become corrupt, wicked, unrighteous, or improper'. The word is employed in the sense of 'physical corruption or disorder' in

the following lines attributed to al-Aswad b Ya'fur and to Tarafah respectively:

".....and time brings about fasād (damage) after good fortune"⁽⁵⁴⁾

"May the abundant rain of spring give to drink your territory without being mufsidihā (without causing damage or harm to it by over-flooding)"⁽⁵⁵⁾

The Qurān also employs fasād in the sense of physical damage or disorder. We read:

"If there were in them, (the Heavens and the earth), gods besides Allah, lafasadatā, they would have been disordered or corrupted" XXI, 22.

"She said: Verily when the kings enter a township, afsadūhā (they ruin it)" XXVII, 34.

But it is chiefly in the moral sense that the Qurān employs the word, denoting the idea of 'moral decay, corruption, impropriety, viciousness, or causing others to be such', thus becoming a general term applicable to various kinds of particular sins. In the following verse, the word apparently implies Kufr:

"Shall We treat those who have embraced iman and do good works like al-mufsidina in earth" XXXVIII, 28

In the following the word refers to the act of stealing:-

"They, (Joseph's brothers) said, by God you know indeed we have not come linufsidā in the earth and we are not thieves" XII, 73

In the coming verse the word refers to spreading discension or disorder:

"And the nobility of Pharaoh's people said: Will you leave Moses and his people li-yufsidū in the earth!" 127

And here it is employed in the sense of encroaching on the orphan's rights :-

"They will ask you about the orphan; say: To set right their affairs is good. If you intromit with them, (then remember they are) your brethren; Allah knows him who is mufsid

from him who sets right'" II, 220.

In the following verse, the word refers to the evil ways to which the people^{of} Sodom were given:

He (Lot) said, "my Lord, help me against the people who are mufsidān" XXIX, 30.

And in the following, the word is used in connexion with the idea of craving to increase wealth through unscupulous means, as the context shows:- (56)

"We assign this abode, (the abode of those who are successful), to those who do not seek haughtiness on earth or fagādan" XXVIII, 83.

Although fasād and related derivatives are employed with reference to various specific sins, as has just been seen, yet its connotation of 'causing or leading to corruption or disorder' is ever present; and the word therefore does not seem to have succeeded as a popular technical term of sin generally, but it has become more indicative of the specific idea of 'mischief, corrupting or causing disorder or destruction'.

- (15) عَو 'utuww (kin-derivatives: 'atā aor., 'ātin, fem., 'ātiyah, past. act). The primary meaning of this word seems to convey the idea of 'being stupendous and unwieldy; hence describing a stormy wind as 'ātiyah in the following verse:
 "As ^{for} per 'Ad, they were destroyed by means of a wind which was 'ātiyah", LXIX, 6.

The use of the word in the moral sense may be derived from this idea of physical enormousness so that its moral meaning becomes the idea of 'being excessively immoderate, proud or conceited. In this sense the term is employed in the Qurān apparently with reference to Kufr, being the most serious failure. Thus we read:-

"But they, (the Kāfirūn who are described in the previous verse as conceited), persisted in 'utuww and restiveness" LXVII, 21.

"But they (Thamud's people), 'ataw (turned away insolently) from their Lord's Command", LI, 44

"And manyya township 'atat, (turned away in haughtiness) from the command of its Lord and His Apostles" LXV, 8.

It appears from the above quotations that the word 'utuww, like, ṭughīant, ḡha is a word descriptive of the attitude ^{of haughtiness} assumed by sinners rather than denoting particular sins. The word does not appear therefore to have become popular as a technical term of sin.

(16) اسراف isrāf (kin-derivatives: asrafa, aor.; musrif - Pl. musrifun - part. act.,)

The primary meaning of this word appear to be the idea of 'exaggeration' or 'doing things out of the ordinary'; hence the idea of 'exceeding or violating the bounds', and thus comes very near to the moral use of the term 'udwān and zūlm. In this moral sense the Qurān employs the word to convey the idea of 'gross violation' with reference to various types of sin. In these verses the word behaves almost synonymously with Kufr:

"And thus We punish him who asrafa and did not pay heed (lam yu'min) to his Lord's signs." XX, 127.

"Verily Our messengers brought the signs to them, then many of them were thereafter musrifūm on the earth." V, 32.

"There can be no doubt but that (the idols) unto which you call me have no claim in this world or in the world to come, that our (final) return will be unto God, and that the musrifīna will be the inhabitants of the Fire" XL, 43

In the next verse, the word refers to encroaching upon the orphan's property:

"And do not consume it, (the property of the orphan), israfan (i.e., beyond the lawful limit), or in anticipation of their growing up" IV, 6.

In the coming verse, reference is made to abusing the right of retaliation granted to the heir of a murdered person:

"And whoso is slain wrongfully, We have given power to his heir; but let him not yusrif in slaying", 33

In the next verse, the reference is to committing excess in consuming food which is otherwise permissible:

"O children of Adam, take your adornment at every mosque, and eat and drink, but do not commit isrāf. He loves not the musrifin" VII, 31.

In the following verse, isrāf is defined as fasād:

"And do not obey the command of the musrifin, who yufsidūna in the earth", XXVI, 151 - 152

In the next verse the reference is to overspending or committing excess in spending:

"And they (slaves of the Merciful), are those who when they spend neither yusrifū nor are they stringy" XXV, 67

And here reference is probably to failure to pay the alms due in property; but it is permissible to be interpreted as paying in excess over and above what is due :

"And pay the due thereof upon the harvest day and do not tusrifū "

The word israf and its kin-derivatives, is, like tughyān, 'udwān and zūlm, a word with strong connotations, its being the idea of extravagance and excess; hence its use is chiefly made in Mecca reflecting the vehement argument with the adversaries of the faith during this crucial age. isrāf is however free from the connotation of 'injustice and aggression against others; and is therefore applied to excess in permissible acts and even to excess in performing righteous deeds. The word therefore approaches the status of a general term of sin similar to that of dhanb, and is therefore used in prayers in the following verse: ⁽⁵⁷⁾

"And all that they said was: Our Lord, forgive our dhunub and our isrāf in our matters" III, 147.

(17) فسق fisq (fisq is said to be inf. n. or simple subs. Kin-derivatives: fasaqa I, fusūq, inf.n.like fisq; fāsiq-pl.fāsiqūn-part. act).

The primary meaning of this word is said to be the image of 'a thing coming forth from another thing, rather in a bad or corrupt manner'. ⁽⁵⁸⁾ It is said: fasaqat al-rutabatu 'an qishratihā i.e., the date emerged out its husks; because it causes the husks

to burst in order that it could obtrude.

From this sense conveying the physical image of obtruding or emerging is probably derived the employment of the word in the moral sense of 'the obtrusive violation of the moral order, or violation of the limits of the law or the divine command'.

The Quran employs the term in the moral sense of 'violation of, or disobedience to, the divine command'. Thus we read:

"And (remember) when We said to the angels: Fall prostrate before Adam and they fell prostrate except Iblīs. He was one of the Jinn, so he gasaqa, (went away) from the command of his Lord". XVIII, 50.

The employment of the word in the idea of violating the divine bounds or commands refers to involvement in specific sins; in the coming verse the term applies to forbidden food and ^didolatrous practices:

"Forbidden to you are the dead (carcase), blood, the flesh of swine, that over which any other (name) than Allah has been invoked, that which has been strangled, or felled or has tumbled, or been gored, or which wild beasts have mangled - except you have slaughtered it (before it was dead) - and that which has been sacrificed on the stove (alter), and that you seek a division by means of the divining arrows - that is fisq." V, 3 (cf. VI, 145)

In the following verses the word behaves almost synonymously with Kufr:

"Some of them, (people of the Scripture), are mu'minūn, and most of them are the fāsiqūn" III, 110.

"Verily We have revealed unto you clear tokens; and only the fāsiqūn disbelieve in them" II, 99.

Fisq is also applied to causing injury to a scribe or a witness:

"And let no harm be done to a scribe or to a witness,

if you do (harm to them), it is fusūqun with you" II, 281.

One who gives a false information is described as fāsiq:

"O you who have embraced īmān; if a fāsiq brings you tidings, verify it lest you should smite some folk in ignorance..." XLIX, 6.

Insulting each other is also described as fusūq:

"And insult not one another by nicknames; bad is the name fusūq after īmān". XLIX, II

And failure to observe the revelation in judging ~~the~~ ~~is~~ qualities for the term fāsiq:

"And whoso does not judge by what God has revealed, such are the fāsiqūn" V, 57.

Thus the word fusūq and its kin-derivatives are used to convey the idea of violating the right course either by rejecting the faith or by ^{falling to} comply with the divine ordinances while ^{the} faith is possibly maintained. In other words, the term under discussion is employed with reference to sin of any degree; but it carries the connotation of 'getting out of the right course', or 'non-conformity with the divine law'.

Perhaps it was because of the idea of 'non-conformity' which the word fisq and its kin-derivatives convey, that the theologians when they began to discuss and dispute over the fate of sinners found the term fāsiq a ~~min~~ suitable epithet to denote this category; ⁽⁵⁹⁾ the Khawārij equating it with the term Kāfir, the Sunnis regarding it a category of mu'min, and the Mu'tazilā making it an intermediate status between that of Kāfir and that of mu'min. ⁽⁶⁰⁾

Although the argument of these theologians is beyond the scope of this work, it is relevant to see which interpretation of the said theologians conforms with the Qurānic employment of the term in the light of the above discussion, quite apart from the validity of their argument.

The Khawārij, ^{or the Mu'tazilah} may bring forward the verses quoted early above where īmān is contrasted with fisq or a kin-derivative; but this is not a sufficient evidence that the application of the term is con-

fined to Kufr. All that it amounts to is that the term is applicable to Kufr. But in addition, the term is applied to forbidden food, to harming a scribe or a witness, to giving a false report, and to calling each other by undesired names. To claim that such offences amount to Kufr or are inconsistent with īmān will obviously be an unwarranted exaggeration. Moreover, the verse XLIX,6, cited above, describes as fāsiq one of the Prophet's Companions who, according to Ibn Ishāq, was al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah b. Abū Mu'āṭ, who gave a mistaken report about B. Mustaliq⁽⁶¹⁾ to whom he had been sent by the Prophet to collect their alms. There is no trace of a record that al-Walīd who is described in the Qurān as fāsiq was excommunicated as a non-mu'min on that account. Thus, it appears that fāsiq is semantically a category of mu'min, a sinning mu'min.

(18) هِنْثٌ hiṭh. (ḥaṭḥa, aor.; and taḥannatha, V).

It seems that the root meaning of this word is 'to leave out; 'to desert', hence taḥannuth, in the sense of 'abandoning or leaving the pleasures of the world'. Hence the use of the term in the sense of 'breaking away from an undertaking', or 'failure to perform a commitment' especially supported by an oath. It is probably from this idea of failing to fulfil an undertaking or a commitment that the use of the word in the sense of 'failure to fulfil God's commands by committing sins is derived. The assumption is that man is committed to obey the divine guidance.

In the sense of breaking an oath, the term is used in the following verse:

"And (it was said to Job): take in your hand a bunch (of grass), and then smite (your wife) with it and do not taḥnath"
XXXVIII, 44.

In the general sense of sin the term occurs only in the following verse:

"And they, (those who will be the People of Left on the Day of Resurrection), were persistent on the great hinh"
LVI, 46.

In this unique instance, the term is alleged to be alluding to shirk⁽⁶²⁾. The use of the term in the general sense of sin however is extremely rare. Early Tradition employs the word more often in the sense of "breaking an oath", and in the Concordance can be found only two quotations in which the term is employed in the general sense of sin. One of these apparently alludes to zinā⁽⁶³⁾.

(19) غَيَّ ghayy (ghawā aor.; ghāwin - pl. ghāwūn - part. act.; ghawiyy, emphatic form of part. act.; aghwā IV).

Two kin-derivatives of this word, ghawan and ghawā convey the idea of 'being rotten or corrupt' which may be the primary meaning of the root. ghawan is said of a young camel or of a lamb or a kid when he drinks milk till he suffers indigestion and his belly becomes in a corrupt state⁽⁶⁴⁾; and it is said of milk ghawwatu'l labanaⁱ in the sense of having caused it to coagulate as though I spoiled it.⁽⁶⁵⁾ Hence, the application of the word in the sense of moral corruption. Al-Muraqqash is reported to have said:-

"Whoso does right, people will praise his behaviour; and whoso yaghwi, he will not lack a critic over his ghayy"⁽⁶⁶⁾

And when Duraid b. al-Sammah failed to dissuade his folks taking part in the war between Bakr and Taghlib he joined them and said:

"I am only one of (the tribe of) Taghlib; when it ghawat ghawaytu"⁽⁶⁷⁾

The Qurān employs the word in the moral sense of corruption or going on the wrong path; and it can be seen that it is used as nearly synonymous with the term dalāl. The Qurān reads:

"There is no compulsion in the matter of religion; the rushd, (right course), has become distinguished from the ghayy (wrong path)". II 256, and

"And Adam disobeyed his Lord, and he thus has ghawā (was deceived).

"Afterwards, however, his Lord chose him, turned again towards him and hadā, (guided him aright)" XX, 121 - 2

In the second instance, the term ghayy denotes the reverse

of hudā, the antithesis of ḡalāl, which emphasises the close relationship between the two terms of sin. Like ḡalāl, again, ghayy is employed in the sense of its consequence, punishment. We read:-

"Now, there has succeeded them a generation who have ruined worship and followed the lusts; they will receive ghayy".
XIX, 59.

Moreover, seducing to ghayy is attributed to Satan, and it is also confessed on the Day of Resurrection by the leaders of the wrong party. We read:-

"He (Satan) replied: By Your glory, I will ughwiyannahum (Seduce) them all" XXXVIII, 82 (cf V, 39 and VII, 16), and "Those concerning whom the word will have come true will say: Our Lord; these are they whom we aghwaīnā (had led astray); we aghwaīnāhum as we ghawaīnā (we led them astray even as we ourselves were astray" XXVIII, 86.

Again, like ḡalāl, leading to ghayy is attributed to God.

We read:

"If God will to yugḡwiyakum (lead you to ghayy), He is your Lord, and you will be returned unto him" XI, 34

Thus, ghayy in its employment by the Qurān is more or less synonymous with the term ḡalāl, denoting the idea of being on the wrong path. Like ḡalāl, it may be observed, its use is predominantly Meccan, which reflects the sharp dispute in Mecca and the need for terms which condemn the Meccans' attitude in its various aspects.

(20) abā Among the kin-derivatives of this word, it is only the First Form verb abā which is employed in the Qurān.

The basic meaning of this word however is to be sought in its application to the young camel who having just been weaned and who happens to suffer from indigestion, hates milk and refuses to be fed. It seems that the idea of refusal was generalised and extended to the moral context where the word denotes the sense of 'arrogantly rejecting the divine command, and refusing to obey'. The term also conveys the idea of 'amour propre'; and to this belongs the employment of the word in the following line attributed

to Suwaid Abū Khabīl al-Yashkurī:

"(It is a quality of ours), ibā' (refusal) to near baseness when the mighty submits to apression"⁽⁶⁸⁾

To this meaning also belongs the use of the word in the renowned phrase: "abaṭaṭaṭ laḥa, may you be clear from shame!

The Quran employs the word both in the simple sense of refusal and in the moral sense where it denotes 'violation of God's commands with a connotation of arrogance. It is noteworthy that the word is often accompanied by the word is takbar. Thus we read:

"Until when they, (Moses and his companion), came unto a folk of a township they asked its folk for food, but they abaw, (refused), to offer them hospitality" XVIII, 77.

We also read:

"And (remember) when We told the ^Angels to prostrate to Adam, and they fell prostrate all except Iblis; abā (he devoured through pride) and thus became amongs the Kāfirs" II, 34 (cf. XV, 31 and XX, 110, and

"We verily showed him, (Pharaoh), all Our tokens, but he denied and abā"

Thus, abā denotes in its Quranic use in moral contexts the attitude of insolence assumed by sinners against the divine command. Its use mainly belongs to the middle part of the Meccan revelation, reflecting again the vehement struggle at the time when the Prophet publicly proclaimed his mission. It is probably noteworthy that the the term when it is used in the moral sense, is sometimes accompanied by the formidable word istakbara, (has become insolent). Early Tradition employs the word also to denote the general meaning of ⁽⁶⁹⁾ sin, and in one of the cases the Prophet is quoted as saying: "Who obeys me enters Paradise; and ~~who~~ disobeys me, he has abā".

(21) بغى baghy (kin-derivatives: baghā, aor.;, bughā', inf. n. like baghy or a simple substance; bighā', another inf.n; but alluding to prostitution; baghin, past. act., baghiyy, past.act. related to bighā', inbghā, VII; and ibtagha VIII).

We are here specially interested in the First Form and its kin-derivatives, because the other forms are not so closely related to the moral sense. The First Form however possesses three usages, intransitive without the means of a preposition, transitive with the means of a preposition, and absolute intransitive. Before we begin the discussion of the meaning attached to the word in each of these usages, let us first deal with what appears to be the original meaning of the root.

There are two expressions in which the word baghā conveys a physical image, which might be its basic meaning; namely, bagha'l wādī, which means: the valley flooded with water reaching the place to which it had not reached before; and bagha'l jurḡu, which means, the wound swelled and became in a corrupt state and produced thick purulent matter.⁽⁷⁰⁾ The basic meaning of the root may therefore be the idea of 'exceeding the normal bounds in an unpleasant sense'; hence the idea of overstepping, violating or encroaching upon the recognised norms, limits or the divine command, when the word is used in a moral context.

We now turn to the meaning of the word, in the First Form, in its various grammatical usages. When the word is transitive without the need for a preposition, it means: 'he sought, desired or endeavoured to find or to get'; and this meaning being unrelated to the moral sense does not concern us here, though the word is employed in it in the Qur'an.⁽⁷¹⁾

When the word is transitive by means of a preposition, which is here the particle 'alā', on or against, or is intransitive and absolute, it is then used in the moral sense which has just been explained as 'to encroach on the recognised bounds or limits'. However, when the encroachment involves the rights of a mortal, the verb reaches its object by means of the preposition, and in this case it means 'injustice, oppression or aggression' which is a particular sin. The Qur'an reads, e.g.:

"And if one of the two parties baghat 'alā (encroached upon)

the other, fight the one which baghat (oppressed), until it returns to the ordinance of Allah" XLIX, 9.

When the word is employed as intransitive without ^{the} preposition 'alā, it conveys the general idea of transgressing the bounds or violating the divine commands, and this is the employment which concerns us here most. The Qur'ān reads:

"But the way (of blame) is only against those who appear to the people and wrongfully yabghūna, (rebel), on the earth" ^{XLII, 42 and}

"Yet when He has delivered them, they wrongfully yabghūna in the earth. O people! Your baghy is only against you" X, 23.

From this discussion it becomes clear that the term baghy is very similar to that of Zulm, denoting when it is absolute and intransitive the general idea of sin. But when it reaches its object by means of 'alā it denotes injustice which is a particular sin. In fact the connotations of baghy has something in common with those of the terms ṭughīān, 'udwān and zulm. Probably because of its strong connotations which resemble those of ṭughīān, the employment of baghy is chiefly Meccan reflecting again the bitter dispute with the polytheists. Early Tradition also abounds in the use of the word as a technical ⁽⁷²⁾ term of sin.

(22) سَيِّئَة syīyah (Kin-derivatives: sā'a, I, saw', inf.n; sū', simple sub.; sayyi', past. act - fem. sayyiah; asa'a, IV; and mhsī' part. act.; saw'ah. pl. saw'āt, subst.).

Saw'ah means farj, i.e., the private parts of a man or a woman; and saw' or sā' is employed in the sense of leprosy ⁽⁷³⁾. Thus, the root meaning of the word seems to convey the idea that something is feared, undersired and harmful. Therefore the word is employed, in the related meanings of injurious, harsh, misfortune, and painful punishment; and hence its employment in the moral sense of being disapproved with a connotation of harm or injury.

The Qurān employs the word in all the above meanings. Of its non-moral employment we read:

"And (remember) when We delivered you (the Israelites) from the people of Pharaoh who chastised you with sū' (the harsh kind) of the punishment" II, 49.

"And if a sayyiah (misfortunes) befalls them as a result of what their hands have earned, they dispair" XXX, 36

"...and do not touch her (i.e. the she-camel of Hūd), with any si' (harm or injury), lest a painful punishment will befall you". XXVIII, 31.

"Repel the sayyiah (transgression, wrong done to you by others), with hasanah, (a good deed)" XXIII, 96.

"And they extend to you their hands and tongues with sū' (aggression, injury)", LX, 2, and

~~And if God wills sū', (chastisement), there is not repelling for it~~

for a people,

"And if God wills sū', (chastisement), there is not repelling for it" XIII, II.

In all these quotations it can be seen that the words sū' and sayyi'ah are treated as subst nouns and used as epithets denoting the ideas of something undesired, harmful, painful, unfortunate or injurious. Its contrast to the word hasanah which possesses the connotation of being useful, profitable, and a favour done to others, points to ~~the~~ the opposite connotations of sayyi'ah and its kin-derivatives.

The word ~~is~~ sū', sayyi' and sayyi'ah and their kin-derivatives are used also in the Qurān in the moral sense, which in fact is our central interest, with reference to all types of sin. The meaning of the word ~~then~~ is that an act is disapproved and abhorred, probably with a connotation that the act is harmful to others or injurious to the agent himself. In the next passages, the referent is Kufr or something of its manifestations:

"Verily those who worship the Calf they shall incur the wrath of God, and abasement shall befall them ~~in~~ the life

of this world. So do We ever recompense those who forge. Those, however, who have done sayyiat but repent thereafter and come back with the right faith, verily your Lord thereafter is Forgiving and Merciful" VII, 152-3,

"We delivered him (Noah) from the people who cried lies to Our signs, Verily they were a people of saw', so We drowned them all" XXI, 77, and

"Those (the Kāfirs, as in the preceding verse) whom the angels seize, (i.e. cause to die), while they are busy wronging themselves; then (only) will they submit (saying) we were not doing any sū'": XVI, 28.

In the next verse, reference is to unchastity and sexual license:

"(Though my innocence has been proved). Yet I do not claim to be perfectly innocent, for the human soul ever incite^s to sū'" XII, 53.

And in the next, the referent is sodomy:

"And Lot - We gave him jurisdiction and knowledge; and We delivered him from the town which was working foul deeds; verily they were a people of saw', reprobates" XXI, 71.

In the following, the reference is to a number of evil deeds enumerated in previous verses, namely, slaying of one's own children, fornication, murder, embezzlement of the legal property of the orphans, dishonesty in commerce, insolence and arrogance:

"All this, sayyi'uhu, (its evilness), is in the sight of your Lord abhorred" XVII, 38

In the coming passages, sayyi'ah is apparently employed in the sense of its own consequences, the punishments:

"And there (on the Day of Resurrection), shall appear to them ^{the} sayyi'āt, (the evils), of what they had earned" XXXIX, 47

"And then the sayyi'āt of what they had earned smite them; and those who wronged from amongst these (people) will smite them the sayyi'at of what they had earned". *ibid*, 51.

In the following instances, the term sayyi'ah and sū' are

employed as subst. in the general sense of evil act, alluding to no specific referent:

"Who comes (on the Day of Resurrection) with a hasahah there will be for him a ten - fold reward; and who comes with a sayyi'ah he will not be penalised by more than its like ~~invokes~~" VI, 160

"On that Day, every soul will find present all good that it had done; and the sū' which it had committed, it will crave that a long distance separate^s it from it" III, 30,

"Your Lord has prescribed mercy (as incumbent) upon Himself; whoso of you does sū'an in ignorance then repents thereafter and does right - Verily He is Forgiving, Compassionate " VI, 54, and

"O our Lord, forgive us our dhunūb (Pl. of dhanb), and expiate from us our sayyi'āt and unite us in death with the pure" III, 193.

Combining dhanb and sayyi'ah in such verses as that last quoted has caused some commentators to imagine a ^{substantial} difference between ^{the two} concepts in order, apparently, to justify bringing them together in the same breath so that each denotes ^{essentially} a different thing. Al-Baidāwī, e.g., claims that dhanb denotes a kabīrah, a grave sin and sayyi'ah means ^a saghīrah or a minor sin. ⁽⁷⁴⁾ But this distinction is artificial and is inconsistent with the employment of the word in the Qur'an. As we have seen, the range of sayyi'ah is unlimited, and it covers all types of active sins including Kufr and all its manifestations. A further observation about the Qur'anic use of sayyi'ah is that the word seems at last to have been somewhat detached from its specific connotation, as seen in the last group ^{of verses} quoted above and made a general term of sin. Or, we may say that its peculiar connotations, i.e., harm or injury, are inherent in all sins, since the agent by sinning does harm at least to himself. Furthermore, we have seen the word is sometimes governed by the verb 'amila, did, as in VII, 153; and this may indicate that sayyi'ah only ~~covers~~ covers active sins, i.e., sins of commission as distinct from sins of omission, since amila normally denotes tangible positive acts.

Thus, sayyi'ah and some of its kin-derivatives, especially sayyi', and sū' have become technical terms of sin, covering all types of active faults. The popularity of the term is reflected in its use in prayers, and its wide employment in early Tradition⁽⁷⁵⁾

(23) حرام ḥarām (kin-derivatives: ḥaram^a aor. - ḥurm, ḥurmah and ḥaram, inf.n.; ḥarama aor, ḥirmān, inf. n.; and mahrum past.pass.; harrama, II, aḥrama IV and ihrām inf. n.)

This term is particularly related to the notion of taboo whereby certain acts and things are avoided by the members of a given society. This attitude, although negative, plays its role in ~~uniting~~ uniting the members of the society in that it provides a common interest, and the observation of these taboos renews in the minds of the members certain ideas and values which are deeply rooted in their social structure.

In the Arabian context the root of the concept may be sought in the ancient habit, which appears to be somehow related to the primitive ideas of fetishism and totemism, of endowing certain objects or places with what we may call a ritual status which makes ^{them} an object of reverence and sacredness. This mysterious status is called hurmah, and the object of this hurmah or reverence becomes, like a Polynesian chief, a taboo so that certain acts in regard to it should ^{be} avoided, and violation of this was probably thought of as would visit the culprit with misfortune, ill luck or any other type of sanction. Thus, the place which becomes an object of hurmah is known by a related word, ḥaram or maḥram, and then certain crimes and acts of violence are to be avoided,⁽⁷⁶⁾ and thus the term hurmah has come to convey the double meaning of reverence and prohibition.⁽⁷⁵⁾

It was perhaps from this practice of imposing a Ḥan on certain acts within a ḥaram that the idea was of prohibiting an act was extended so that it becomes inherently associated with the act when-^{and wherever} ever it might be committed. The imposition of prohibition might have started as ^avoluntary abstention; and to this notion belongs the use of the word in the following line attributed to Sharāḥīl b. Madī karib:

"I harrantu wine on myself, till I am placed in the bottom of a grave"⁽⁷⁷⁾

To this sense apparently belongs also the employment of the term in the following Qurānic verses:

"All types of food were lawful to the children of Israel except what Israel harrama (chose to forbid) upon himself" III, 93 and

"O you Prophet! For what reason (tuharrimu) do you forbid unto yourself what Allah has made lawful for you?" LXVI, 1.

It may be related to this idea of abstention the use of ^{the} haram-derivatives, harama, with haraman and ahrama as inf. n., in the sense of deprivation. Harrama, II, causative, is employed in this sense and also in the above as we have seen. To this meaning belongs the following Qurānic verses :

"And the Messiah said, verily whoso ascribes partnership to ~~to God~~, God, God has made him deprived of Paradise" VII, 50 and

"And in their wealth there is a share assigned to the beggar and al-Mahrūm" LI, 19

The most important meaning of the term, as far as this work is concerned is its application in the sense of 'prohibition of an act or a thing by a divine command', which seems to be an extension of the sense of going into a voluntary abstention. The employment of the term in this religious - moral sense started late in Mecca in the context of condemning the arbitrary prohibition by the Meccans of certain types of food or animals and attributing this prohibition to God. In this connexion the Qurān reads:

"Say, have you considered what provision God has sent down for you, 'and then how you have arbitrarily judged some of it as lawful, (halālan), and some haraman (unlawful)? Say, has God permitted you (to do so)? But you lie on God" X, 59 and

"Do not say concerning that which your tongues falsely describe, this is halāl, (permitted), and this is haram, thus inventing a lie against God..." XVI, 116.

This is again brought out in the following:

"And they assigned to God a share of what He has created; namely, the crop and the cattle. They falsely say, this is for God and this is for our idols! What they assign for their idols does not reach God, and what they assign for God reaches their idols." V, 136

"And they said, such cattle and such crops are forbidden, (declaring), in their make - belief, no one shall taste them save whom we will; and the back of such cattle hurrimat (are forbidden)," *ibid*, 138

"And they say, what is in the bellies of these cattle is reserved for our menfolks and muharramun (forbidden) to our womenfolks", *ibid*, 139, and

".....And they have forbidden what God has provided them, thus inventing a lie against God", *ibid*, 140.

Thus, it is declared that prohibiting an act or a thing is the privilege of God, and is not in the power of anyone else. This does not mean that God's declaring a thing as lawful or forbidden is arbitrary, or that His decision runs at variance with the judgement of the moral conscience. It is in fact made clear that the divine decision is based on the nature of the thing; if it is good it is made lawful, but if it is filthy it is forbidden. Hence the description of what is permissible as tayyib, (good), and calling what is forbidden rijs and khaba'ith, both of which suggest a feeling of intense repulsion, ~~on the other~~. We read:-

"And he, (the Prophet), makes lawful to them al-tayyibat, (good things), and yuharrimu unto them al-Khaba'ith (filthy things). "VI, 156, and

"Say, I find in what has been revealed to me nothing muharram, (forbidden), except what is dead, and blood outpoured, and the flesh of the swine for it is rijs" VI, 145.

Again, wine, gambling, idols and divining arrows are described as rijs in the following verse:

"O believers, wine and ~~maisur~~ gambling, idols and divining arrows are ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ all rijs from the work of Satan". V, 90.

And the act of sodomy is described as Khabā'ith in the following verse:-

".....and We delivered him, (Lot), from the town which practised al-Khabā'ith" XXI, 74.

Correspondence between the divine decisions involving prohibitions, and the judgement of the moral conscience may be read in such verses as the following:

"Say; come, let me read unto you what your Lord has forbidden you; do not associate anything with Him; (exercise) kindness towards your parents; do not kill your children because of poverty, We shall provide for you and for them; do not come near indecencies - either open or hidden -; do not kill the soul which God has forbidden except with justification,Do not interfere with the property of the orphans except to improve it till he reaches his full age; fill up the measures and the balance with justice;..... when you speak, act fairly, even though it be a relative; and the covenant of Allah fulfil." VI, 151-152.

It is clear that the items given here are either moral virtues or moral vices; and the 'prohibition' of the virtues here is obviously prohibition of failure to fulfil them. In other words, the Qurānic passage commands the moral virtues and prohibits the moral vices, thus confirming the moral judgement.

This is confirmed in the following comprehensive verse:

"Say, my Lord has forbidden only indecencies, open or concealed indecencies, the ithm and al-baghy unjustified, and that you associate with God that for which He has not sent down a warrant, and that you tell concerning God what you know not." VII, 33

Thus, from the Qurānic point of view, the field covered by morality and that covered by religion do not only overlap, but are nearly identical. More precisely, the ~~fix~~ field covered by morality is completely covered by religion, because, as has just been seen, all moral ~~wrongs~~ which come under the terms fāhishah, ithm and baghy

are forbidden in religion; and there does not seem to exist a moral evil that cannot come under these terms. It seems, on the other, hand, that the field covered by religion is wider than that covered by morality, because, as will be found presently, there are prohibitions which can be described as essentially religious or ritual prohibitions and do not seem to be ~~xxxxxx~~ appropriately described as moral prohibitions. The Qurān reads:

"The game of the sea and the eating of it is made allowable for you as a provision for yourselves and the caravan, but the game of the land hurrima (is made forbidden) unto you as long as you remain huruman, (in a state of sanctity)." V, 96.

Here we have ^a statement related to the ritual status of pilgrims called in the verse hurum, in which a pilgrim enters on formulating his intention and which is emphasised by the requirement to discard normal clothes in favour of a simple crude cover. During the term of this ritual status, the ~~xxxxxxx~~ pilgrim is forbidden certain things and certain acts, some of which is the game of the land given in the verse which is not necessarily wrong from the moral point of view. The pilgrim is in a ritual status, and in it he is like the individual in a primitive society undergoing a crisis of life and is helped through by the observation of certain avoidances or taboos which cannot ^{necessarily} be said to be morally ~~wrong~~. The pilgrim, like the individual in a simple society having been involved in a ritual status, again, can be restored to his normal condition by certain rites of purification or desacralisation so that these imposed taboos can be lifted. Ritual prohibitions are also imposed within the sanctuary of Mecca^h and Madina^h, and hostilities are forbidden during the sacred four months. Hence the description of the sanctuary as haram and ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ the months, al-Ash-hur al-Hurum.

An interesting observation about the Qurānic use of the term haram is its absence ~~ix~~ from the Qurānic passages dealing with the part of the teaching which can be described as the legal part proper,

such as the rules governing inheritance, procedure of marriage, divorce and business transactions, with the single exception of the use of the verb hurrima introducing the forbidden female relatives in marriage, in IV, 23. Violation of these rules which are called 'God's bounds' is described as 'udwān or zulm as was found earlier. Nevertheless, ḥarām was widely used by the jurist in later ages describing a category of the five general categories used by them, denoting an act the commission of which is punishable and avoidance of which is rewarded.

Thus ḥarām and its kin-derivative have become a technical term descriptive of the state of a forbidden act.⁽⁷⁸⁾ Acts so prohibited in religion and described as ḥarām are chiefly moral evils at the same time; but there are acts prohibited during certain activities like pilgrimage, or within a locality like the sanctuary of Mecca or during a certain period of the year like the four 'sacred months' which cannot be necessarily of moral values but are simply religious or ritual prohibitions.

(24) فاحشة fāḥishah (Kin-derivatives; fāḥusha aor., fuhsh in.n. like fāḥishah and fāḥshā')

It seems that the root meaning of this word is the idea of enormity or excess in a vulgar way; hence the employment of fāḥishah and fāḥshā' as substantives denoting what is isxgm̄ vulgar, shameless, obscene, abominable, base or foul, whether it be words or deeds. In the following two lines attributed to 'Amr b. Al-Ahtam al-Sa'dī and Dhul-Uṣbu' al-'Adwānī, respectively; the term or a Kin-derivative denotes unbecoming words:

"I welcomed him as a guest, did not unpish (speak unbecomingly), to him and did not say, denying him hospitality, the place is too small" (79), and

"Nor is my tongue used to al-fāḥishat (lewd words), nor is my prowess not feared" (80)

In the following line attributed to Nābighah of Dhnbian, the word is used in the moral sense of lewd deeds:

".....behind the servants - unprotected from fawāḥish" (81)

81

(Pl. of fāhishah)"

The Qurān employs the word in the sense of immoral deeds, alluding to various particular immoral deeds. Here it alludes to fornication:

"And do not approach zinā; it is a fāhishah" XVII, 32, (cf XII, 24, IV, 15, 19 & 25, LVI, 1)

And here it alludes to sodomy:

"And (remember) Lot when he said to his folk, do you commit al-fāhishata such as no creature ever did before you!" VII, 80 (cf. XXVII, 54 and XXIX, 28).

The allusion in the following is to taking a wife the father's former wife:

"And marry not those women whom your father had married, except that which has already taken place. It is a fāhishah, abomination and an evil way" IV, 22

In the following, the word is said to allude to exposing the private parts: (82)

"And when they commit a fāhishah they say thus we have found our fathers in this habit" VII, 28

The following verse is preceded by another where believers are warned not to give alms of bad quality but should give of good quality, and therefore the word here refers to meanness which causes giving low quality.

"Satan frightens you of poverty and enjoys on you al-fāhishā" II, 268.

In the following examples the term is used simply in the general sense of abominable sins without reference to any particular one:

"Very ^{il} God commands justice and good deeds, and forbids al-fāhshā' and al-munkar and al-baghy" XVI, 90

"He (Satan) enjoys you naught but sū' and fāhshā'" II, 169, and

"And do not come near the fawāhish, be they open or concealed" VI, 152 and VII, 33.

What is denoted by the term fāḥishah appears to be a serious offence, since fāḥishah is equated with great ithms. We read:

"And they, (the successful believers), ^{as} those who avoid the great thms and the fawāḥish" XLII, 37 and LIII, 32.

It is thus clear that the term fāḥishah and its kin-derivatives ~~xxxx~~ are employed in the Qurān to denote a particular category of sin, viz., abominable, obscene or unbecoming offences. The word seems to be particularly associated with sexual offences. However, the importance of the word is that it describes the repugnance and vulgarity of the category of offences which no doubt comes under other general terms such as ithm, Sayyi'ah kīḥatī'ah and dhabb. When fāḥishah is mentioned besides one of these terms, it is apparently brought not in order to include what was otherwise excluded, but to emphasise the evilness of the category to which it alludes.

(25) منكر munkar (Kin-derivatives: nakira, aor.; nakar or nukr or nukur or nakir, inf.n., and it is said that the last three are simple substantives; ankara, IV, ~~IV~~, munkir, past, act.; and munkar, past. pass.)

The root meaning of this word may be sought in the employment of a derivative nakirah in the sense of the matter which comes out of the mashīmah the placenta of the she-camel, the matter which comes out of ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ a morbid wound, and the matter which is extracted by those who suffer from dysentery.⁽⁸⁴⁾ Hence, the employment of the word in the sense of difficulty, hardship and pain; and hence its employment in the moral sense of something, someone or an act being undesired, disliked, objectionable, disapproved or unlawful. Thus, whether used in the physical or the moral sense the term conveys the idea of being disliked, painful, hard and undesired. The normal interpretation of the word as denying does not seem to be adequate on semantical grounds as we shall see presently. Let us consider, first, some examples where the term is used in ^a normal sense. Al-A'ashā is related to have said:

"And she ^{an} ankaratani (~~xxxxxxxx~~ disliked me), and she did not really ankarat (dislike) except the greying hair and baldness"⁽⁸⁵⁾

Here it is certainly better to interpret the word as 'disliked! which is closely related to the root meaning than as 'denied'. And the Qurān reads:

"And many a village violated the command of its Lord and of His Messengers; and We called ~~it~~ severely to account and inflicted upon it a nukran punishment, (painful punishment)", LX, 8⁽⁸⁶⁾

"Verily ankara, (the most disliked) ^{of the} voice^s is that ^{of} the donkeys" XXXI, 19

"And then I took hold of those who disbelieved! How was My nakir (painful punishment)" XXXV, 26⁸⁷

It will be seen that rendering the word in all these instances as painful punishment would not only be closer to the root meaning, but it excellently fits the context. Reading the word as ~~denied~~ or ~~disapproved~~ would in fact appear somewhat absurd. There remains one instance in which the derivative nakir is employed when this interpretation would not quite fit the context. The verse reads:

"Respond to your Lord before there comes a day on which there is no being sent ~~back~~ back from Allah; you will have on that day neither a place of refuge nor a nakir" XLII, 47.

(88) Tabri strangely interprets it in the sense of supporter

or protector, ~~meaning~~ meaning unrelated to the root sense though it fits the context; and Zamakhshari⁽⁸⁹⁾ followed by Baidāwī⁽⁹⁰⁾ interprets it in the sense of denial, i.e. ~~denying~~ denying the records of the past. Although this fits also the context, the interpretation does not run easily in the other instances; and we feel that the word here is used in its moral sense not in the sense of denial for which there is another word, i.e., juhūd. The verse here, as far as we see, may be best interpreted as relating to the conditions before the day in question, i.e., during the lifetime of the adversaries of Muḥammad at Mecca when they could boast of a prestige under which they sheltered and when they insolently adopted a rebellious attitude towards the divine guidance. It is this insolent attitude to which the word nakir probably refers; and thus the

verse warns the Meccan adversaries of Muhammad that on the Day of Resurrection there will be no longer a shelter for them nor, there is going to be a possibility of repeating their objectionable practice of bending their necks and turning away from God.

Before embarking on the moral use of the term let us quote two more instances where the word may seem to mean denying but careful analysis shows that it does not. We read:

But when he, (Abraham), noticed that their, (his guests'), hands do not reach it, (the food), he nakirahum and conceived a fear of them. XI, 70

And the brothers of Joseph came and entered unto him. He recognised him and they were munkirūn to him. XII, 58

It is clear that interpreting the word in the first of these two instances in the sense of 'Abraham denied his guests' would not fit; but it seems to convey the moral sense of their abstinence from the hospitality of their host being regarded as a wrong act. This may be supported by a tradition related by Tabarī that if a guest did not feed himself on the hospitality of the host the habit was to suspect him of evil intentions.⁹¹ Thus the word denotes in the first verse that Abraham regarded the behaviour of his hosts as improper. On the other hand, to interpret the word in the second verse as 'denying' will not be quite fitting. Semantically, it means failure to recognise Joseph, probably on account of the long separation as Zamakhsharī suggests;⁹² and there is apparently a difference between denying and simple failure to identify someone since denying implies active refusal of recognition. Moreover, the word under discussion is normally transitive, but it is followed by the preposition lam here. It may be that the word here implies the idea of suspicion. The brothers possibly recognised similarities between the features of al-'Azīz and those of Joseph whom they had 'drowned' decades ago, and entertained a feeling of suspicion towards him. If this is true, the word continues to denote a moral sense.

Now we come to the analysis of the use of the term in the ethical meaning. The main varieties of the term used to denote

the general meaning of sin as being a bad, wrong, disliked objectionable act are nukr, nukur and munkar, the last being the most important. In the following verse, the term alludes to murder:

"And they want, until they reached a youth and he (Moses) killed him. He (his companion) said did you kill a soul without (~~its~~ killing) another soul!

You have committed something which is nukir (wrong)", XVIII, 73-74.

In the following the allusion is to the utterance of the divorce formula 'you are as my mother's back'

"And verily they utter a munkaran of speech and falsehood" LVIII, 2

And here it alludes to sodomy.

"Do you come at men, and bar the way, and commit al-munkar in your assembly?" XXIX, 29

And in the following, ~~isobax~~ the term simply indicates sin in the general sense of evil:

"And He forbids al-fahshā' and al-munkar and al-baghy" XVI, 90

"(Observing) prayers distracts from al-fashā' and al-munkar" XXIX, 45

"And the believers, men and women are protectors of one another. They enjoin ma'sūf, (i.e., what is recognised as good), and forbid munkar" III, 71. (cf. 104, 110 and 114)

Thus the word munkar and its kin-derivatives nukr and nukur are used by the Qurān in the general sense of evil deeds covering a wide range of such deeds, thus becoming an important technical term of sin. Its implications of dislike is obviously less repugnant than those of such words as tughyān and fujūr; and therefore the term flourished ^{in the} the Madīnan revelations, which reflects the shift of the emphasis in ^{the} Madīna ~~from~~ from the rebellious insolent attitude to the evil act itself.

(26)  lamam. This word occurs only in the following Qurānic

passage:

"And to Allah belongs what is in the heavens and what is in the earth, that He ^{may} recompense those who did evil for what they did, and may recompense those who did well with the best (reward); they (who did well) are those who avoid the great ithms and al-fawāhish except al-laman; verily your Lord is wide in forgiveness" LIII, 30 - 32.

The authorities are in disagreement over the interpretation of the term laman here; and their dispute is best reflected in Tabarī's work where four major opinions are given.⁽⁹³⁾ An opinion says that the word here alludes to sins committed prior to the coming of Islam; but this interpretation would seriously limit the verse to the few who survived the age of the Jāhiliyyah. Another opinion, and ~~this~~ ^{this} is attributed to Abū Hurayrah and Ibn Masūd, interpret laman in the sense of the acts introductory to full fornication, i.e., the minor fornications of the eyes, the lips, the hand and the leg by looking, kissing, touching and walking. According to the second opinion laman would be excepted only, if appears, from the term fawāhish which is apparently presumed to mean fornication, and this is another unnecessary limitation, especially in view of the fact that fawāhish is here in the plural. The third opinion given, and this is attributed ~~xxxxxx~~ to al-Hasan and Ibn 'Abbās, is that laman means occasional or impersistent lapses in sin, and in support of it a Jāhillī line is quoted where the verb alamma, of which laman appears to be a quasi-infinitive, or a simple substantitive ~~in a related meaning~~ is used in the sense of occasional ~~sin~~ commission of sin. The words of Mujāhid related by Tabarī read:

"(Al-laman is) a man who commits the sin and then abandons it; ~~and the~~ and the people of the Jāhiliyyah used to circulate round the Ka'ba and recite:

If You Lord forgive, You forgive in abundance,

And which slave of Yours who did not alamma"

The last opinion given by Tabarī ~~to~~ which he favours is that laman means small or venial sins, which have no prescribed punishment in this world and no threat of stored punishment in Fire is

made for them. According to this opinion, sins are two classes, grave and venial sins, and thus lamam is not excepted from the preceding words great ithms or fawāhish; and the exception by illa here is regarded as mumqati', i.e., what follows illa is unrelated to the category preceding it.

Zamakhsharī and Baiḍāwī interpret lamam in the last sense only. (94) It is strange that Zamakhshari quotes some uses of the verb alamma which in fact would argue against his interpretation. He quotes 'alama bi'l maḥāni, nazala bihī 'i alama' with a place means he happened to be in it; and 'alamma bi't ta'āmi, qalla minhu ahlukuhū', he alamma with a certain type of food means he scarcely eats it.

By the time Ṭabarī began to write his work late in the 3rd century, the dogma of a classification of sins into grave and venial ones has become popular, and it seems that by the time later authorities came, like Zamakhsharī, the interpretation of lamam as denoting the venial type of sin has brushed aside all other possibilities. To our mind, this interpretation is presumptive and arbitrary and makes the style weak. It also disagrees with the use made of the related verb, alamma, by the early Arabs. Let us in addition to the line quoted above by Ṭabarī, which appears to be decisive as to the interpretation of alamma, quote the following two lines of 'Antara and al-Mukhabbal al-saīdī respectively:

"Raḡash has become remote (kept aloof) from you except li-mmaman (another kin-derivatives of lamam), and her rope has become worn" (95)

"When her vision alammat (passes through the heart), my ~~xxx~~ eyes become afflicted and the tears flood abundantly" (96)

More important perhaps is to use of the verb alamma made by the Prophet when he addressed 'Ā'ishah in the context of the famous story of slander. According to Ibn Ishāq the Prophet said to her:

"If you are innocent, God will make known your innocence; wa in kunti almamti bi-shaḡ'in as men say, their report" (97)

Professor Guillaume renders the words here as follows: here

"And if you have done wrong", ⁹⁸ (S. 496).

It is clear that what is alluded to here is not a minor sin.

Thus it is very clear that the employment of lamam and its kin-derivatives by the ancient Arabs was in the sense of a brief occurrence; and on this account and on account of the objections raised above against the other interpretations, lamam in the verse is best interpreted as occasional and impersistent lapses in sin of whatever degree of seriousness. The verse there is a counsel or an admonition to sinners not to persist but should report.

(27) جناح junāḥ (Kin-derivatives: janāḥa, aor; junūḥ, inf, n.; Janāḥ and junāḥ, subs.)

The primary meaning of the word appears to be: to lean, to decline or to bend. It is said of an archer: janāḥa 'alā qawsihi, i.e. he leant over his bow; and of a she-camel lying on her breast: janahat i.e., she has leant on one side.⁽⁹⁹⁾ From this physical meaning the word was probably extended to the idea of the mental disposition. The Qurān reads:

"And if they should incline towards peace, he inclined towards peace too" VIII, 61

It is probable that it is from this connotation of 'bending', 'inclining' or 'reclining' that the use of junāḥ in the sense of commission of a fault is derived, since a sin is a crooked act, not a straight act; and also to sin is to bend and to yield to the temptation of desire and base inclinations.

The Qurānic use of junāḥ in the sense of sin is made in the legislative context, both the ritual and legal aspects. This is reflected in the fact that the employment of the word is entirely Madīnan. A peculiar use of this term is that it is always governed by the negative particle lā, thus indicating the removal of responsibility on account of a commission or omission of an act. This use is also made of the term ḥaraj as we shall see presently, and it was sometimes used of ithm as in II, 173, 182, 203 as quoted above.

In the following verse, the term is used in the context of permitting to curtail prayers in the case of emergency:

"And when you go on your travel in the land, it is no junāh for you that you curtail your prayer in case you fear that the kāfirs may attack you" IV, 101.

In the next passage, the context is carrying out commercial activities while ^{on} pilgrimage:

"And there is no junāh chargeable upon you that you seek bounty from your Lord...." II, 198

Most frequent use made of the term is ~~made~~ in connexion with the regulations touching upon marriage and divorce, and business dealings. We read:

"And there is no junāh chargeable against you in alluding a proposal of marriage to women (who have just been widowed) or ~~xxxxxxx~~ in keeping such intention hidden in your mind" II, ~~xxix~~ 235.

"There is no junāh upon you if you divorce women while as yet you have not touched them, or settled any marriage - portion upon them" II, 236; and

".....~~Disdain:~~ not to write it down, (debt), be it small or great, (stating) the term upon which (it holds). That is more equitable in the sight of Allah, more definite for witnessing, and more suited to avoid you being in doubt unless it be present merchandise that you are circulating ~~xxxxxxx~~ amongst you, then there is no junāh upon you that you do not write it down" II, 282.

In the next verse, the context is consumption of food:

"Upon those who have embraced īmān and wrought the works of righteousness the ^{re}-rests no junāh for what they may eat whatsoever". V, 93.

In the coming verse, the context is entering dwellings belonging to others:

~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~

"There is no junāh upon you that you enter houses which are not inhabited in which there is anything of use to you"

XXIV, 29.

Thus, junah is a term which denotes the general idea of sin,

be it a commission or omission, and is used in the Madīnan revelations in the legislative portion, whether the legislation is concerned with ritual or legal regulations.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ It is invariably governed by a negative, thus denoting the removal of charging the agent with sin on account of the omission or the commission in the context which implies that the act is a sin outside the given circumstances. The term seems to carry the connotation of disposition to sin, which is related to its original meaning of inclination.⁽¹⁰¹⁾

(28) حُوب hūb (kin-derivatives: ḥāba, aor.; ḥawb inf.n. like hūb, but the latter is said to be a simple subst.)

A kin-derivative of this word, i.e., ḥawbi was a cry by which a camel was urged like 'adasun for a mule. It is said that the cry was given as epithet to a bulky camel, but it is also said that the evolution was the reverse of this process. However, the word in this sense is clearly associated with the idea of difficulty, and distress; hence the use of the word ḥawb and hūb in the sense of grief, sorrow, loneliness, fatigue and trouble.⁽¹⁰²⁾

The transition from the sense of distress or grief or trouble to the moral sense of fault, mistake and sin is easy, since these are bound to be where a sin or a mistake is committed. The term occurs in the ancient poetry in the sense of mistake or fault, we read for Zuhayr b. Abū Sulmā:

"And he protects you against hūb which would bring you insults and also against treachery"⁽¹⁰³⁾

And 'Abdullāh b. Salīmah al-Ghāmīdī says:

"I did not see the like of the daughter of Abū Wafā' on the morning of Thagr; and I do not (^bby so saying) aḥūhu"⁽¹⁰⁴⁾

It is clear from these quotations that the use of the word is in the sense of committing a fault, possibly with a

connotation of injustice. (105) The Qurān uses it in precisely ~~in~~ the same way in the following solitary instance:

"Give unto the orphans their property, and exchange not the vile for the good, nor devour their property with your property; verily that would be a great ḥub" 1X,2

(29) حَرَجٌ ḥaraj (ḥarija, aor., ḥaraj, inf.n.; aḥraja 1V)

The primary meaning of this word may be sought in its application in the sense of a thing being tight, narrow, close or strained. It is therefore applied in the sense of a place whose pasture is impenetrable on account of the thickness of its trees. (106) Hence the application of the term in the sense of hardship. We read:

"He has chosen you, and has placed on you no ḥaraj, hardship, in the matter of religion" XX11, 78 (cf. V, 6)

From this idea of hardship are derived two usages which the author of Tāj al-‘Arūs describes as metaphorical. (107) On the one hand the term is used in the sense of mental distress, closeness, tightness and doubt, and to this usage belongs the employment of the word in the following passages:

"A Book has been revealed unto you; therefore let be no ḥaraj (108) in your bosom regarding it." V11,2.

"By God they will not really believe until they resort to your judgement in disputes that might arise between them, then do not feel in their mind any ḥaraj regarding what you have judged" 1V, 65

"Whoever God wills to guide aright God expands his bosom to Islam; and whoso He wills to 'lead astray' He makes his bosom close (and) ḥarajan" V1,125

On the other hand, the term is used in the ~~usual~~ ^{general} sense of committing a mistake, an evil act or a sin; and this is the central point of our interest. Here again the association between the idea of hardship and committing a sin is not far to seek; and therefore it ^{may} be said that

the term when used in the sense of sin carries the connotation of punishment. Thus we read:

"There is no ḥaraj on the blind (for not joining military expeditions), nor is there a ḥaraj on the lame, nor is there a ḥaraj on the sick." XLVIII, 17.

"Thus we have given her (Zainab) in marriage to you (Muḥammad), so that there should be no ḥaraj on the believers in respect of the (former) wives of their adopted sons" XXXIII, 37.

It may be observed that ḥaraj when it denotes the meaning of sin in the Qurān, it is, like junāḥ, ~~is~~ variably governed by a negative, either lā or laysa, thus indicating the lifting of adverse responsibility in the circumstances. Again like junāḥ, the Qurānic employment of the term belongs to the Madīnan revelations. (109) A difference between this term and the term junāḥ is that the latter is more related to the legal domain where ḥaraj is more closely connected with the moral and religious field.

(30) رَجِسَ rijs (some kin-derivatives: rajasa, aor., rajas, inf.n.; rajisa, aor.; rajas; rajusa aor.; rajāsah)

According to lexicographers, rajasa, aor., denotes a state of commotion and vehement thunder, whereas rajisa and rajusa denote a state of filth in which meaning they interpret the term rijs. (110) They seem to agree on this interpretation of rijs, ^{though} it would be better if it ~~can be~~ related to the meaning of a kin-derivative, rajasa in which case it would be synonymous with ~~its phynonym~~ rijz which some authorities claim that they are the same word with the conversion of Z into S or vice versa. (111) Such conversion however is not normal, and the Qurānic usage of the word rijs favours its interpretation as filth;

Lexicographers' and Qurānic interpreters' reading of rijs in the Qurān is puzzling, probably because of confusing the term with ~~its phynonym~~ rijz. Let us however produce, first all the Qurānic instances in which the term rijs occurs. We read:

- 1 - "O you who have believed, wine, maisir gambling, stone alters and diving arrows are rijs, some of Satan's works" V.90.
- 2 - "..... and whoever He wishes to mislead, He makes his bosom tight and strait, thus He places rijs on those who do not believe" VI, 125.
- 3 - "Say, I do not find in what has been revealed to me any prohibition except that it be a carcass, or blood over-poured, or the flesh of the swine, it is rijs", ibid, 145
- 4 - "They, (those who stayed behind from the war unjustifiably) will swear by Allah to you when you return unto them that you may turn away from them; so turn away from them. They are rijs and their result is Gehenna" IX.96
- 5 - "But for those in whose hearts there is disease, it (a revealed chapter) has increased (added) rijs to their rijs" ibid, 125
- 6 - "..... And He places rijs on those who do not reflect" X,100.
- 7 - "..... so avoid the rijs of (or from) the idols, and avoid the profession of falsehood" XXI, 30
- 8 - "..... Allah simply wishes to take away the rijs from you, the people of the house, and to purify you thoroughly" XXXI, 33.

If rijs literally means filth, the transition to the moral action of sin will be easy, since to describe the act of sin as such will be an emphatic condemnation. To interpret rijs as sin will be appropriate in the case of quotations 1,5,7 and 8 above. Consumption of wine, the practices of gambling, the rituals of alters and the handling of divine arrows are no doubt sins. Again, it is proper to describe the effect of an added chapter, on the adversaries of Muḥammad as sin, since their denial of such a chapter is a sin or kufr. Moreover, rijs in 7 appears to be allusion to shirk which,

like kufr is the gravest sin, it is also probable that the term alludes to shirk in the last quotation, if what is meant ^{is} by the 'people of the Kāba, as suggested by Paret. (112) but if it refers to the house of Muḥammad, which the context lends more support, it appears that it would mean undignifying acts or behaviours". But in the case of quotations 3 and 4, it ~~seems~~ that the original meaning of filth is retained. The swine can be described as filthy, and the unbelievers who adopted the guise of īmān and hid their hatred in their bosoms can be also described as such. This also will agree with 1X, 28 where the mushrikūn are described as najas. Ṭabarī agrees with this interpretation, (113) though in the case of 4 he adds a possibility of interpreting the term as sin. Perhaps he means the act of consuming the flesh. As for the remaining two instances, 2 and 6 where God is declared to be placing rijs on those who do not believe or do not reflect, the term appears to mean here shame and not 'punishment' as Ṭabarī suggests, (114) like some other lexicographers, (115) an interpretation which apparently arises from confusing this term with its phynonym rijz. The interpretation of rijs as shame can well apply in quotation 8; and the relationship between this meaning and the original sense of the word is not far to seek.

Thus we can recapitulate by stating that out of eight Qurānic verses in which the term rijs occurred, the term apparently conveys the general idea of sin, alluding to shirk kurf, or other practices associated with these two concepts like using divining arrows, the alters, gambling and drinking wine. In two instances, the word retains its original meaning of filth, and in two others the word apparently conveys the idea of shame.

III

Having treated the words employed in the Qurān in the general sense of sin, or interpreted as such by lexicographers and Qurānic interpreters, let us now recapitulate by making some general observations largely based on the above discussion, and the related Appendices.

In the first place it can be easily observed that words with strong repugnant connotations bearing more on the attitude of sinners, such as tughīān, ijrām, fujūr, sharr and isrāf predominantly belong to Mecca. Likewise are words denoting absolute loss in the wrong direction like dalāl and ghayy, and words denoting the motive of choosing disobedience and dislike of reflection such as ibā' and ūtuww. On the other hand, words which describe the act itself as being indecent, foul or disapproved, such as fāhishah munkar and rijs are chiefly Madīnan or are exclusively so. This is important because it reflects the shift of emphasis from the attitude of rebellion or disobedience which was the major meaning content of sin in the Meccan revelations, to the acts themselves which became the central attention during the Madīnan age. Again, since it was chiefly in Madīnan that the detailed legislations were made, words denoting the legal value of sinful acts, such as ḥarām, junāh and ḥaraj belong chiefly or exclusively to Madīnan. It was during the process of the growth of this legal system that the concept of divine bounds developed, denoting the demarcation line of this system. We therefore find the terms which condemn encroachment on these bounds, such as 'udwān chiefly belong to the Madīnan revelations.

Another interesting observation is that the class of words which carry strong connotations or specific functions, do not seem to have gained such popularity as general technical terms of sin in comparison with words of less repugnant implications such as khaṭī'ah, dhanb, ithm and say - yi'ah. The former group are now used in this functional or original meaning or have become terms denoting something which is not the same as that of the Qur'anic use of the term. Ḥarām, e.g., has become an absolutely legal term denoting an act entailing a punishment if committed and a reward if avoided. Zulm means no more than injustice, hinh breaking an oath and israf denotes extravagance. Fāsiq has become a term denoting a class of sinners and lamam the class regarded as minor sins. But words with less specific functions and less repugnant connotations such as khaṭī'ah etc., earned more and more popularity, as if they could be more easily neutralised from their connotation; just becoming general terms of sin simply denoting an act against God or against God and His Apostle. (116)

Out of the foregoing thirty Qur'anic terms of sin, six are said to be of foreign origin, namely, ṭughīān, khaṭī'ah, rijz, fujūr, Hūb and junāh. A. Jeffrey traces ṭughīān to an Abyssinian paternity, (117) Khaṭī'ah to a Hebrew root, (118) fujūr and hūb to Syriac ancestry (119) and junāh to a Persian source. (120).

This discussion of origin is not so important for us; it does not have much bearing on our conclusions. Moreover the argument about this subject is merely hypothetical if not a guess-work; and is in some cases very unconvincing. Take, for example, Jeffrey's remarks about fujūr. He claims that when fujūr means "to break forth" it is genuinely Arabic; but when it bears the sense of sin it belongs to a Syriac root meaning 'the flesh that was against the spirit'. It is clear that the Syriac notion attached in the claimed Syriac paternity is un-Qur'anic, far removed

from the Arabian notions, and extremely remote from the moral sense in which the Qurān employs the word, namely, rebellion and stepping over the bounds, The passage from the undisputed Arabic meaning to break forth, to this moral Qurānic sense is much easier and therefore more likely.

However, these six words if they were really borrowed, had been arabianized in the pre-Qurānic age; and, like the other terms, were then employed in the moral sense, although within the framework of the tribal organization and in the sense of the tribal moral values applicable at the time. The Qurān universalised their moral significance and dressed the notions they conveyed with an inherent ethico - religious values. The idea of offence they denoted has become no longer limited or confused, as was understood by the tribe, an offence against a member of one's own tribe that could be a virtue if committed against a stranger. It is no longer an offence only in given circumstances, but could be a source of pride in other contexts as 'Antrah sang in praise of himself that he would carry an affair with a girl when her husband was at home but would shun doing so when the latter went out raiding on behalf of his tribe. (121) But an offence has become to mean an act judged as wrong by the universal and permanent moral conscience and so confirmed by the revelation, so that violation always invokes a religious sanction.

One more important observation which confirms the one just mentioned, is that none of the thirty terms suggests that the Qurān was initiating a fresh ethical system. On the contrary, the immediate connotations of some of these terms, the notions expressed by all, and the contexts in which they occur give a strong impression that the Qurān outside the actual domain simply confirms the pre-existing universal moral values. Take e.g., the word munkar, which was interpreted as

'what is disapproved', and its antithesis ,
ma'rūf which means 'what is known or already recognised'
 as good. It is clear that the allusion is to the general
 approval or disapproval. More significant in this direction
 is perhaps the use of the term ḥarām and its kin-derivatives.
 We have found that the term began to be used in the context
 of the re^futation of the claim made by the Meccans that God
 had forbidden certain categories of ^fgood. What the
 Qurān[^] [^]did, apart from installing some ritual observances which
 in the last analysis are of some moral meaning, was that it
 rectified the position and restored the universal and permanent
 moral judgement, confirming it and dressing it with a
 religious value, and ensuring a high degree of compliance
 by warning of a religious sanction.

CHAPTER III

CLASSIFICATION OF SINS

1. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

So far, we have been dealing with the theoretical aspect of the problem, seeking to discover the notions and hypotheses underlying the Qur'anic teaching about sin, drawing on scattered ethical statements and dealing with evaluative terminology of ethics. In the present chapter, we shall examine more the specific acts condemned by the Qur'ān as faults or crimes or sins, denoted in the Qur'ān by specific terms descriptive of the acts, such as zinā, ribā, etc. Reference may be made to Appendix F * which contains a summary of all these particular ethical teachings of the Qur'ān, both on the positive and negative categories of obligations, i.e., commandments, and prohibitions.

We propose to deal in this chapter with the problem of classifying these particular acts with regard to their interrelationship and their degree of gravity. Before we proceed to do so, however, the following observations may be made:

- i. A sin is an act declared in the Qur'ān as an act of disobedience, whether this declaration occurred in Mecca alone or in Madīnah alone, or in both. The lists of particular obligations and prohibitions * contain items which were inunciated in Mecca, and others which were first specifically mentioned in Madīnah. Needless to say that those which originated in Mecca are also applicable to Madīnah, even though they may not be repeated in the Madīnan Revelations. The Meccan Revelations continued to be repeated and recited in Madīnah, and the advent of the Hijrah did not constitute anything more than a further stage of development in the systematization of Islamic teaching.

* Infra, Pp. 518-524

On the other hand, the Madīnan commandments and prohibitions, including those not mentioned in the Meccan Revelations may equally apply to issues in Mecca, issues which had an inherent moral value in the social fabric of Mecca, such as the obligation of making peace between disputing parties and the prohibition of cheating and dishonesty.

The topic of the study, however, is the Qur'anic concept of sin as embodied in the total revelations; whether the Madīnan code of requirements covers the Meccan phase or not, does not therefore really affect our conclusions.

- ii. It should not ~~to~~ be assumed that the particulars in the lists of App. F are mutually exclusive. They may overlap. For example, the obligation of justice implies giving just measure and weight, and the prohibition of encroaching on the rights of others implies the prohibition of unjust measure and unjust weight. In other words, prohibited or enjoined acts which may be implied elsewhere may be brought out for emphasis.
- iii. Failure to fulfil a specific obligation is regarded as a specific sin; hence the list of prohibited categories includes neglect of ordinances or obligations. This, furthermore, points to a comprehensive definition of sin as 'the ~~commission~~ of an obligation, or the commission of a prohibition'. In other words, sin can be a sin of commission or a sin of ~~commission~~. It also emphasises the fact that every obligation implies a prohibition and every prohibition implies an obligation. And thus, the list of prohibitions or specific sins can be swelled by adding those that consist of failure to fulfil each one of the obligations.

II - Classification of Specific Sins from the point of view of their inter-relationship.

(Ritual and Ethical)

A careful examination of the contents of the lists in App.F,

reveals that the specific obligations and prohibitions can be divided into two large groups, namely, acts which can be described as canonical or ritual, and acts which can be described as moral or social. By the first category we mean acts prescribed or proscribed simply by virtue of being so declared in the Scripture, such as the obligations of fasting, pilgrimage and the recital of the text, and the prohibition of consuming flesh of the swine and the meat of animals slaughtered in the name of an idol. By the other designation we mean acts which can be morally judged as good or evil on account of the benefit or harm they may entail, even if they were not prescribed or proscribed in the Qur'ān. Examples of this category are the duty of kind treatment towards parents and giving full measure and weight, and the prohibition of envy and stealing.

The demarcation line dividing these two classes, however, should not be much emphasised. An item that may commonly be regarded as ceremonial or canonical may also possess some moral value, though this may not seem very apparent in itself. The example of prohibition quoted above as canonical, i.e., consuming the flesh of an animal slaughtered in the name of idols, may be again cited here. Although this act may appear to be purely ritual, it may be at the bottom of a moral significance, since avoidance of such a meet may be regarded as a symbolic negative act expressing the exclusive unity of the monotheists.

It will not be of much avail to recount here, the specific items which fall under each of the two divisions or classes. Suffice it to make the following observations:-

i. In the list of specific prohibitions in App. F, very few items can be found that may appear to be of an immediate canonical or ritual nature, namely:

1. Consuming the flesh of the swine and animals slaughtered in the name of idols.
2. Use of stone alters and divining arrows,
3. Praying over a dead unbeliever, and
4. Negligence of a religious ritual.

ii. While abstaining from ritual avoidances may be regarded as a negative symbol of unity, ritual duties express a positive emblem of communal solidarity. Therefore many canonical acts are found in the list of obligations. They include:

1. Observance of God's greatness manifested in His favours,
2. Believing in God and the articles of the faith,
3. Prayers,
4. Mention of God's name when an undertaking is made,
5. Pilgrimage,
6. Fasting,
7. Fighting in the defence of the faith, and expending over that,
8. Giving priority to ritual obligations over worldly occupations,
9. Expiation on breaking oath, etc.,
10. Maintaining the mosques,
11. Observing the Qur'anic rules relating to: marriage, inheritance, distribution of war spoils, and treatment of war prisoners, etc.

Failure to observe these ritual obligations constitutes a ritual offence or sin. This further elucidates our earlier definition of sin as one of omission or commission, two categories each of which may again be classified as ritual or moral. However, since all are confirmed by the Qur'ān, non-compliance of any kind may be described as a religious failure or a sin. All these have been clearly alluded to in the Qur'ān, and any departure from these requirements could certainly be regarded as a religious failing or a sin.

III - Classification of Specific Sins from the Point of View of the Degree of Their Seriousness (Kabā'ir and Saghā'ir)

The prevailing classification of sins is that based on the

degree of seriousness of the act, whether it be a sin of omission or a sin of commission. Since our treatment is from the point of view of the Qur'ān, our argument here will be mainly based on the text, taking little into consideration of what was said later by scholars.

As far as the Qur'ān is concerned, there is no firm grounds for the existence of a class of minor sins. The Qur'anic position appears to be that all sins are grave although the degree of this gravity may vary.

The relevant terms in this connexion are the adjectival nouns kabīr, (f. Kabīrah), and its antonym ṣaghīr, (f. Ṣaghīrah). Another relevant word is 'azīm' syn. of kabīr. Its antonym is hayyīn⁽¹⁾. The following are all the Qur'anic verses in which these terms are used with reference to human acts; and it will be seen that these verses do not provide definite evidence of the existence of a classification of sins into major and minor ones:-

- i. "And everything they did is in the Scripture; and every ṣaghīrin, (tiny act), and kabīrin, (great act), is recorded." LIV, 52 - 53.
- ii. "And the Book is placed, (the record of the acts); and you see the guilty fearful of that which is therein. And they say: Woe to us; What kind of book is this that does not leave ṣaghīratan, (a slight act), nor kabīratan, (a great act), but has contained it." XVIII, 49.
- iii. "Nor do they make any contribution small or great, ṣaghīratan nor kabīratan or cross a single wādī, but it is written down to their credit" IX, 121.
- iv. When you were taking it from each other's tongue and saying with your mouths things of which you had no knowledge; and thinking it a light matter, hayyīnan, while in Allah's eyes it is 'azīm great". XXIV, 14
- v. "They ask you concerning wine and game of chance; Say: In both there is a great ithm, kabīr, and benefits for the people; but their ithm is greater, akbaru, than their benefits" II: 218.

- vi. "Bestow upon the orphans their property; do not substitute the bad for the good, and do not consume their property in addition to your own - verily it is a hūban kabīra" IV 2.
- vii. "Do not kill your children for fear of want: We provide for them and you; the killing of them is a great sin. 17: 31.
- viii. "They will ask you about the sacred month, fighting therein; Say: fighting therein is (matter) great (kabīr)". II, 217.
- ix. "It is very abhorrant, kabura maqtan, with Allah that you may say what you do not do". LXI, 31.
- x. "Those who dispute as to the signs of Allah without any authority having come to them, it is very hateful (kabura maqtan) with Allah and those who have believed". XL, 35.
- xi. "And they were persisting on the great sin (al-hinṭhi al-⁽²⁾'azīm)" LVI, 46.
- xii. "Allah will not forgive the association of anything with Himself, though He forgives anything short of that to whom He wills: he who associates anything with Allah has verily devised a great sin (ithman 'azīma)" IV, 48
- xiii. ".....And We warn them; and it does not increase them except a great arrogance (tughyānan Kabīra)" XVII, 60
- xiv. ".....Unless you do it, (co-operation in religion⁽³⁾), there will be dissension in the land and great corruption, fasādun kabīr" VIII, 73
- xv. ".....And that He may reward those who did good with goodness, they are those who avoid the grave of sins, kabā'ir al-ithmi, and the obscene acts, except al-laman, occasional lapses". LIII, 31 - 32.
- xvi. ".....And that which is with God is better and more

lasting; (it is stored) for those who have believed and put their trust in their Lord; and those who shun the grave of sins kabā'ir al-ithmi, and the abominations" XL, 36 - 37.

- xvii. "If you avoid the great of things prohibited unto you, kabā'ir mā tunhawna 'anhu, We will remit from you your evil deeds, sayyi'ātikum, and make you enter a noble gate". IV: 31.

These statements do not necessarily imply the existence of a classification of mortal and venial sins. In the first four verses it is true, descriptive nouns meaning 'small' are used; nevertheless the verses do not semantically imply this division or the existence of a class of minor sins. The equivalent to the word small is used in the first two instances with reference to the scope of the records. The statements simply denote the idea that the records include the recording of everything, even what may appear to be trivial. The third quotation speaks of the size of charity or contribution, and this has no bearing on the nature of sin. The fourth quotation is a direct denial of an assumption that sin is a trifling matter in the eyes of God, though it may be so deemed by His creatures. Thus, the existence of a category of trifling sins cannot be deduced from these verses. In no other verse is the term small used in relation to human acts.

In quotations from iv - xii, specific sins, i.e., fabricating scandals against virtuous women, wine and gambling,⁽⁴⁾ encroaching upon the property of the orphans, infanticide, aggression during the sacred months, to act contrary to one's own preaching, arguing against the divine signs without grounds, and polytheism, are described as great or serious sins; but this alone does not imply the existence of a small or venial sins. They only describe certain sins as grave.

Again, all that is contained in quotation xiii is that a repetition of warning to the Meccans^{is} of no beneficial results other than to increase the seriousness of their transgressing the bounds

which is described in the verse as tughrān kabīr. It will be absurd to presume that the verse implies a category of tughyan sanghīr, as opposed to tughyan kabīr. Quotation xiv, warns that failure to cooperate in the matter of religion would result in dissension and great corruption. This again does not at all furnish proof for division of sins into major and minor.

The last ^{three} of these quotations are the ones most important in the context of our discussion. In xvi there is a contrast between the class of great ithm and that of indecencies, fawāhish on the one hand, and the class called al-lamam, on the other. Those who avoid the class of fawāhish and great ithm are described as good-doers, and are assured a good reward, even though they may be involved in laman. Quotation xvii makes a similar contrast, namely, between the major prohibitions, on the one hand, and the sayyi'at on the other. Again, quotation xvi praises those who avoid the indecencies and the grave prohibitions, but with no contrast. However, a careful analysis of the meaning - content of the terms concerned, would reveal the contrary to what is claimed, that there was no intention to divide sin into mortal and venial.

In the first place, it can be seen that in the instances cited above, a derivative from the root JNB which denotes the idea of avoidance is employed. This apparently implies an idea of intention and determination on the part of the agent not to act; and this emphasises the importance of the element of the agent's determination. On the other hand, what is to be avoided is referred to in xv and in xvi as the indecencies and the greater ithm, and is described in xvii as the great prohibitions. This means that the indecencies and the grave ithm mentioned in xv and xvi are the same great prohibitions mentioned in xvii. ^{Moreover,} ~~On the other hand,~~ the terms laman and sayyi'at appear to belong to a group of pardonable sins, reference to the former being made in verse XV while the latter is directly referred to in verse XVII. Indecencies and grave ithm as spoken of in verse XVI have not been properly defined. We are perhaps on safe grounds therefore in assuming that laman and sayyi'at as set out in these verses are synonymous terms.

We may recall here what was arrived at in our earlier discussion of the vocabulary of sin. It appeared that laman was not restricted to a category of sin, but meant an occasional and impersistent lapse into sinning of any kind. It was also found that the term sayyi'ah was not confined to any category of sin either,⁽⁵⁾ but applicable even to disbelief. Furthermore, laman is excepted by means of illa in xv, and this normally means that it belongs to the general category preceding illa, from which it is excluded or exempted.

Bearing in mind the importance of the element of determination hinted at by the employment of the word yajtanibūna, and taking into account all these semantic considerations, it would appear that laman and sayyi'ah belong to the category of great sin but are excepted when the element of determination and persistence is absent. In other words, they mean here commission of sins unaccompanied by a determined attitude of haughtiness, rejection and persistence but is a result of human frailties.⁽⁶⁾

According to this interpretation of the words laman and sayyi'ah in the quotation xv and xvii above, the term kabīrah stands for a sin perpetrated persistently and actuated by determined motives. This may be supported by the use of the verb yajtanibūna, and the omission from xvi of a mention of a counterpart of the great ithm.

From the above discussion the following generalizations may be made:-

- i. There is no sin that can be described as being inherently minor.⁽⁷⁾ There is only one class of sin which may be pardonable or otherwise, depending on the attitude which accompanies the act. If it is an attitude of indifference, unmindfulness or rejection, the act whatever it might be, is declared unpardonable; but if it is committed in the absence of such an attitude, and was followed by remorse and repentance, it becomes pardonable. It is thus the attitude which counts; and it is often described as istikbār,

i.e., pride and haughtiness, and it occasionally replaces kufr when this word would have been used.

Thus we read:

"For when it was said to them: 'There is no God but Allah, they used to adopt a proud attitude". XXXVII, 34. This is exactly as if it is said: when God is worshipped alone they reject the faith, and this is precisely said in XLII, which reads: "This is because when prayer is offered to God alone, you chose Kufr".

- ii. The dichotomy of sins into mortal and venial does not therefore find a sound basis in the Qur'ān, and the notion was probably of extraneous origin, as suggested by A.J. Wensinek.⁽⁸⁾ A sin may simply be pardonable if it is a ^{casual} ~~spurious~~, uncalculated lapse followed by remorse and repentance, or unpardonable if it is persistent and unrepented.
- iii. Although we maintain that there is only one category of sins all of which are grave and unpardonable if accompanied by the attitude of rebellion but pardonable if otherwise; yet the degree of gravity varies. Some sins are graver than others. This may be gathered from the degree of the temporal punishment prescribed for some specific sins. Hence, while the punishment for zinā is stated to be 100 lashes, (sura XXIV: 2), that of slandering is only 80 lashes, (ibid: 4). To judge from temporal punishment prescribed in the Qur'ān, we can pick out only a few sins for which punishment is stipulated, and which admits of mutual classification. These may be given in the following:-
 1. Disbelief or active rejection of the faith,
 2. Murder (The culprit is to be beheaded) II; 179.
 3. Highway Robbery, (Hands and feet are to be cut off alternatively) V. 33.

4. Simple Theft, (Removing the hand) V. 38.
5. Zinā, (illegal copulation), (100 lashes) XXIV,2.
6. Slandering virtuous women,⁽⁹⁾ (230 lashes) ibid, 4

In the absence of any other criterion, it is difficult to assess the degree of gravity of the sins of omission in relation to the sins just mentioned, or in relation to each other.

IV - TRADITIONAL CLASSIFICATION (10)

(a) Early Sects

Although the Qur'an does not postulate a category of minor sins, yet, many later theologians held the dichotomy of sins into major and minor. Wensinak believes that this distinction originated before the rise of the Khawārij,⁽¹¹⁾ but this implies that the Khawārij themselves held such a distinction and that their doctrines of which we shall speak later, was confined to the category of major sins. This assumption is not warranted by the various statements related to the problem to be found in the early literature. The first article in Fiqh Akbar I, which is apparently directed against the thesis of the Khawārij makes no such distinction.⁽¹²⁾ In his report on al-Kharij's doctrine, al-Ash'arī in his Maqālāt uses the term Kabā'ir but nowhere in his references to them could we find the term saghā'ir explicitly or implicitly ascribed to them. The use of the term Kabā'ir by al-Ash'arī instead of a general term like dhanb, may be an assumption on his part. In fact he attributes the following interesting statement to the Najdites, a division of the Khawārij.

"A passing (evil) look, and a small lie amount to shirk if persistent; and occasional lapses into zinā and wine drinking do not cause excommunication of the doer".⁽¹³⁾

This agrees with our own thesis; and it is interesting to note that Ibn 'Abbās is reported to have made a similar statement which runs as follows:

"There is no small sin with persistence, and no big sin with

repentance".⁽¹⁴⁾

Moreover, it would seem presumptuous on our part to assume that the fanatical puritans, the Khawārij, were disposed to such refined and logical thinking; and a survey of the records of their military campaigns, speeches and correspondence during the early part of the Umayyads reveals no trace of the use of terms like Kabā'ir or Saghā'ir.⁽¹⁵⁾ They simply speak of sin as ḍhanb.

It appears, however, that a dispute arose as to whether there existed a category of minor sins; and this is reflected in scattered statements in al-Ash'ari's writings on the various sects. One cannot help the conclusion, however, that the notion has its ~~exogenous~~ ^{outside} root and that among the Muslim sects, the Murji'ites were perhaps the chief exponents of it. Al-Ash'arī reports that while a group of the Murji'ites hold that all sins are major, another maintain that some are major and some are light. They have agreed, however, that repentance absolves sinners of all kinds.⁽¹⁶⁾

The Mu'tazilites appear to agree as to the existence of the dichotomy of sins into heavy and light, though they disputed over their definitions.⁽¹⁷⁾ However, the Murji'ites' thesis must have been in vogue by the time the mu'tazilites began as a sect. Like the Rawāfid and the Murji'ites, the Mu'tazilites disputed whether sins are applicable to Prophets, a dispute which is not unrelated to the assumption that sins were classified as grave and venial. While the majority of the Rawāfid held that the Prophets were absolutely infalible like their Imams,⁽¹⁸⁾ the Mu'tazilites agreed that the Prophets could only be involved in light sins.⁽¹⁹⁾ The Khawārij were reported to have disagreed over this problem; some of them held views similar to those of the Mu'tazilites and the others claimed that the Prophets might commit heavy sins.⁽²⁰⁾ The Sunnites of course hold that Prophets are absolutely infalible.⁽²¹⁾

It seems that this dispute stems from the vagueness of the concept of sin in the mind of these scholars. Sin which is basically

an attitude of indifference and rebellion may not be applicable to Prophets, whereas occasional lapses may apply to them too, in view of the verses of the Qur'an which speak of the sins of Prophets.⁽²²⁾

Dispute between the sects also arose over the following questions:

- I. Whether the light sins are absolutely culpable or pardonable by repentance or just by the mere avoidance of heavy sins.⁽²³⁾
- II. Whether absolving of sins by repentance is automatic or is effected by the grace of God.⁽²⁴⁾
- III. Whether Intercession by the Prophet on behalf of sinners is admissible.⁽²⁵⁾
- IV. Whether sinners will permanently remain in Hell or be delivered from it and transferred to Paradise after having been purged in Hell;⁽²⁶⁾ as it is disputed whether dwellers of Paradise will remain therein for ever.⁽²⁷⁾

b. The Theologians

Perhaps the author of the earliest and the most systematic work on the subject of sin and its callifications was Abū Tālib al-Makkī, (d.326/998). In his work, Qūt al-Qulūb, which may be regarded as the forerunner of al-Ghazālī's Ihyā' 'Ulūm al Dīn, Abū Tālib, assuming a division of kabā'ir and saghā'ir attempted to make a full list of the first category. Drawing his material from Tradition, he was confronted by conflicting enumerations. A Tradition related through 'Abdallāh Ibn Mas'ūd makes them only four,⁽²⁸⁾ another through 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar counts them seven, and a third related by 'Abd - Allāh b. 'Amr enumerates nine. 'Abdallāh b 'Abbās is also quoted as saying that the kabā'ir were nearer to seventy than to seven.

Again Abū Tālib found some of the items sommon between the various versions, and some others variant. To be in the safer ground, he draws up a list consisting of seventeen items which contains all items which are common as well as variant in all the Traditions; but he classifies them taking into consideration their place of origin in the human body, into seven categories as follows:-

- I. Four heavy sins in the Heart, namely, polytheism, perservering in sin, despair of the Divine mercy, and indifference to the Divine punishment,
- II. Four in the Tongue: to wit, false witness, slandering virtuous people, false oath whereby rights are alienated, and sorcery.
- III. Three in the Belly: to wit, drinking wine, encroaching on the property of the orphans and usury,
- IV. Two in the genitals: which are: fornication and sodomy,
- V. Two in the hands: namely, murder and theft.
- VI. One in the feet: which is deserting from the battle, and,
- VII. One in the whole body: which is disobedience or harsh treatment of one's parents.

Apart from this elaborate classification Abū Tālib implies another classification in the course of his discussion of the characteristics of the soul. (29) This latter classification was later characteristically expounded by Al-Ghazālī in more explicit terms, under the heading: "Classifications of Sins in relation to the Nature of Man". (30) According to this classification, there are four divisions of sins which are as follows:-

- i. Those sins which stem from the human urges that he describes collectively as rubūbiyyah or lordship, such as pride, boasting, dispotism, love of praise, and love of wealth.
- ii. Those sins which stem from another aspect of the human

nature which he describes as Shaitāniyyah or Satanistic. He apparently means by this the disruptive feelings and prejudices and acts resulting thereof, such as rancour, envy, intriguing, cheating and hypocrisy.

- iii. The sins which stem from the human attitude which he calls bahimiyyah or animalistic or carnal, such as greed, love of wealth, meanness, encroachment on the property of the orphans, fornication, pederasty and stealing, and
- iv. Those acts motivated by the human inclination which he calls sabu'iyah or bestly or rather the aggressive aspect of man's nature, such as anger, envy and transgression.

Systematization and classification of sins matured at the hands of al-Ghazālī up to a degree unsurpassed in later centuries, though he can hardly be regarded as original. The classification just described above, which may be called the "motivational classification", was implicit in the work of Abū Ṭalīb al-Makki as we have just seen.

Al-Ghazālī however adds another classification which we may render as follows:

"And there is another (way of) classification (of sin). Know you that sins are divided into those which are (confined to the relationship) between the slave and the Almighty God, and those which are related to the rights of other creatures. Those which are confined to the worshiper's (relation with God) alone, are such sins as leaving out the duties of prayers and fasting, and other obligations. And those involving the rights of others are like failure to pay alms, murder, extortion, slander and all acts involving the others' life, limbs, property, honour, religion, reputation, etc. And what involves others is more serious;

but what is only between the agent and his Lord - unless it is polytheism - is more hopeful and nearer to forgiveness (than to punishment)".⁽³¹⁾

He adds that what involves others is not forgiven until it is indemnified.

This division however is implicit in an early Tradition which says that good deeds of an aggressor will be paid as compensation to his victims, and when his good deeds are exhausted his victims' evil acts will be thrown unto him.⁽³²⁾

Al-Ghazālī's originality appears in his argument as to the third and the more popular classification, namely, the division of sins into a category of kabā'ir and another of Saghā'ir. He defends the existence of this division by quoting some of the Qur'anic verses we have rendered above, which describe some sins as Kabā'ir; but he dwells at length on the definition of the term.⁽³³⁾ He begins by quoting Abū Tālib al-Makki's list of seventeen heavy sins in the manner represented above, then comments that the list is not sufficient because it does not include such acts as bursting an eye open, severing of the hands, afflicting atrocities, beating the orphan, agonizing him and severing his limbs which are no doubt harsher than encroaching on his property". He quotes 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās's statement that "everything forbidden by God is a heavy sin", and Abū Sa'īd al-Khudari's tradition: "You indeed commit acts which appear to your eyes as thin as a hair but we used to regard them during the lifetime of the Prophet as heavy sins" Al-Ghazālī then proceeds to discuss the meaning of kabīrah and states that it is a vague term, left undefined by the Qur'an and the Prophet probably in order that man will be more on his guard when he is in a doubtful situation not knowing whether an act is a major or light sin. He further states that acts in relation to each other are heavier or lighter than one another. As an example he gives the sharing of bed with a strange woman which, he says, is heavier than looking at or kissing her, but is lighter

than copulation. He also adds that severing a hand is heavier than beating but lighter than murder.

Acknowledging the difficulty of a conclusive definition of heavy sins, (the kabā'ir), al-Ghazālī offers some demarcations which would indicate the degree of the seriousness of the acts. He claims that there are three gates leading to three objects, in the following order of importance:

The Gate leading to the Knowledge of God,
 The Gate perpetuating Life, and
 The Gate of the means of preserving life.

He goes on to say, an offence which closes any of the three gates is a sin, and its degree of seriousness, subject to some other circumstantial considerations, follows the above order. Therefore, disbelief in God is the gravest of the grave sins, followed by indifference to God's warning and despair of the Divine grace. This, however, is the first grade or the heaviest sins, followed by the next category which prejudices the perpetuation of life such as murder and severance of limbs, and all destructive acts. To this category belongs pederasty and fornication, the first being unproductive of life and the second being destructive and disruptive; but he regards the latter graver in view of greater urge for it. The last category is related to property which is the means of the preservation of life. He says it should not be mis handled or acquired by disorderly methods, otherwise - being the means of life - life will be endangered. Therefore, alienating the property by illegal subtle means which are difficult to prove or to prevent, such as stealing, encroaching upon the defenceless orphan's property by his guardian, cheating and false testimony and false oath, is of the heavy sins. While the evilness of these acts is universally acknowledged, they are inferior to, he says, the second degree of the heavy sins explained above.

Al-Ghazālī, however, is troubled by the occurrence in the

list of items which do not fall within his system, and the absence from the list of items which should be regarded as heavy sins in this system. For example, ribā, is counted in Abū Tālib's list as a heavy sin, although it amounts to no more than an alienation of property by mutual acceptance. However, he submits to the authority of Tradition, and regards it a heavy sin merely on religious and not on logical grounds; and therefore he says, opinion may vary in regard to it. He is further puzzled by the fact that extortion is not counted among the heavy sins, although it is worse than usury in that it is acquisition of the property of others without their consent. He however is reluctant to count extortion among the heavy sins in the absence of a Tradition. Another two interesting examples are slandering and harsh treatment of parents which appear in Abū Tālib's list but which do not fit in with his formulation. He says that slandering is simply an injury to the honour, and honour is less important than property of suspected validity. Moreover, harsh treatment of parents can scarcely be regarded on the basis of argument and analogy - as a heavy sin; because "slandering the people by accusing them of what is not zinā, beating them, encroaching upon them by extortion of their property and evicting them from their houses and exiling them from their countries are not heavy sins since they are not among the seventeen sins in the list". In spite of this position, al-Ghazālī concedes: "but Tradition indicates that it, (harsh treatment to parents), can be called kabīrah, and therefore it has to be regarded as quasi kabīrah فَلِحَقُّ بِالْكَبِيرَةِ". As for slandering of zinā, he feels that the Companions apparently counted it as a heavy sin, merely on account of the temporal punishment prescribed for it in the Qur'ān; and such prescribed punishment could not be mitigated. Therefore, he finds it expedient to resort here to another definition of kabīrah, based on a Tradition⁽³⁴⁾ which states that a heavy sin

is that which is not expiated by the regular observance of the daily prayers. But what they are, is left undefined:

Al-Ghazālī is obviously a victim of his dogmatism and over-estimation of Tradition which blinds him even to the facts of the Qur'ān and misleads him into intricate alleys of confusion and artificiality! He wants us to believe that his system of "the gates" is so water-tight that harsh treatment of parents which is a cardinal offence in all oriental cultures should not, on his logical grounds, be regarded as a heavy sin because it has no place in that system! Again, because of his arbitrary system he claims that hurting men's honour is less serious than encroaching on their property! Moreover, can we agree that dividends earned through usury is really acquired by genuine mutual consent! Further, why does he regard the list of heavy sins drawn by Abū Tālib based on Tradition as inclusive of all the kabā'ir, while he acknowledges the statement of Ibn 'Abbas that kabā'ir are nearer in number to seventy than to seven? He is surprised that extortion is not counted as a grave sin! This, like his claim that beating others, evicting them from their houses and exiling them from their land are not among the grave sins - is due to his failure to seek guidance from the Qur'ān rather than from Tradition. The Qur'ān, 4: 29-30 vehemently forbid encroaching on the property of the others and consuming it without the willing acceptance of the owner. It warns against this in the strongest terms; and no doubt extortion is one of the worse forms of it. Ṭabarī relates on the authority of many, in the discussion of 4: 31 which reads: "If you avoid the great of what you are forbidden, We shall expiate your sins" - that Kabā'ir are the sins enumerated in the first thirty verses of chapter IV.⁽³⁵⁾ Moreover the Qur'ān reads: "And those who inflict an injury or harm on the believers - men or women - undeservedly, have burdened themselves with a slander and a manifest sin" 33, 58. If all undeserved harms are declared as gross aggressions and manifest sins, no doubt beating people, evicting them from their dwellings and exiling them

from their land are included.

All these inconsistencies seem to arise from the assumption of the existence of a minor category of sins, the need felt therefore to specify those which come under the opposed category of grave sins, and the attempt to estimate the act of sin on its own merit in isolation from the mental attitude which accompanies it. A real understanding of the fundamental concept of sin would solve all these difficulties, and would make it unnecessary to resort to this elaborate and artificial but laborious and unrewarding systems of classification.

C - Post - al-Ghazali Era

After al-Ghazālī the dichotomy of kabā'ir and Saghā'ir became universally accepted, but no contribution of value seems to have been made in the theory of sin. It has become the rule to enumerate the specific sins, especially al-kabā'ir; and the list was gradually increased and augmented in a way which only reflected sectarian quarrels, the theological disputes and the political upheavals.

An interesting work, one of the earliest in the post-Ghazālī era that could be traced is K - al - Kabāyir wa - Saghayir, by Abū Hasan 'Alī b Hasan al Wasītī, (654 - 733). It is in manuscript,⁽³⁶⁾ and is reproduced elsewhere in this work⁽³⁷⁾ as an example of the writings on sin in the said era.⁽³⁸⁾ It is to be observed that the author reaches the number of 41 heavy sins, and enumerates 41 light sins.

A work by a contemporary of the above author, the renowned prolific historian, al-Dhahabī (654 - 748), called "Al-kabā'ir wa Bayān al-Mahārim",⁽³⁹⁾ brings the number of heavy sins to seventy, apparently to fulfil Ibn 'Abbās' statement: "Heavy sins are nearer to seventy than to seven" which the author quotes in the Introduction. He quotes Qur'ānic verses and Traditions in support of each item; but many of his inferences are arbitrary.

The most voluminous work devoted to the subject is perhaps

"K. al Zawājir 'an Iqtirāf al-Kabā'if", by Ibn Hajar al-Haitamī (909 - 974) made up of two large volumes, Cairo 1356 (40). The author traces the heavy sins in chapters arranged in the traditional order of the writings of Shāfi'ī jurists, and enumerates 467 heavy sins supported by all kinds of Qur'anic verses, Traditions and wise sayings of early theologians. In the Introduction, Ibn Hajar cites his object in writing the work as the wide-spread prevalence of sin and transgression in his time. He adds that he happened to see the work of al-Dhahabī, but it failed to satisfy him.

Many of the items in the lists of Ibn Hajar's works can easily be included under the Qur'anic prohibitions as sub-prohibitions but they are brought out and given emphasis in a way that throws an interesting side-light into the conditions obtaining in the mid-eval Muslim world and into the bitter theological and legal controversies that preceded it. Let us just quote the following examples:-

1. Denial of the doctrine of Qadar, (1: 82),⁽⁴¹⁾
2. Vehement debating, (1:99),
3. Cursing the Companions, (of the Prophet), (II: 192).
4. Relating falsely on the authority of the Prophet, (1: 79).
5. Cheating or wronging the subjects (by the rulers or an official), (II. P.94)
6. Bribery, (II: 158),
7. Being a tax-collector, (1: 1473),
8. Hurting a saint, (walī), (1: 91)
9. Monopolising goods, (1: 189),
10. Desire to see others rising in respect when one passes, (II: 142),
11. Rebelling against a ruler, (II: 90)
12. Envyng the wealthy, or respecting them for their wealth, (1: 64),
13. Eating in golden or silver utensils, (I: 97)

14. Tat^tooing (I: 115),
15. Wearing a golden ring by a male, (I: 125),
16. Effeminacy, (I: 126).
17. Carrying amulets, (I: 125),
18. Leaving a place in flight from an epidemic,
(II: 144),
19. Saying the prescribed prayers besides a grave. (I: 120)
20. Eating opium, such as the hashish (I: 172),
21. Marrying a divorcee with the intention of making
her returnable (revokable) to her divorcing husband,
(II: 23),
22. Seeking knowledge as a means of living, (I: 74)
23. Looking at, touching or being alone with a beardless
youth, (II: 3),
24. Women going out perfumed, and with cosmetics, (II: 37),
25. Being a go-between in prostitution, (II: 42),
26. Defection by a slave, (II: 69),
27. Neglecting circumcising a boy or a girl (II: 36)⁽⁴²⁾
28. Playing games, including chess, (KK: 165 - 166)
29. Playing with musical instruments and listening in to
them, (II: 168),
30. Romantic talking and love songs involving a beardless
youth or a strange woman, (II: 175),

It is thus clear how failure to recognise the psychological criterion of sin which constitutes the basic element of the concept, led the writers on the subject to count as grave sin any act or attitude which in their view was regarded as an evil phenomenon. Hence counting as grave sins such things as rejecting the orthodox interpretation of Qadar and wearing a golden ring in one's finger.

An apt question at this stage is: why did the theologians proceed to define these concepts with a pragmatism so literal and

concrete, and brush aside their psychological aspects altogether. Certainly it is not the absence of textual evidence that would force this psychological criterion on the mind of the thinkers. The factors leading to this omission, it seems, may be sought in the history of the formulation of Muslim ideas and concepts. The theologians were linked with the ruling authorities, and in order to meet administrative needs, they formulated these ideas into forms that appeared tangible and workable, and the attention was focussed on the tangible aspect of the human acts. Moreover, the tendency to regard practices backed by the authority as Sunnah or Tradition apparently helped in the process of drawing the formulations.

CHAPTER IV

Faith and Sin

a - DEFINITIONS

The Primary object of this Chapter is not to investigate the controversy which arose between the early theologians over the relationship between īmān and Māsiyah sparked by the advent of the Khawārij; but to find out whether īmān, as used in the Qur'ān and which is normally rendered as faith implies avoidance of sin or not. In other words, the aim is to discover from the Qur'ānic contexts the co-relation between the concepts of īmān and sin, and by extention whether īmān could be impaired by the commission of sin, for this purpose we may rely mainly on the internal evidence of the Qur'ān taking little notice of what the theologians have to say.

In order to establish the relationship between the two concepts, īmān and māsiyah, we need first to get a clear idea of what īmān exactly means; and in order to do so it is important to discuss three other relevant terms, viz. islām which like īmān conveys the idea of embracing the Qur'anic faith, kufr, and shirk which are regarded contraries to the concepts of īmān and islām respectively.

The chart which appears in the next page shows a statistical and chronological analysis of the occurances of the derivatives of these terms in the Qur'ān. It is to be pointed out again that the tables are based on Noldeke's chronological order of the chapters, bearing in mind that Madīnan verses can be found in Meccan Chapters and Meccan verses can be found in Madīnan chapters. The tables however show a rough but fair distribution which can safely guide us in the search of some sound relevant hypotheses.

Concept	Derivatives	Frequency in the Meccan Revelations			Frequency in the Madinan Revelations	Totals
		1st Period	2nd Period	3rd Period		
I M A N	ايمان	2 ⁽⁷⁾		13	30	45
	(1) آمين	7	26	63	94	192
	(2) مؤمن		16	21	39	76
	(3) المؤمنون	5 ⁽⁸⁾	20	21	108	154
	(4) الذين آمنوا	8	19	88	195	310
	(5) الذين لا يؤمنون	1	10	18	4	33
	Totals	23	93	224	470	810
I S L A M	الاسلام			2	6	8
	(1) اسلم		2	5	10	17
	(2) مسلم		7	6	13	26
	(3) المسلمون	2	2	8	2	14
	(4) الذين أسلموا		1	1	3	5
	Totals	2	12	22	34	70
K U F R	كفر وكفور		1	12	27	40
	(1) كفر	2	14	40	58	114
	(2) كافر كفار	1 ⁽⁹⁾	8	19	22	50
	(3) الكافرون الكفار الكفرة	9	17	30	65	121
	(4) الذين كفروا	7	21	52	95	175
	Totals	19	61	153	267	500
S H I R K	شرك			5 ⁽¹⁰⁾		5
	(1) اشرك	1	19	27	10	57
	(2) مشرك			5	6	11
	(3) المشركون		1	13	24	38
	(4) الذين اشركوا			5	4	9
	Totals	1	20	55	44	120
T A K D I B	تكذيب وكذاب	2				2
	(1) كذب	53	43	61	20	177
	(3) المكذوبون	17	1	2	1	21
	Totals	72	44	63	21	200
T A D I Q	(1) صدق	4		2	1	7
	صديق		2	1	3	6
	المصدقين		1		2	3
	Totals	4	3	3	6	16

A careful examination of the tables would lead to the following observations:

- i. The ratio of the frequency of the verbal nouns indicating the root concepts īmān islām kufr, and shirk to the total frequency of the other kin-derivatives is considerably small. Moreover the verbal nouns occur in revelations of a relatively late date. This is perhaps characteristic of the Qur'ān which is less concerned with words related to metaphysical and static thinking, but treats more of words intrinsically related to active and dynamic conceptions. This lack of interest in the abstract probably accounts for the absence of any definitions for these terms in the Book. Moreover, the development of such ideological concepts is a gradual process; and they mature and take shape at a later date.
- ii. The proportion of the frequency of the active participle of the root of these terms, prefixed by the definite article, thus denoting a well-defined group of people, to the frequency of the other derivatives, is considerably high. The ratio goes much higher if we add phrases which consist of the relative pronouns complemented by the verbs such as الذين آمنوا, and which have the same significance of the previous derivative المؤمنون (11)
- iii. Another form of frequent use is that of the active participle without the definite article, and also that of the verbal derivatives, which denote the dynamic ideas denoted by the verb and thus speak of the attitude of the two mutually opposed groups, those who accept and those who reject Muhammad's faith. This and the previous observations are of utmost importance. They reflect the social and political split which was caused by Muhammad's call

in the community of Mecca and which was widened later by the Hijrah. The Arabs have become two groups, one on the side of Moḥammad and indicated by the term al-Mu'minūn or al-Muslimūn or alluded to by the phrases alladhīna āmanū and alladhīna aslamū or by similar phrases, and another group opposed to Muḥammad and his mission generally denoted by the term al-Māfirūn or referred to as 'those who do not believe'. The latter group were also referred to by the more precise term al-Mushrikūn the Associators or those who associate partners with God; but it is significant that the use of the last term becomes more frequent in Mādīnah where other opposing communities - the Jews, the People of the Book and the Hypocrites - appeared in the scene, and the more distinctive term shirk became more useful in distinguishing the idolaters of Mecca.

It is these social and political circumstances that should guide us in our search for a precise definition of those Qur'anic terms, bearing ⁱⁿ mind that a word is to be treated simply "as a semantic marker, indicating an essential difference from another word and having the ability to mark the differentia in any one of a number of contexts; not becoming intrinsically infected by any particular one of these contexts, and having its sense as a marker sustained and determined not by metaphysical or theological usage but by a general social milieu, in which the language has its life".⁽¹²⁾

- iv. A further observation is that the derivatives of the four terms are relatively infrequent during the early part of the Meccan revelation.⁽¹³⁾ This is only natural, since these terms are descriptive of social divisions and the attitudes accompanying them. The

popularity of the term had to await the growth and maturity of this division, before it acquires its definitive sense. When the Prophet began transmitting his message, he did discreetly do so privately. A few responded, some hesitated and the majority, we may presume adopted an indifferent attitude either because they did not hear of the mission or did not take much notice of it. Thus, at this early stage there was no sharp division as yet, and opposition to Muhammad in the beginning was not, if we may imagine so vehement. But when the dispute grew sharper, every Meccan citizen became very conscious of the upheaval and had to make up his mind one way or the other, till the Meccan community grouped themselves into two and only two, the party of Muhammad and the party opposed to him. This process is evidently reflected in the distribution of the derivatives of the four terms as appear in the tables of the chart under discussion. In the early Meccan revelations, the occurrence of the terms concerned was rare; acceptance or rejection of Muhammad's call was conveyed by the simple non-technical terms taṣḍīq and takdhīb, which simply mean: holding someone or something to be true or untrue respectively.⁽¹⁴⁾ But when the division grew sharper we find it reflected in the use of the derivatives of īmān and īslām, denoting the party of Muhammad and their attitude, and the derivatives of kufr and shirk indicating the opposition party; the use of the two earlier words taṣḍīq and takdhīb dwindling.

- v. The word takdhīb and its kin-derivates were apparently of much more importance than the derivatives of its antonym, taṣḍīq. The latter's importance lies in the use of its 2nd verbal form saddaqa, in four

verses of the early Meccan revelation. Its later use is made either in the course of the stories of earlier nobilities, not any more in describing the attitude of the contemporaries of Muḥammad, or in a general sense.⁽¹⁵⁾ Its derivative siddiq describes also either earlier nobilities or conveys the sense of being righteous in general.⁽¹⁶⁾ The derivative musaddiqūn is obviously of general application.⁽¹⁷⁾ In other words, while takḥīb which describes the attitude of the opposition, ^{was important} in the very early stage of the revelation, its antonym, taṣdiq served a much lesser purpose. This means that emphasis was laid more on the attitude of the opposition group than on that of the supporters. This is probably due to the fact that the deterrant effect of the negative sanction is much more effective than the result of a positive sanction expressed in terms of praise or reward. From the second period of the Meccan revelation onwards, taṣdiq was used in the sense of corroborating in the context of the stories of the earlier Prophets, while takḥīb did not lose its value altogether.

- vi. Let us turn back to the use of the active participle of the four terms, prefixed with the definite article, namely, al-MU'minūn and al-Muslimūn, designating the party of Muḥammad, and al-kāfirūn and al-Mushrikūn designating the opposite party. It can be safely stated that, apart from al-kāfirūn, these terms were absent in the early stage of the revelation, as appears from the comparative tables. Their use as terms designatory of social divisions had to await the sharpening of the social rift into definite shape. The early use of the term kāfirūn, which appears rather early, may be due to its connotation of ingratitude which may serve as an urge to reflection,

and the need to employ the term at this early stage.

I S L Ā M

Having made the above observations, let us examine whether some light from this statistical and chronological^{ic} analysis could throw some light on our attempt to define these terms. It is interesting to observe that while the terms mushrikūn belongs more to Madinah, the term al-Muslimūn belongs more to Mecca.⁽¹⁸⁾ This in fact helps in determining the meaning of the word al-Muslimūn and the term Islam; it hints that these terms meant the opposite or the converse of what the opposition party was doing, namely attributing partners to God or polytheism. Thus islām means monotheism or absence of idolatry. This interpretation of the word apparently agrees with the employment of the term and its kin-derivatives in all their Qur'anic context. Take e.g. XXXIX 29 which reads:

Allah has coined a similitude a man who belongs to (several) partners at variance with each other, and a man wholly belonging to one man, salaman li-raḡul; are they equal as a similitude"?

Here the word salaman means to belong to one alone and this hints that islām is to be a monotheist or to belong to one Master God.

This again can be attested by the fact that islām is put in contrast to shirk and that it is spoken of in the context of monotheism. The Qur'an reads (19)

"Say: my prayers and my religious exercises, my living and my dying, are in the hands of Allah, Lord of the world; to whom there is no partner, thus I have been commanded and I am the first of the Muslims". VI,162-163
 "Say; Shall I choose as patron any other than Allah, author of the heavens and the earth, Who gives food and Who needs not to be fed? Say: Verily I have been commanded to be awwala man aslama," (which apparently

means, the first of those who maintain monothesisim.)⁽²⁰⁾
VI, 11.

"Allah has testified that there is no God but He, likewise the angels and the people of knowledge, there is no God but He, the Sublime, the Wise. Verily the religion in Allah's sight is al-islām, (apparently monothesisim), and those to whom the Book,⁽²¹⁾ has been given did not differ until after the knowledge had come to them, out of jealousy among themselves, if anyone rejects, (يَكْفُرُ) the signs of Allah, Allah is quick to reckon, So if they dispute with you, say, aslamtu wajhiya, I have devoted my entire self,⁽²²⁾ to Allah, likewise those who have followed me; and say to those to whom the Book has been given and to the ummiyyīn, (the idolators of Mecca)⁽²³⁾ a'aslamtum? (i.e. Have you accepted to devote yourselves to the service of Allah, associating me one to Him?)⁽²⁴⁾ If they aslamū, (accepted monotheism),⁽²²⁾ they have let themselves be guided." 111 18-20.

"Say: It is revealed to me that your God is one God, so are you Muslimun? (devoted to Him?)" XX1, 108

Thus we can safely conclude that Islām as a technical term, basically means: 'the faith of monotheism', and Muslims means 'the monotheists'.⁽²⁴⁾

This interpretation of the basic meaning of islām as employed by the Qur'ān appears to be closely related to the root meaning of another word i.e. barā'ah.⁽²⁵⁾ Barā'ah means freedom, freedom from defects, from diseases, from misfortune, and so forth; hence salām in the sense of peace, because peace is freedom from the misfortunes of war. Hence also it is read; "Except those who come unto God with qalb salīm,⁽²⁶⁾ i.e., with a heart free from kufr i.e. devoted to God. Hence the use of the word in the sense of devotion or being undivided or unshared. Hence asalamā in XXXIX 29 quoted above in the sense

of 'to be devoted to Allah' or 'to devote oneself to Allah', or (to be a monotheist)⁽²⁷⁾ and Islam in the sense of 'devotion to Allah' or simply 'the faith of monotheism!⁽²⁸⁾

We may not, however, assume that the term, when it is used in this technical sense, loses the other significations of peace and freedom from defect or dangers. These connotations may in fact be prominently brought out as in XLXX, 14, where the Bedouin are reproached that their claim to have joined the Muslim party was superficial though it earned them physical safety and protection, but the faith did not firmly settle in their hearts.⁽²⁹⁾

S H I R K

The term shirk is a straightforward word, and there is no ambiguity in its implications. It simply means sharing; hence to hold someone or something as a god thus letting him or it share one's devotion to Allah, (In other words it means polytheism or idolatery.

The above remarks may be summarised thus: the term shirk and islam are two terms contrary to one another; shirk meaning polytheism, paganism or heathenism; and islam meaning monotheism or the belief in Allah ^{as} proclaimed by Muhammad.

K U F R

Now we come to the term kufṛ, Kafara, 1st Form; Kāfir Part. act, P.1, Kuffār, kafarah and kāfirūn; verbal noun, Kufṛ, Kufṛān and Kufūr.

The primary meaning of the root of this term is the idea of covering or concealing, hence ingratitude, since ingratitude tends to ignore the favours and they become as if they are hidden or covered. From this, ^{is} probably derived the idea of renouncing or rejecting a claim and disassociation from an idea or from a group, since ingratitude implies the idea of denying and renouncing. Hence the use of the word

as a special term denoting the rejection of the idea of monotheism, but retaining at the same time the other connotations of ingratitude and concealing the divide favours. It seems that while the term carries all these ideas and connotations, the context may bring out one of these connotations more prominently than the others. The idea of ingratitude, which appears to be the earliest Qur'ānic usage, is very prominent in the following verses:

"Blast man: Ma'akfārah: (How ungrateful he is)".

LXXX17. "And ^(remember) when your Lord proclaimed: Assuredly if you are thankful, I shall increase you, but if you are ungrateful, wala'inkafartum, My punishment is serious" XIV 7.

"And Allah coined a comparisen - a town which was secure and to which its provision came comfortably from every place, which then became unthankful for the good gifts of Allah fa kafarat bi'anūmiallāh" XV1,112.

The idea of rejecting the faith is emphasised in the following examples:-

"Their messangers came to them with the evidences, but they put their hands in their mouths and said: We dissassociate ourselves from the message with which you have been sent innā kafarnā bi-mā ursiltum bi-hī" XIV.9.

"And those who have denounced our signs - they are the fellows of the left". XC 19

كفروا بآياتنا

In the following examples, the term denotes the idea of barā'ah, i.e. "disassociating oneself from". (30)

"Satan said when the affair was decided: Verily Allah promised you what ^{truly} was there, and I made you promises too, but I have left you in the lurch; I had ever you no authority, except that I called you and you responded to me; so blame not/me but blame yourselves; I am not going to succour you, nor are you going to succour me; innikafartue, (I disassociate myself) from the

partnership which you formerly ascribed to me". XIV 22.

".....and on the day of Resurrection; they, (those whom you call upon apart from Allah), will disown your association of them, yakfurūna bi - shirkikum" XXXV 14.

"There was a good example for you in Abraham and those with him when they said to their people: We are quit of you and of what you serve, Apart from Allah; we renounce you, kafarna bi-kum" LX 3 -4.

To this usage certainly belongs the following statement said on the tongue of Pharaoh to Moses:-

"And you have done the deed you did while you are one of the deserters wa'anta mina'l kāfirīn" XXVI 19.

Thus kufr means a combination of the ideas of ingratitude, denial, renouncing, disassociating from, and keeping clear of. Special emphasis on any one aspect is determined by the context. This combination of ideas sums up the attitude of those who were opposed to Muhammad's mission, and were therefore designated: al-kāfirūn, which thus means: the party which renounced Muhammad's mission, disregarded God's signs behaving ungratefully to God, who disassociated themselves from and kept clear of Muhammad's party. To simply interpret kufr as disbelief, and al-kāfirūn as unbelievers is to strip the Qur'anic term of much of its significant connotations; it would also make it difficult to see the relevance in the use of the term in such verses as XIV, 22 and the verses which follow, quoted above. Moreover, the following verses will bear no significance according to this interpretation, since the predicate will be implied in the subject:-

"But those who have disbelieved count it false, yukadhhibūn" LXXXIV, 22

"But those who have disbelieved deny, yukadhhibūn" LXXXV 19

I M A N

The root meaning of this word appears to be: 'to feel secure

or safe, or to be secure or safe from something undesired, or from someone feared' (31) The Qur'ān reads: "Do the people of the town feel secure then, afa'amina, against our violence coming upon them at night when they are sleeping?" VII 97.

Hence the meaning: being quiet, tranquil, and being in peace since living in such a state is to be free from fear and from expectation of harm. The Qur'ān reads:-

".... if anyone of you is sick or suffering from an injury to the head, then a compensation by way of fasting or alms - giving or pious observance. When you are in security - fa'idhā amintum - if anyone makes use of (the time from) the 'umrah to the hajj, then such a gift as may be convenient" (32) II, 106.

The trilateral verb amina as used in the above verses simply denotes the idea of feeling secure or safe; the subject of the verb would, of course, be the one who feels secure or safe. Stated logically the verb may have three functions, viz: it may involve (a) a person who feels that somebody is secure, (b) a person in a state of security or safety, (c) the object from which the person is secure or safe. The verses quoted above involve functions (a) and (b) in the same person; in the first case it means: Do they feel that they are secure from the violence of God, while in the second it connotes; if you feel that you are secure from the fear of war. Where there is this combination of functions in the same person the verb is transitive and takes its object in function (c) outlined above; in other words, violence of God and fear of war, are the objects from which one feels secure.

There are however, instances when the implications (a) and (b) in our scheme above, do not combine in the same person but

stand distinct. In such instances the verb amina would mean (trusted) with the concomitant implication of a pledge by the other to uphold the trust. Thus the Qur'an says: "but if one of you trust (amina) another, let him who is trusted u'tumina pay what is entrusted to him, amanatahu" (33) - II, 283.

In this verse the verb amina involves the three functional categories explained earlier, each distinct from the other, as follows: (a) One who trusts (b) trust for fear of loss - although this is not explicitly referred to, and (c) the one who is trusted and who pledges to restore the trust. In this case the object of the transitive verb is function (b). The Qur'an further reads:

"They, (Joseph's brothers), said: O our father; why do you not trust us with Joseph". - XII, II.

"He (Jacob) said: Shall I trust you with him except as formerly I trusted you with his brother". XII, 64.

In the above case too, the three positions are separately involved. They are (a) Jacob who feels that Joseph should be secure (b) Joseph or his brother who is to be in a state of security or safety (c) the negligence or harmful intention of his brothers from which Joseph is to be secure. The verb made transitive by the aid of the preposition 'alā, (amina 'alā), takes its object in function (b).

The most important derivative of the stem is the Fourth Form, amana which according to Wright, indicates a "factitive or causative; if it is intransitive in the First Form, it becomes transitive in the Fourth" (34) amana would thus mean: to render one secure from something unwanted or feared, or, in terms of our earlier division of functions, (a) to make one feel secure (b) involving a state of security for himself or of another person (c) from something unwanted or feared. This form amana appears to be the earliest of the kin-derivatives to occur in the Qur'an.

An early verse of the Qur'ān reads:

"Therefore let them (~~the~~ Quraish) serve (or worship) the Lord of the House, who has given them provision against famine and made them secure from fear - wa āmanahum min khawf". CVI: 3- 4. The above verse affords the only instance where the Fourth Form āmana functions as a transitive verb governing a clearly indicated object without the aid of a preposition. It conveys the meaning of rendering others secure and free from fear.

Another class of the Fourth Form of the same verb āmana - appears to be an intransitive verb and takes no object or is rendered transitive with the aid of the preposition li (to) or bi (by) when it takes as its object God, his signs, the Book, the verses, the Prophets and the Day of Resurrection. This intransitive form āmana is traditionally explained as signifying tasdīq (believing)⁽³⁵⁾ This interpretation of īmān and its derivatives as tasdiq or belief is personal and schematic and does not clearly explain the following verses:

1. "O, you who have believed, āmanū; believe, āminū in His Apostle, the Book He has descended on His Apostle and the Books He had descended earlier". IV, 136.
2. The believers, mu'minūn, are only those who have believed āmanū in Allah and His Apostle". XXIX, 15.
3. And (for) those who have dwelt in the place, (Makīnah) and in believing, (īmān), before them, (the poor emigrant)." LIX, 9.

If the first verse is addressed to the believers there is not much sense in commanding them to believe. The second verse which defines the believers as those who have believed, seems somewhat illogical. Quotation number three above is preceded in the Qur'ān by context which speaks of the poor among the emigrants

as deserving a right in the spoils; their supporters are referred to as those who have made their abode in Madīnah and in faith, īman, before them. To interpret īman here as belief does not seem to make sense for how could īman be a place of dwelling. In order to overcome this, Zamakhsharī Assumes a verb like 'chose' ⁽³⁶⁾ but the style remains clumsy.

In order to attempt to reach at a precise definition of īman and its kin-derivatives, it is proposed to examine the incidence in a chronological analysis of the use of the derivatives in the Qur'ān with full reference to its contexts. We should guard ourselves, however, against the misleading assumption that the precise meaning of a derivative continues to have the same sense in its kin-derivatives, or that a word with different shades of meaning should restrict itself to one shade of meaning throughout the contexts.

The tables of the occurrences of īman and its kin-derivatives show that the verbal noun belongs to the late revelations; and that the part. act., mu'min with or without the definite article, ⁽³⁷⁾ is widely distributed over the different periods of the revelations and is the most frequently used term. It is obvious that the part. act., in this context of īman when it is indefinite describes a state; but when it is affixed by the definite article it refers to a well-defined group or party, the party of Muhammad, who have accepted this mission and agreed to bear the consequences of this acceptance. This party is the one which was in opposition to the party denounced as al-Kāfirūn. It is significant in this context that īman is often contrasted with kufr, mu'min with kāfir, 'āmana with kafara and al-mu'minūn with al-kāfirūn. This hints that the two sets of terms are contradictory to each other, and we may therefore say that the meaning of īman is the contrary of the meaning of kufr arrived at above.

Thus, philologically, īman and its kin-derivatives are

associated with the idea of protection, to feel protected or to render or assure protection. Moreover, in the socio-political context of employing these derivatives, as can be derived from the above analyses, al-Mu'minūn denoted, at least in the early stages, a defined group, the party of Muhammad which was actually opposed to the party defined as al-Kāfirūn.

Relating this to the back-ground of the Jāhiliyyah, the significance of the idea of protection or feeling safe or secure, or rendering security becomes more clear. It is axiomatic to say that in the pre-Islamic age the tribe or the clan, the traditional Arabian social unit headed by a chief, a shaikh or a sayyid, was the most important social institution. The individual was nothing without it. It was in the tribe that the individual could seek protection and within it he felt secure. Excommunication was the most cruel and most intolerable punishment. The unity of the tribe or clan in the old age was symbolised and given a tangible expression in belonging to a deity who, in the view of the tribe, rendered or assured security in the field where the sword of the consanguineous unit was helpless.

When Islam came and demanded the Arabs to join it, it implied upsetting the prevailing social order. Conversion meant that the member of the tribe or clan voluntarily relinquishes his right for protection by the tribe, and thus becomes 'stateless'. This could not be expected to happen easily without a substitute. Islam, therefore, in order to fit itself in with the obtaining conditions had to provide this substitute which appears to be the community of mu'minūn which was somehow modelled on the prototype of the tribe, with the Prophet as its temporal head and Allah assuring the protection of the group. The choice of the terms īman and mu'minūn was very apt, because the thing the individual really lost on conversion was the tribal protection, and it was protection or amān that he really needed. Therefore the use of

this term, we feel, must have had its inspiring effect on the early converts.

It seems thus that the new religion, by insisting on monotheism, aimed at unifying the Arabs at the time under one banner by pooling all the different consanguinuous groups into one community, modelled, as stated earlier, on the form of the pre-existing social unit. It required everyone to join this community, or rather to enter into a bond, or, in the terminology of Montisquiuo, to enter in a 'social contract' where he would expect protection and contribute to the protection of the others. Perhaps it was due to the latter aspect of this bond, i.e. to contribute to the protection of the other members of the community, that the 4th Form was chosen, rather than the First, i.e., amina. Those who joined the new group were called mu'minūn and those who quit it or ran away from it were designated al-kāfirūn; hence the importance of the element of quitting in the concept of kufr.

From all the above we may conclude that īmān and its kin-derivatives, at least during the Meccan age and probably immediately after the Hijrah, meant this idea of mutual protection, and al-mu'mi-nūn meant the group whose members were mutually and divinely protected; whereas kufr meant quitting this group or refusing to join it, and al-kāfirūn meant those who quitted the protected group. This however does not preclude the implication of accepting the faith or rather believing in it. This again confirms the conclusion, that īmān consisted of a combination^{of} ideas opposed to those conveyed by the term kufr, ivz., associating with or enrolling into the party of monotheism whose safety, tranquility and freedom from doubt are protected and assured by God Whose favours are deeply acknowledged and Whose unity is the central principle of the membership in the party. Hence probably the employment of the preposition bi, (by) whereby the intransitive quadrilateral verb which looks like a mutāwi' reaches its object, bearing the idea of declaring oneself

as a member of certain party protected by God, the idea of estimating or believing and appreciating God's favours, and the idea of being in a state of Divine protection.

With the relative security in the post-Hijrah era, or rather, with the protection having been more sustained and assured through the conclusion of formal agreements of mutual protection and the expansion of the community of mu'minūn which began to assume the title ummah, the element of protection which was the most immediate element in the meaning content of īmān gradually began to lose its importance, while the element of believing began to assert itself until it became the most prominent element in the meaning of the concept. In other words, the meaning of īmān and its kin-derivatives was not one and the same throughout all the ages of the revelation; and in the late verses of Madīnah, the term clearly denotes the simple idea of believing. At the same time, islam became more and more indicative of the formal acceptance of monotheism.

Accordingly the verses quoted above, namely, IV, 136, XXIX 15 and LIX, 9, which could not be rendered successfully according to the traditional interpretation of īmān as tasdiq, and which do not belong to late revelation, can now be rendered very satisfactorily without straining the contexts. The First verse would simply mean: "O you the protected party of monotheists, hold fast to the belief and trust in God, etc". Verse No.2. will be rendered: "The divinely protected party is that whose members have steadfastly believed and trusted in God, etc"., and the third verse may be rendered: "and those who took refuge earlier in the dwelling place and the covenant of the monotheists", referring to earlier Immigrants rather than to the Ansār, the Supporters.

As a summary we may say that shirk and Islām are contraries, meaning polytheism and monotheism respectively, but Islam in the late revelations tend to denote the formal acceptance of the faith of monotheism. Kufr and īmān, on the other hand are also contraries, each denoting, in the early revelations a combination of ideas. Kufr denotes a complex idea of disassociating, abandoning, quitting, rejecting monotheism, and ingratitude, ⁽³⁸⁾ and īmān conveys the complex made up of the idea of associating in a bond of mutual protection, and the idea of accepting the faith and holding it as true. The latter idea, namely, holding as true or believing dominates in the use of the term īmān in the late revelations, so that islam became more or less restricted to the idea of external acceptance and īmān to the internal submission.

b - ĪMĀN AND THE HEART.

In a number of Qur'anic verses, the word īmān and its kin-derivatives are mentioned alongside with the word qalb, heart, as Islam indeed is associated in two verses with the word sadr, bosom. This was taken as evidence that īmān simply means tasdīq. ⁽³⁹⁾ The assumption is that the heart can be reservoir of tasdīq or its antithesis taḍhīb, and since īmān is the positive reaction, its meaning should be tasdīq or believing and no more. This argument is brought forward in the context of refuting the claim that ʿamal, work, and avoidance of sin are implied in īmān.

It may be observed that the heart is not only a place for tasdīq and its antithesis, but for many other emotions, passions, feelings and sentiments. It is the place of fear and its antithesis the feeling of security, the latter being a cognate idea to the root meaning of īmān. Moreover, an internal feeling or idea may have

its outward manifestation; and it is possible to extend the term which essentially denotes an internal feeling such as fear or love to its outward manifestations. In the same way īmān primarily conveys the idea of security; and in our context it denotes security or earning the peaceful feeling of security and protection through a social 'contract' with the monotheistic party. If that is a real feeling it implies tasdīq which has to be outwardly manifested by adopting an attitude of obedience towards the divine teaching.

However, an analysis of the verses in which the association between the concept īmān and the heart would confirm our conclusion that the term did not denote a static meaning throughout the ages of the Revelation. Its connection with the idea of the heart in the Meccan revelation is limited to the following verses, all of which are late Meccan, if not Madīnan:

- i. "And when Allah is mentioned alone, the hearts of those who do not believe in the Hereafter shrink with horror

" XXXIX 45.

- ii. "Your God is One God; then the hearts of those who do not believe in the Hereafter are given to denial,

"and they are self-concieted". XVI 22.

- iii. "(It is) those who Kafara bi'llāhi after their Imān except him who is compelled to disassociate from Allah's party), while his heart is at peace with īmān وَقَلْبُهُ مُطْمَئِنٌّ بِالْإِيمَانِ "i.e., though he is apparently in the wrong party, his heart is with the party of Allah.

"But those who expand their breasts for kufr, upon them is anger from Allah", XVI, 106.

It can be easily seen that nothing in the above verses suggests that īmān or kufr is a simple idea confined to tasdiq or taḥhid. All that they speak of is the mental attitude towards the question of either joining or rejecting the party which abandons the idols and confine their service and worship to God.

These verses actually reveal a general tendency of the contemporary Revelation which often speaks of the said attitude and ties it up with the heart. The association with the heart during this Meccan age was not confined to the concept of īmān, but was extended to islām; and this suggests that both concepts covered both the ideas of external and internal submission in the early uses. Thus we read:-

- i. "There is nothing in their breasts except self-conceitedness" XL, 56.
- ii. "And indeed your Lord knows what their breasts conceal and what they openly claim". XXVII, 74, XXVIII, 69.
- iii. "Yes! My signs have come already to you, but you counted them false and chose a proud attitude, and thus you became one of the kāfirīn! ⁽⁴⁰⁾ XXXIX, 59
- iv. "Thus God seals upon every haughty conceited heart" XL, 35. XXXIX, 22 and VI, 125. on the previous page.
- v. Apart from these there are other contemporary verses which speak of the heart as being in a state of purity ⁽⁴¹⁾ or in a state of repenting. ⁽⁴²⁾

The association between qalb, on one hand and īmān and kufr on the other, becomes more spectacular in the Madīnan revelations; which is symptomatic of the shift of the emphasis in the meaning of īmān in the late revelations. Consistently with our conclusion regarding the use of Islam in late revelations as denoting the performal acceptance of the faith, there is no more association between this term and qalb or basma in the

Madīnan revelations. This is perhaps why it is said that the place of īmān is the heart while islām is the outward submission⁽⁴³⁾ Here are the verses where the association is made between qalb on the one hand, and īmān or its antithesis, kufr on the other in the Madīnan revelations.

- i. "(Recall) when Abraham said: O my Lord, show me how you give life to the dead. He (God) said: Have you not become a mu'min?⁽⁴⁴⁾ "He (Abraham), replied: O yes, but that my heart may be in peace" II, 260.
- ii. ".....They were that day nearer to kufr than to īmān, saying with their mouths what was not in their hearts, but Allah knows what they conceal" III 167
- iii "O you Messenger, let not those who vie with each other in kufr grieve you, of those who say with their mouths: We have embraced īmān, while their hearts have not embraced īmān. V 41 (cf. III, 167 and XLVIII, 171).
- iv. "They will please you with their mouths, but their hearts will refuse" IX 8
- v. "The Hypocrites are apprehensive lest a sūrah be sent down against them telling them what is in their hearts" IX 64.
- vi. "So in consequence He has set hypocrisy in their hearts until the day when they meet Him "IX, 77
- vii. "And so that those to whom knowledge has been given may know that it is the truth from your Lord and hold fast to it, fa-yu'minū bihī, and so their hearts be submissive to Him", XXII, 54.
- viii. ".... But Allah has endeared īmān to you and made it appear beautiful in your hearts" XLIX 7
- ix. "The Bedouin say: We have embraced īmān: Say: "You

have not (really) embraced īmān, but say you rather: We have embraced islam, for īmān has not yet entered your hearts. But if you obey Allah and His Messenger, He will not cheat you of your works at all; Allah is forgiving and compassionate"

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- x. "They are those in whose hearts He has written īmān" LVIII, 22
- xi. "In their hearts there is disease", (alluding to Kufr or hypocrisy). II, 10 (cf. V, 52; VIII, 49; XXIV, 50; XXXIII, 12 & 60, and LXXIV, 31)
- xii. "And they say: Our hearts are wrapped; but God has cursed them because of their Kufr" II, 88 (cf. IV 155)
- xiii. "..... Their messengers came to them with the Evidences, but they were not such as to hold as true, (li-yu'minū), of what they had previously held as false. Thus God put a seal on the hearts of those who are kāfirūn. We found no covenant with the most of them" C, 101 - 102.
- xiv. "He it is Who has sent down the Assurance in the hearts of the mu'minūn that they may earn more īmān in addition to their īmān". XLVIII, 4.

In these Madīnan verses, emphasis is placed on the heart; and the heart is clearly stated to be a place of īmān as in the passages IX and X, and īmān is contrasted to takdhīb in passage XI:ī. ~~While~~ This admittedly indicates a shift of emphasis on the idea of believing which in fact emphasises that īmān is not simply the physical enrolling in the party of the divine mission, but this outward submission must ideally be accompanied by sincerity and conviction of the heart. Outward submission which is denoted in the late revelation by the term islam may qualify a person for physical safety and protection; but ultimate success depends on this being adopted with a sincere attitude of mind.

To sum up we may say that the early meaning of the term īmān is comprised at least of two major elements, namely, the idea of security and protection through the social solidarity or covenant or social contract with the group of mu'minūn, and the idea of being internally persuaded of the principles of the group, mainly Monotheism and Resurrection.

Thus, the first element was more prominent in the Meccan usage, probably because of the need to inspire a feeling of ultimate safety during an age of precarious conditions. This apparently continued until the early part of the Madīnan age, hence the Prophet referred to the Muhājirūn as the Mu'minūn in his documents concluded on his arrival in Madīnah. It seems that with the growing assurance of the safety of the Monotheists after the Hijra², the need for emphasising the element of protection progressively went into the background, and the element of believing became more prominent although it has not obliterated the other part altogether. Consistently with this is the rarity of the use in the early Meccan revelation of the preposition bi (in) after the derivatives of the term īmān and its antonym kufr.⁽⁴⁵⁾

c - Relationship between īmān and Kufr

Let us now further consider the exact relationship between īmān and kufr, in their Qur'anic usage, viz., whether the two concepts belong to contradictory categories, so that when one is absent the other prevails, or whether they are simply opposites so that when either is absent the other does not necessarily replace it but an intermediary may be found. The following verses are those which may be revelant in this context:-

- i. "And as for those who do not believe, yu'min, in God and His Apostle, We have prepared a flame for the kāfirīn" XLVIII, 13.

- ii. "He it is who has created you; but some of you are kāfir and some of you are mu'min" LXIV, 2.
- iii. "He who exchanges īmān for kufr has strayed aside from the way". II, 108
- iv. "Whosoever wishes, let him be a mu'min; and whosoever wishes, let him be a kāfir" XVII, 29.
- v. "And that Allah may purge those who have embraced īmān and sift out al-kāfirīn" III, 141.

In the first of these verses, the Qur'ān calls kāfirīn those who do not accept īmān; and this is valid if the two concepts are mutually exclusive and their relationship is that of two contraries. The second statement divides man into two categories only, namely, mu'min and kāfir; and this means that a man can only be one or the other. In the last three quotations, which are just a sample of many similar statements, īmān or īmū'min is placed in contrast with kufr or kāfir; and this indicates that there can be either īmān or kufr and by extension a mu'min or a kāfir. Although this division into two categories only may be accidental describing the position of man at the time of Muhammad, to be either actively a mu'min or actively a kāfir, the apparent assumption of the Qur'ān it seems, is that a man can be one or the other and nothing else. An attitude of indifference or of agnosticism is accordingly a case of kufr and the claim of the existence of an intermediary position assigned for sinners advocated later by the Mu'tazilites cannot be based on a firm foundation from the Qur'ān.

d. IMĀN AND SIN

Now, having defined the concept of īmān as precisely as we could, and having established its relationship to kufr as that of contraries, we come directly to face the problem of the relationship between īmān, as has been defined, and the human acts in general; and this will obviously determine its relationship with sin or

masiyah. The following verses are relevant to the problem:-

1. "Allah will not forgive ascribing partners to Him, though He forgives anything short of that to whom He wills" IV, 48 and 116.
2. "...Assuredly, if you ascribe partners (to Allah) your work will go for nought and you will certainly be one of the Losers". XXXIX, 65.
3. "Verily those who have embraced kufr and turned (others) aside from the way of Allah, and then die in the kufr Allah will not pardon". XLVII, 34.
4. "Those who have embraced kufr and died as such, upon them is the curse of Allah and the angels and the people as a whole: Under it will they abide with no lightning of the punishment and without respite".⁽⁴⁶⁾ II, 161 - 2.
5. "It is those who have embraced kufr regarding the signs of their Lord and the meeting with Him; so their works have therefore become fruitless". XVIII, 105.
6. "And those who have counted false Our signs and the meeting of the Hereafter - their works have gone for nought". VII, 147.
7. "..... But those who have embraced kufr - downfall for them; He has rendered their works in vain. That is because they were averse to what Allah has sent down, so He has made their works of no effect". XLVII, 8 - 9⁽⁴⁷⁾.
8. "They are those have not embraced īmān; and so Allah has made their works of no avail". XXXIII, 19.
9. "...And whosoever, male or female, being a mu'min, does an upright deed, they will enter the Garden"XL. 40⁽⁴⁸⁾
10. ".....On the day when one of the signs of your Lord

comes, īmān will not profit any person who has not previously embraced īmān, or has not amassed some good in his īmān". VI, 156.

11. "But if you might see - lo! the sinners, hanging their heads in the presence of their Lord: "O Lord! We have seen and heard, send us back, and we shall act uprightly; verily we are convinced." XXXII, 12.
12. "But the reward of the Hereafter is better for those who have embraced īmān and have been showing piety".
13. "Verily this Qur'ān guides to what is straighter, and brings good tidings to the mu'minīn who do the deeds of righteousness, that for them there is a great reward". XVIII, 9.
14. "..... and if you embrace īmān and act piously there is for you a great reward". III, 179.
15. "But for him who has embraced īmān and acted uprightly there is for him the reward of the better (world)". XVIII, 88.
16. "..... and obey Allah and His messenger if you be mu'minīn" VIII, I.
17. "O you who have embraced īmān, show piety towards Allah, and abandon the ribā which remains (unpaid) if you are mu'minīn II, 278.
18. ".....Place your trust in Allah, if you are mu'minīn". V, 23.
19. "So eat that over which the name of Allah has been pronounced, if in His signs you are mu'minīn" VI, 118
20. "..... Solomon did not embrace kufr, but the Satans embraced kufr, teaching the people magic and what had been sent down to the angels in Babel, Hārūt and Marūt; they do not teach anyone without first saying: We are only a temptation, so do not embrace kufr; so they learn from them means by which they separate man and

- wife". II, 102.
21. "The postponement (of the sacred months) is simply an increase in kufr". IX, 37.
22. "Whosoever does not judge by what Allah has sent down - they are the kāfirūn".⁽⁴⁹⁾ V, 44.
23. "Successful are the mu'minūn. They are those who in their Prayer are humble, those who from vain talk turn away, those who for the zakat are active, those who their private parts do guard, except in regard to their spouses and what their right hands possess - for they are not to be blamed - but if any go beyond that they are the transgressors -, those who their pledges and their covenants do tend, and those to whose Prayers are observant". XXIII, 1 - 9.
24. "Those who have embraced īmān and emigrated and striven in with their wealth and person in the cause of Allah and those who have afforded shelter and help, are the true mu'minūn".⁽⁵⁰⁾ VIII, 74
25. "The mu'minūn are only those who have accepted īmān in Allah and His Apostle, and when they are with him on some common affair do not go away until they ask permission; those who ask your permission are those who really yu'minūna, hold as true, God and His Messenger". XXIV, 62.
26. The mu'minūn are only those whose hearts thrill with fear when Allah is mentioned, and who on their Lord they rely; who observe the Prayer, and of what We have provided them with do contribute. These are the true mu'minūn". VIII, 2 - 4.
27. "The mu'minūn are only those who have āmanū in Allah and His Messenger and have not afterwards doubted, but have striven with wealth and soul; these are the ones who speak truthfully". XLIX, 15.

28. "O you who have embraced īmān, show sincere repentence towards Allah; it may be that your Lord will absolve your sayyi'āt". LXVI, 8.
29. "And those who have embraced īmān and brought righteousness We shall purge their sayyi'āt" XXXIX 7 (51)
30. "So know that there is no God but Allah and seek pardon for your dhanb and for the mu'minīn, male and female". XLVII, 19 (52)

Quotation No.1. states that shirk or ascribing partnership to God is unpardonable, and quotation 2 consistently asserts that good acts accompanying shirk are cancelled or are in vain, i.e., unrewarded. It is clear that though shirk is more specific than kufr, it implies the basic elements of the latter, i.e., ingratitude and disassociation from the party adhering to the divine mission. In other words, for the purpose of the present analysis, shirk and kufr amount to the same thing; and thus good work is declared invalid if produced in a state of polytheism or kufr. Again kufr is declared, directly or implicitly, as unpardonable in passages 3 and 4, and as cancelling good acts in passage 5. This is also announced in the following two passages where kufr is alluded to by the expressions 'holding as untrue the signs of God and the meeting of the Last day" and 'hating what God has sent ~~Down~~'.

Thus the gist of the first seven quotations is that kufr, the antithesis of īmān is held to be unpardonable and to be invalidating works, and this is the explicit expression of quotation number eight where it is stated that those who do ^{not} embrace īmān God has cancelled their works. A corollary to this is that īmān is a pre-requisite for ultimate success or salvation, and this the explicit statement of quotation 9, which declares that good acts are well rewarded if accompanied by īmān.

All the above can be summed up in the following few words, that good work without īmān is fruitless. This is not all, however,

Good work is as important for salvation, and this is the explicit declaration of quotation No.10. which states that īmān is of no avail on the Day of Resurrection if it was not adhered to during the lifetime of the agent or was not accompanied by some good acts. This is also the implication of quotation 11 which speaks of the regret that will be suffered by the criminals who having seen and heard for themselves are said to demand their return to do good acts. It is also the implication of the following four quotations and many similar instances where promise of good reward is made for īmān and good work together. (53) The fact that ‘amal sālih or piety is mentioned in these and many similar verses along with īmān implies, as Baidāwī (in Anwar, I, 12) rightly observes, that ‘amal is a separate entity. īmān and ‘amal sālih are joined by a conjunction, and in some instances ‘amal forms the subject of the sentence while īmān forms a part of the adverbial clause; and this is certainly much more than an intention to emphasise something implicit in something else by mentioning it explicitly. Thus īmān and ‘amal are two separate entities, neither is implicit in the other, though it might be conceded that they should normally go together.

The importance of ‘amal is emphasised in the following seven verses, viz., 16 -22. In the first four of these the party of Muhammad are advised to obey Allah and His messenger, to fear God and leave the remainder of ribā, or to rely on God or to eat (only) that on which God's name has been mentioned; and significantly the statements are concluded by: "if you are mu'minīn". This apparently indicates that these acts - whether positive acts of avoidances - are regarded as characteristics of the mu'minūn. Consistently with this, certain prohibited acts, viz., sorcerous practices designed to upset the family relations, postponement of the sacred months for military or other worldly purposes, and ruling against God's teaching, are described as acts of kufr or

characteristics of kufr, the contrary of īmān, in 20, 21 and 22 respectively.

The importance of 'amal is again emphasised in the passages Nos. 23 - 27 above. In quotation No.23. the mu'minūn are described as those who observe certain acts which include prayers and zakat, and avoid certain others which include futile speeches and fornication. Quotation No.24 states that the true mu'minūn are those who combine īmān and certain other acts, namely, emigrating and endeavouring in the way of Allah and giving shelter and lending support (to the party of the Prophet). Quotations Nos. 25 - 27 state that the mu'minūn are only those who combine īmān with certain acts of obedience or avoidance.

In the last three passages, vix., 28 -30 which are Madīnan, sin - in the terms of sayyi'ah and dhanb - is attributed to the mu'minīn and even to Muhammad himself. This ~~implies~~ means that avoidance of sin is not implied in the concept of īmān, otherwise sinners cannot retain the epithet of al-mu'minūn.

Let us at this stage recapitulate the ideas which we have been able so far to draw from the texts, in the following words:-

1. The absence of īmān is kufr or shirk and is unpardonable,
2. Kufr or shirk render good acts fruitless,
3. Thus īmān is essential for salvation,
4. Righteousness or good deeds, including avoidance of prohibitions is also essential for salvation,
5. The association between īmān and good deeds, including avoidance of sins is thus so close that īmān is normally accompanied by good deeds including avoidance of sin, which is more or less the outward manifestation of īmān; but this does not amount to claim that īmān and righteousness are one and the same entity.

The above observations imply that sin is not inconsistent with īmān, unless sin implies kufr or shirk. Let us now see how

this would fit with our definitions of īmān and sin arrived at earlier. īmān, we have found, consists of a combination of elements of which the notion of protection through a 'social contract' with the monotheists was prominent in the Meccan usage, and the idea of holding fast to, or believing in the basic element of the faith became more important in the Madīnan usage. Other elements include the idea of gratitude and outward and inward submission. Sin, on the other hand, has been defined as a commission of an act of prohibition or the omission of an act of obligation; accompanied by an attitude of rebellion against the divine command. It was also found that the Meccan concept of sin emphasised the element of attitude, and in Madīnah the emphasis was shifted on the act itself. Taken together, the Meccan concept emphasised the attitude; in case of īmān, the attitude of accepting the principle of monotheism within which the divine protection was assured; and in the case of sin, the attitude of rebellion was severely condemned. The Madīnan concepts were more specific and more of religious nature, in contrast to the earlier more social aspects of the concepts, emphasising believing or holding as true, as an element in īmān, and the act itself in the case of sin. We should however remember that emphasis on an aspect does not mean the absence of the other.

Now we arrive at the problem of investigating the precise relationship between the concept of īmān and the concept of sin according to our definitions. It is clear that the element of believing or submission in the concept of īmān does not necessarily imply the absence or the existence of certain neutral acts, although it is obviously inconsistent with an attitude of haughtiness and rebellion against the divine teaching. Thus we may say that īmān as defined is not inconsistent with the concept of sin when the sinner is victimized by the natural forces of temptation with no attitude of rebellion accompanying it, and in which the person

concerned does not persist. But if the act of sin is committed persistently with the intention of revolt or indifference to the divine teaching, it becomes a sacrilege and amounts to kufr, in which case sin becomes in-consistent with īmān. In brief, much depends on the attitude of the agent and his state of mind when sin is committed. If sin is a spurious, temporary, impersistent act, followed by remorse and repentance, sin is not inconsistent with īmān, and īmān does not become impaired by sin; but if it is done with an attitude ^{of} indifference to the divine teaching, or revolting against it, sin becomes inconsistent with īmān.

It may therefore be concluded that basically īmān is incompatible with sin, when sin implies a rebellious attitude of mind of which the commission of sin is symptomatic; but occasional lapses do not excommunicate the agent.

e. The Theologians and the Problem.

In this concluding sub-chapter we shall just compare our views regarding the relationship between the two concepts of īmān and sin with what the major sects have to say about the problem. We shall be concerned with the views of the Khawarij, the Murji'ites, the Mu'tazilites and the Sunnis. While the sunnis' views are well documented in such works as K.al-Luma' of al-Ash'ari, Tamhid of Baqillani, Fich Akbar I, Wasiiyat Abu Hanifah and the Creed of Tahawi, we have with regret to depend on Sunni sources for our knowledge of the views of the other schools whose works are not available to us.

Before proceeding to the main topic, however, some relevant observations have to be made. In the first place, we have to remember that there is no 'definition' in the Qur'an of the concept of īmān, or that of islām. All that is found is merely the enumeration of the articles of īmān and the articles of its anti-thesis kufr. Five articles of īmān are given in II, 177, namely

īmān in God, the Last Day, the Angels, the Books and the Prophets; but some-times only one, two, three or four are explicitly enumerated.⁽⁵⁴⁾ In the same way, the elements of kufr which are just the opposites of these are given.⁽⁵⁵⁾ The absence in the Qur'ān of a formal definition based on Aristotelian methods is not a strange phenomenon.

In tradition, on the other hand, the enumeration of the articles of īmān and islam occupies a large chapter in the canonical collections. The enumeration in Tradition of the elements of īmān adds an item which is not found in the Qur'ān namely, Qadar; but this is to be discussed in Part II of this work.⁽⁵⁶⁾ As Wensinck rightly observes, Tradition, like the Qur'ān does not give a formal definition of īmān,⁽⁵⁷⁾ but contrary to his conjecture that the early discussion of the concepts of islām and īmān was in the back-ground of the doctrine of the Kawārij⁽⁵⁸⁾ we strongly feel that the rise of the Khawārij was closely associated with the discussion of the nature of the faith reflected in Tradition.

The following quotations, and many similar others are suggestive of the close relationship between the two developments:

- I. Abū Dharr relates on the authority of the Prophet:
 "Jibrīl came to me and gave me the good tidings:
 Whosoever from your nation dies not ascribing any partnership to God enters Paradise". I said: Even if he had fornicated and stolen? The Prophet answered:
 "Even if he had fornicated and stolen".⁽⁵⁹⁾
- II. Abū Hurairah relates on the authority of the Prophet:
 "Whoso commits fornication is not a mu'min during the act of fornication, and a thief is not a mu'min during his stealing; and whoso drinks wine is not a mu'min during his drinking".⁽⁶⁰⁾

According to Ash'ari, the doctrine of all the Khawārij, except the Najādah, is that "every sin is kufr".⁽⁶¹⁾ As Wensinck aptly puts it "... those who have committed grave sins no longer belong to the community",⁽⁶²⁾ and, "... the line of demarcation passes between Muslims on the one side and infidels as well as sinners

on the other".⁽⁶³⁾ And thus, according to the Khāwarij, faith is impaired by sin.⁽⁶⁴⁾

It seems to us that the Khāwarij, who were by no means a speculative group, were not stressing by their thesis the religious aspect of the faith but were reviving the socio-political element which constituted the major meaning content of the concept of īmān in Mecca, namely, the social bond which united a mu'min in a web of relations the centre of which was the head of the community, the Prophet or the caliph. This appears to be the major idea īmān conveyed to the mind of the Bedouin, which to them was probably a new version of the ancient prototype social unit, the tribe with the chief, the Shaikh or Sayyid as its head. It was probably because of the significance of this political aspect of īmān that when Muhammad, the central figure of the new organisation died, that the whole structure disintegrated - temporarily - in the form of the Riddsh. For the Khāwarij who were chiefly Bedouin, īmān was a political concept, and so was its anti-thesis kufr. While īmān for them was a political concept or a social institution bringing together members of scattered tribes under one banner and one chief, kufr was not simply the absence of tasdiq but the withdrawal from the political group, expressed in an offence against the community. This in any way, seems to be the earliest position of the Khawārij; their theological argument of a higher order is probably a later reaction to the challenge of their opponents.

It is thus clear that the thesis of the Kharijites emphasises the socio-political aspect of sin making it equal with kufr which severs the bond uniting a mu'min with the other members of the Muslim community. They take this to its extreme conclusion and preach war against sinners holding permissible the taking over of their property and their women and children as spoils. They take little notice of the motive of sin which our own thesis emphasises.

The Mujibites, aptly described by Wensinck as 'the extreme opponents of the Kharijites,⁽⁶⁵⁾ completely disassociate īmān from

sin holding that īmān simply means knowledge, ma'rifah. Some of them, the Karr-āmiyyah, reduce it to merely verbal confession. Al-Ash'arī fully reviews the views of their twelve divisions⁽⁶⁶⁾ on this particular problem which Wensinck⁽⁶⁷⁾ summarises as follows:

"It would appear that the twelve sub-divisions of the Murji'ites enumerated by al-Ash'arī have this in common regarding their opinion on faith, that they give the largest place in it to knowledge (ma'rifah). This knowledge may have as its subject Allah alone as it may include His revelation. The differences between these subdivisions chiefly consist in their admitting or not admitting other features to their definition of faith. Such features are love, fear and submission".

The association between the muji'ites and contemporary politics will be discussed at length in Part II of this work.⁽⁶⁸⁾ But here we may anticipate this discussion by quoting Wensinck's remarks where he describes the Muji'ites as 'a sect which went too far in complying with the government and in ignoring the behaviour of the temporal rulers'.⁽⁶⁹⁾ The Muji'ites, while emphasising that īmān in the sense in which they interpret it, is all that matters, lay the least emphasis or no emphasis at all on works, and therefore īmān according to them, is not in any way impaired or affected by sin. It is clear that their doctrine, apart from being libertive ignores all the significant aspects of sin and those of īmān.

The Mutazilite thesis that good work is an element of īmān and therefore sin excludes the sinner from the community of mu'minūn, but does not cause him to enter into the community of kāfirs, thus resulting in an intermediary position between kufr and īmān,⁽⁷⁰⁾ disagrees with what we had suggested, namely, that īmān and kufr are two complete antithesis so that when one is absent the other must exist. Moreover, their doctrine does not seem to take enough consideration of the mental disposition which accompanies the act of sin, and thus makes no difference between persistent sins accompanied by an attitude of indifference and sins which are merely spurious acts committed when man is temporarily over-powered by the human weaknesses.

Although the sunnis' definition of īmān is not identical with all the authorities, the emphasis is always on tasdīq, belief; (71) and its antonym kufr is always defined as takdhīb. (72) According to Baghdādī,⁷³ al-Asha'ri adds knowledge as an element in the definition of īmān as belief rests on knowledge of Allah, Article I of Wasiyyat Abū Hanifah adds to these two elements, tasdīq and ma'rifah, confession with the tongue. (74)

It is thus clear that the Sunnis exclude work from the definition of īmān, although unlike the Muji'ites, they do not defer judgement on sinners. Like the Kharijites and the Mutazilites they call a sinner a fāsiq; (75) but while they maintain that īmān and fisq are not mutually exclusive concepts, (76) a fāsiq unless granted full forgiveness by God, is likely to suffer punishment in Fire for a limited term. (77) Moreover, they hold that a fāsiq is not qualified as a witness, and therefore his testimony is rejected. (78)

It is also clear that the thesis of the Sunnis emphasises the physical nature of the act of sin; and, like the theses of the other schools, does not take enough account of the mental disposition of the sinner. From our point of view, distinction should be made between offences resulting from a challenge to the divine teaching or from an attitude of indifference, and faults simply committed in pursuit of sensual pleasure or other human motives while the authority of the divine teaching is still respected. The former acts are manifestations of lack of recognition of the divine authority which is incompatible with īmān, whereas the latter are normally spurious acts likely to be followed by remorse and repentance.

P A R T IIForeword

In our discussion of the Qur'anic Concept of Sin, it was found that reward was promised for good acts and punishment was warned on the commission of sin. This obviously implies that man is held responsible for his acts. In order that our treatment of sin be complete, it is proposed to investigate in this part of the work the degree of the human responsibility from the point of view of the Qur'an basing our argument on the text and the underlying assumptions. Since our conclusions may appear different from the prevailing interpretations, this discussion will be followed by an attempt to trace the developments which led to the prevailing popular views on the problem. Before that, the major traditions normally advanced for the popular interpretation are re-examined. Therefore this part will consist of three chapters, in the first of which ^{the} Qur'anic passages which contain words related to the concept of responsibility will be examined in order to discuss the Qur'anic assumptions underlying these texts. The second chapter will comprise the treatment of Hadith; and the last chapter will be made up of our research of the development of the opposed views which in our view are contrary to the Qur'anic assumptions. It should be borne in mind, however, that we are concerned here merely with the category of the acts on which man appears to have control,

as distinct from organic and reflective acts; i.e., the acts which can be described as "voluntary acts."

CHAPTER V

MAN AS A RESPONSIBLE AGENT

The Qur'anic passages relevant to this investigation can be conveniently classified into the following four groups:-

1. Passages in which reward is promised and punishment or indemnity is given as consequent on human acts,
2. Passages in which man is given as the author of his own acts,
3. Passages in which Man's freedom in deciding the course of his action is specifically recognised, and
4. Passages which appear to imply a sense of compulsion.

1 - "FIRST GROUP OF QUR'ANIC PASSAGES"

This group consists of passages which contain one or more of the following words, all of which are related to the concept of sanction:-

jazā', thawāb, ajr, jannāh, na'īm, 'iqāb, 'adhāb, jahannam,
Jahīm, nār.

I.

The first word is (جزاء) which, or its kin-derivatives, is used in the sense of "to ward off" or "to repel" in three passages, which read:

"Fear a day when not a soul can ward off anything away from another."
II, 48 & 123.

"..... nor a child can ward off anything away from its parent."
XXXI, 33.

In the next passage, the term is employed in the sense of worldly reward for a service rendered, or punishment especially in retaliation:

"..... She said, indeed my father invites you in order to yajziyaka, pay you back, the reward for giving us drinks"

XXVIII, 25.

"And the jaza', the reward, for an evil is an evil". XLIII, 40.

In one case it is used in the sense of compensation or indemnity, i.e.,

"O, you who believe. Do not kill game when you are in a state of sanctity. If any of you kill it intentionally, (let there be) jaza', equal to what he has killed". V. 95.

But the most frequent use of the term by the Qur'an is in the sense of Divine Sanction, in the form of reward or punishment (1)

invoked by meritorious or prohibited acts. The following instances are representative examples:-

"Hell indeed is an ambush, an abode for the transgressors, where they remain for ages, where they will taste no coolness nor a drink, except hot water and tears. (All that is) a fitting consequence, (jaza'an wifaqan)" LXXVIII, 21-6.

"V~~e~~ri~~l~~y, for the righteous there is a place of felicity, orchards and vineyards, and full-breasted (ones) of equal age, and a cup overflowing. There they will not hear babbles or lies. This is a reward (jaza'an) from your Lord, a gift and a reckoning." *ibid*, 31-6.

II.

The next word to consider is (ثَوَاب) thawab which, (2) according to lexicons, appears to be equivalent to the former word jaza'. A kin-derivative (مَثُوبَةٌ) mathubah which belongs to the same root (ثَوْب) is therefore used both in the sense of desirable and of undesirable consequences. The verbal derivations of the word are also used in the Qur'an both in the sense of desirable and undesirable rewards. Thus we read:

"Had they accepted Tman and feared God, indeed mathubatun from Allah ~~it~~ would have been better" II, 103.

"Shall I inform you of those who will suffer a worse mathubah? Those whom Allah has cursed". V, 60.

"Have thus the Kuffar thuwwiba, been rewarded, for what they used to do?" CXXXIII, 36
 "And then Allah athabahum, rewarded them with, for what they said, Gardens underneath which rivers flow". V, 85.

But the term "thawab", denotes only the sense of desirable reward in all the verses in which it occurs, (3) The word appears to have become a technical term denoting specially a good reward, and it is now used as an antonym of the word (عقاب) which means "punishment." The following may be cited as an example:-

"But those to whom knowledge was given said: 'Alas for you! The reward of Allah (ثواب الله) is better for those who have believed and acted uprightly." XXVIII, 80

III

Ajr (أجر) means "the reward for work." (4) The following passages illustrate the use of the term in this general sense:

"And when the magicians came, they said to the Pharaoh: 'Is there for us a reward, (أُنْتُمْ لَنَا أَجْرًا؟) if it is we who are the victors?" XXVI, 41
 ".....and if they (the wives) suckle (the child) for you, give them their hire (فَأَتَوْهُنَّ أَجُورَهُنَّ) LXV, 6.

In the next passage, a kin-derivative is used in the sense of engaging someone in some work for hire. As an example, a passage reads:-

"She said, Father! ista'jirhu (employ him, Moses)" XXVIII, 26.

In the next Qur'anic passage the word is used in the sense of "dower":

"..... So marry them with the permission of their households, and give them their ujrahunna" IV, 25.
 (5)

The overwhelming use of the term, however, is in the sense of "Divine reward" for human acts. In the following instance, the term conveys this idea of Divine consequence, desirable or otherwise:-

"Every soul is to taste death, and it is only on the day of resurrection that you will be given in full your rewards
(الْجَوَارِكُ) (6) III, 185

Otherwise, the term merely denotes the sense of desirable reward for approved acts or accomplishments. The following quotation is typical:-

"Those who have believed and wrought the works of righteousness, observed the prayers, and paid the alms will have their reward (لَهُمْ أَجْرُهُمْ عِنْدَ رَبِّهِمْ) with their Lord." II, 277.

Although the Qur'anic use of the word (أَجْر) in the sense of "desirable reward" is much wider, it does not seem to have gained such a popularity as that of the word (ثَوَاب) which appears to be more frequently used, in non-Qur'anic literature as a technical term denoting specifically this particular sense.

We now come to the ^{IV} term (جَنَّة) which denotes the "abode of the righteous". The idea of cover appears to be running through all the derivatives of the root (ج ن ن) to which the word (جَنَّة) belongs. This shade of meaning gives it the idea of privacy.

The ordinary meaning of (جَنَّة) is "an orchard of date-palms and trees." (7) In this general sense the word is used in the following passage:-

"For Sheba, too, there was a sign in their dwelling-place - jannatani, two gardens, one on the right and one on the left".

XXXIV, 15

the reference is to the original dwelling of Adam. Whether this
In some other instances, ^{was} an ordinary orchard on a hill or the abode of the righteous is a matter of dispute between the Sunnis and their
(8)

opponents. The Qur'an reads:

"We said: O Adam, dwell, you and your spouse, in al-Jannah, the garden and eat comfortably of it wherever you please, but do not come near this tree". II, 35.

But the overwhelming majority of verses in which the word (جنة) is used, the reference is made to "The Abode where the righteous will receive their Divine rewards." (9)

The Qur'an reads:-

".....For those who have done well there is in this world a fine (reward), but the dwelling of the Hereafter is better; good is the dwelling of those who show piety. Gardens of Perpetuity (جَنَّاتٍ عَدْنٍ), into which they shall enter, through which the rivers flow, and wherein they shall have what they desire." SVI, 30-31.

V

The word (نعيم) na'im means: ease, comfort, enjoyment and wealth. (10) To the last meaning the following passage, CII, 8, bears reference:-

"Then you will indeed be asked about the wealth (النعيم) i.e., the wealth you accumulate. In the remaining instances of its usages, the term refers to the comfort and enjoyment of the righteous in their abode of Divine rewards, i.e., (الجنة)"

In most of these instances the term is annexed to the word (الجنة), and in the remaining passages it is used alone. (11)

To illustrate, the following passages are quoted:

"Verily for those who have believed and wrought the works of righteousness there are Gardens of Delight (جَنَّاتِ النَّعِيمِ)" XXXI, 8.

"Verily the righteous are in Delight (نعيم) Upon the couches they look round. One recognises in their faces the cheerfulness of Delight (نَضْرَةَ النَّعِيمِ)" LXXXII, 22-27

VI

The root (ع ق ب) conveys the idea of something or someone coming after another. There are various derivations from the

root. What is particularly related to our context are the words

عقَاب and عاقِبَة, عَقْبِي

(عَقْبِي) "uqbā" appears to be equivalent to "jazā",

i.e., the consequence of human acts whether in the sense of positive
(12)

or negative reward. In other words, it is the equivalent of

either the word "reward" or the word "punishment", depending on the
(13)

context. It occurs in the Qur'ān in this sense , and the following
passage is quoted for illustration:-

"Likeness of the Garden which is promised to those who show piety: through it the rivers flow, its edible (fruit) is perpetual like its shade; that is the consequence (14) (reward) for those who show piety. The consequence (punishment) for the unbelievers is Fire." XIII, 35. عَقْبِي 14

One of the meanings of the word (عاقِبَة) is "the end of
(15)
anything." In the Qur'ān, it is employed in the sense of the end or rather the conclusion of the consequence, desirable or otherwise, of a human attitude. It is therefore similar to the previous word, 'uqbā.

In some passages, the word refers to the bad end of the early
(16)
nations who rejected their respective Prophets. In most of these instances the Qur'ān calls upon its listeners to go and see the ruins of these nations and reflect. As an illustration, the Qur'ān reads:

"Say, Travel in the land and see of what nature was the 'āqibah of those who counted (the message) false". VI, 11.

In one instance only, it is employed in the sense of
"punishment" in the Hereafter, which reads:

"So, the 'āqibah for both, (Satan and man), is that they are in the Fire, abiding therein." LIX, 17.

And in some cases it means the determination of the end or the outcome of matters. We read:

"And towards Allah is the 'aqibah of all the affairs". XXXI, 22.

But when this term is prefixed by the definite article (أَل), it appears to mean success, as the end of the righteous. Thus we read:

"And the successful end is for those who fear God (وَالْعَاقِبَةُ لِلتَّقِيْنَ)". VII, 128

In some other instances, the word (عَاقِبَةٌ) is annexed to the word " الدَّار ", i.e., the dwelling, which appears to refer particularly to (الْحَيَاة). We read:

"O my people, go on acting as you are doing, I am going to act (my way); Sometime you will know to whom the 'aqibah of al-Dar shall be". VI, 135.

The verb (عَاقَبَ) occurs in three passages, in the sense of "retaliation", (i.e., for an offence.) We read:

"If you take vengeance, 'aqabtum, take it, 'aqibu only in the measure that vengeance was taken from you." XVI, 126

The word (عِقَابٌ) which is the infinitive of عَاقَبَ (17)

denotes in all its Qur'anic instances, the sense of punishment; and in most of the cases, punishment is described as painful. We read:

"Your Lord renders forgiveness; and His punishment (عِقَابٌ) is painful." XL, 43

Among all the derivatives of this root, the verbal noun (عِقَابٌ) seems to be specially important. Its Qur'anic use is limited to the sense of Divine punishment, as the consequence of evil acts. ~~(XXX)~~ It appears to have become a convenient technical term conveying this meaning. In other words it is the antonym of the term " ثَوَابٌ ".

VII

The word (عَذَابٌ) appears to convey the sense of

torture, torment or pain, whether it is a consequence of disobedience, in which case it nearly means punishment; or is merely caused by misfortune.

(18)
 Zabīdī, relates, with approval, on the authority of his Shaikh, to the effect that the basic idea of the root (ع ذ ب) is: ^{منع} prevention. Basing on this foundation, he asserts, ^{that} the words عَذْب and عَذْوَبَة which are derivatives of this root, are applicable to (sweet) water because it prevents thirst. In the same way, the author continues, 'adhāb is called as such because it prevents the repetition of crimes.

This, in our view, appears to be far-fetched. Water does not prevent the occurrence of the experience of thirst; it merely quenches it. Moreover, 'adhāb is not only applicable to punishment for a crime; it is also employed in the sense of torment or pain, physical or mental. (19) In addition, such a refined interpretation could hardly have been in the minds of the early Arabs.

The Miṣbāḥ claims that the original meaning of عَذَاب was : beating, and it was then extended to all types of painful punishment. Then, he continued, it was applied, figuratively, to all kinds of hardship and it is therefore said: Travelling is a piece of 'adhāb. (20)

The word 'adhāb and the verbal derivatives from the same root are widely used in the Qur'ān. In the majority of its occurrences, the term refers to the Divine punishment in the Hereafter. We read:

"Verily in this, there is a sign for whoever fears the punishment of the Hereafter; (عَذَابِ الْآخِرَةِ); that is a day to which people are to be gathered and it is a day attested."

In some instances, the word refers to the punishment due to commission of adultery, or for attempted rape. In some others, it is employed in the sense of sufferings inflicted by man, such as the hardships imposed on the Israelites by Pharaoh. In many others, the word is employed in the sense of Divine Punishment which visited those who rejected the message of their respective Prophets, or with which such unbelievers were threatened. (21) Thus we read:

".....if they, (maids), having been taken under ward, they commit fabishah, they shall be subject to half the 'adhab, punishment, to which those (free women) under ward are subject" IV, 25.

"They, (Joseph and the wife of al-'Azīz), raced for the door, and she rent his shirt from behind. At the door they met her master; she said, What is the recompense of one who has intended evil towards your household except that he be imprisoned, or a painful 'adhāb', XII, 25.

"Assuredly we have rescued the children of Israel from a humiliating punishment; from Pharaoh...." XLIV, 30-31

"In the early morning there came upon them a settled 'adhab'. LIV, 38

"....There has come to you an Evidence from your Lord; this is the she-camel of Allah as a sign for you; let her eat in the land of Allāh, and molest her not, lest there seize you a painful 'adhāb'. VII, 23

The word 'adhāb' appears to have gained popularity as a technical term, antonym of the term, thawāb.

VIII

The next word we deal with is جَهَنَّمَ, Jahannam. It means (22) the abode of punishment in the Hereafter. It is claimed that Jahannam was originally جَهَنَّمَ, (23) a Persian word, Arabianised in the form of Jahannam. Another opinion claims that the word belongs to a (24) Hebrew origin, which appears to be the case. This is in view of the striking similarity between the Arabic term and the Hebrew word

which means the valley of Hinnom and which is believed to be the ultimate origin of the word Gehenna which, as used in the New Testament, is synonymous with the Arabic term. (25)

The term occurs in numerous Qur'anic verses (26) where the unbelievers and transgressors are warned of its torments. The Qur'an reads,

"And for the unbelievers will be the fire of Hell (نَارُ جَهَنَّمَ)...." XXXV, 36.
 "And whoever deliberately kills a believer, his reward will be Hell (جَهَنَّمَ) where he will reside forever." IV, 93.

IX

The word جَهَنَّمَ, is defined as "the fire which is powerfully kindled, every fire made up of layers, every great fire in a pit, and places which are exceedingly hot." (27) This word is used in the Qur'an, as an equivalent to the term "جَهَنَّمَ", in some twenty-five verses. The Qur'an, e.g., reads:

"And those who embraced Kufr and rejected our signs are dwellers of Jahim". V, 10.

It is interesting to note that most of the verses where the term Jahim is used appear to be of Meccan revelations. Likewise, the majority of the occurrences of most of the passages where the previous term, جَهَنَّمَ occurs, appear to belong to the same category.

X

The last of the group of words under discussion is "النَّار" which means fire or The Fire. The Qur'anic use of the word is of three meanings, namely:-

1. The ordinary meaning of fire. We read:

"It is He Who created (نَارًا) for you from the green trees" XXXVI, 80.

"Has there come to you the story of Moses when he saw a fire, and said to his people: Stay! I have perceived a fire (نَارًا). Maybe I shall bring you from it a brand, or shall find guidance at the fire (أَوْ يَجِدُ عَلَى النَّارِ نَجْدًا) XX, 9-10.

2. The sense of flames with which the unbelievers and evil-doers are to be tormented in the Hereafter. We read:

"And for those who have disbelieved is the fire of Jahannam (نَارُ جَهَنَّمَ). XXXVI, 35.

"...as for those who have disbelieved, for them garments of fire have been cut, while from above their heads hot water is poured" XXII, 19 ^{above them}

"For them (i.e., the doomed), are awnings of the "fire", and awnings beneath" XXXIX, 16.

3. As an equivalent of the term Jahannam, (جَهَنَّمَ), i.e., (29) the abode of punishment, In all the cases where it conveys this meaning, with the exception of one instance, the word is prefixed by الْ, the definitive article, thus denoting a proper noun. The Qur'an reads:-

"On account of their transgressions, they (Pharoah and his soldiers) were drowned, and made to enter Fire (نَارًا)", LXI, 25

and reads:

"As for those who have been reprobate, their abode will be the Fire (النَّار). XXXII, 20.

From that it appears that the abode of doom, Hell, is given three names in the Qur'an: i.e., الجحيم, النار, and جَهَنَّمَ. There (29) are others which were later claimed to be other names of Hell, but none of those others, however, has gained such a popularity as these three terms.

The words and terms so far discussed and analysed, and the passages in which they occur where rewards are assured for good deeds and punishment (30)

is warned for other acts no doubt assume that man is held by Muhammad and his book as fully responsible for his acts; and this fact implies an

acknowledgement by the Qur'an of man's freedom to choose and determine the course of his action.

II - SECOND GROUP OF QUR'ANIC PASSAGES

This group consists of passages which contain words derived from the following four roots:- (فعل), (صنع), (كسب) and (عمل).

The basic meaning of the root (فعل) appears to be human movement or action. ⁽³¹⁾ Its derivatives are widely used in the Qur'an, and in some of these instances the derivatives are used with reference to God's acts. The application of the term to God is probably the reason for the claim that the extension of the word to other types of acts is by the way of allusion ⁽³²⁾ . كناية . In many other instances the reference is to human acts, both good acts and others. ⁽³³⁾

The following verses are quoted to illustrate:-

- ".... Verily Allah does what He pleases إِنَّ اللَّهَ يَفْعَلُ مَا يُشَاءُ" XXII, 19.
 "He will not be questioned for what He does لَا يُسْأَلُ عَمَّا يَفْعَلُ, but they will be questioned" XXI, 23.
 "O you who have believed, bow and do obeisance and serve your Lord and do what is good وَأَقْبِلُوا الْحَيْرَاتِ," XXII, 77.
 "He (Lot) said, here are my daughters, if you are doing (it); إِنْ كُنْتُمْ فَاعِلِينَ," XV, 70.

The basic meaning of the root (صنع) is to make, with the verbal nouns (صُنِعَ and صَنِيْع) both applicable to approved, and disapproved acts. ⁽³⁴⁾ Derivatives of this root occur in some Qur'anic passages, in most of which the word refers to man's acts.

The Qur'an reads:

"But a striking (calamity) will always fall upon those who have disbelieved for what they have done *بِمَا صَنَعُوا* " XIII, 31

and reads:

"And in the end, God will announce to them what they have been doing" *وَمَتَّوْفٍ يَنْبَغُ اللَّهُ مَا كَانُوا يَصْنَعُونَ* V, 19.

In one of the few other instances the term applies to God in the sense of making. It reads:

".... the making (the work) of Allah Who has perfected everything *صَنَعَ اللَّهُ الَّذِي أَنْشَأَ كُلَّ شَيْءٍ* " (35) XXVII, 88.

The basic meaning of the next root (*كَسَبَ*) appears (36) to be: to acquire or to seek to acquire, hence, to acquire the consequence of an act. (37) The derivatives of this root are fairly widely scattered in the Qur'an, (38) where the reference is always to human deeds whether they are good or evil acts, or to both types of acts. The next verses are quoted for illustration:

"....On the day when one of the signs of your Lord comes iman will not benefit any soul who has not previously believed, or amassed some good in its iman *أَوْ كَسَبَتْ فِي إِيمَانِهَا خَيْرًا* ". VI, 158

"Those who pile up evil *مَنْ كَسَبَتْ سَيِّئَةً* and whose sin encompasses them, will be inmates of the Fire" II, 81

"Allah lays not upon any soul more than ^{it} he has capacity for; what it has gained stands to its credit *لَهَا مَا كَسَبَتْ* , what it has piled up stands against it *وَعَلَيْهَا مَا كَسَبَتْ* ". II, 281

The last root under discussion is (*عَمَلَ*), the verbal noun of which, *عَمَلٌ* (39) is defined as: profession or action. The derivatives of this root are very widely scattered in the Qur'an, (40) in only one of which the reference is to God's acts. It reads:-

"Would not they see that We have created for them cattle from what Our hands did" *جَاعِلًا أَيْدِينَا* XXXVIII, 71.

In all the rest of cases the reference is to human acts and

the acts are attributed to man. For example, the Qur'an reads:-

".... whoever does good the weight of an atom, will see it, (i.e., its reward in the Hereafter), and whoever does wrong or evil the weight of an atom will see it." XCIX, 7-8.

And it also reads:-

"Verily God is Aware of what you do". II, 110.

In all the Qur'anic uses of the derivatives from the above roots where reference is made to human acts, man is acknowledged as the author of his act. In many cases he is warned of punishment or promised reward for these acts. (41) In other words, man is held in the Qur'an to be responsible for the acts of which he is held to be the author or is at least assumed to be so held.

An instance of the Qur'anic use of a derivative from the root *عمل*, however, may appear to be in conflict with this conclusion.

The passage in question reads:-

" *وَاللّٰهُ خَلَقَكُمْ وَمَا تَعْمَلُونَ* " XXXVII, 39.

It can possibly be rendered as:-

"And Allah has created you and what you do, or has created you and your deeds",

depending on what ^{has} "mā" (ما) in the text is considered a relative pronoun *اسم موصول* or *مصدرية*, i.e., a particle causing the following verb to be in the position of a verbal noun. (42)

Abu al-Hasan as-Ash'arī was probably the first to make use of this text in advancing the theory which claims that man has no real part in the production of his own acts. He bases his argument with regard to attributing man's acts to God on this text. His words in this connexion read as follows:-

"If a questioner says: 'Why did you claim that the acquisitions - aksab - of creatures are created by God, the Almighty?', he is answered, "We said this, because God the Almighty said" "وَاللَّهُ خَلَقَكُمْ وَمَا تَعْبُدُونَ" (43) and God said " "جَزَاءُ لِمَا كَانُوا يَعْمَلُونَ" XLVI, 14) - i.e., since the consequence جَزَاءُ (reward) falls here on (i.e., attaches to), their deeds, "Al-Ash'arī continues, "God is the creator of their deeds." (44)

Al-Ash'arī is trying to disprove the possibility that "mā" in 37/96 could be a relative pronoun referring to the material from which the Meccans made the idols, in which case his thesis cannot have a basis from the text. If this possibility is excluded, the reference would be to the process of carving, which is a human act. Therefore, in the following paragraph, i.e., No. 83 of al-Luma', Al-Ash'arī proceeds to answer two points which appear to favour the interpretation of mā as a relative pronoun referring to the material of which the idols were made, i.e., stone, brass, wood, etc. The first of the two paragraphs is pertinent to our present discussion, and it can be rendered as follows:-

"Then if (a questioner) said: Did God not say, 'Would you worship what you carve', (XXXVII, 95) meaning the idols which they (the Meccans) had made, why then do you deny that God's words "وَاللَّهُ خَلَقَكُمْ وَمَا تَعْبُدُونَ" refer to the idols? He is to be answered: Wrong is what you have thought, because the idols were in reality carved by them, (the Meccans), and therefore God the Almighty refers to them (the idols) in His words, 'Would you worship what you carve, (i.e., the material of which the idols were made), But the wood was not made by them, (the Meccans), in reality; therefore, it cannot be claimed that God's words 'He created you' and "وَمَا تَعْبُدُونَ" refer to it, i.e., the wood." (45)

In other words, al-Ash'arī is denying the possibility of interpreting (مَا) in 37/96 as a relative pronoun referring to the idols, even though the balance with the previous statement, 37/95, where (مَا) refers necessarily to the idols, appears to justify

that (مَا) in 37/96 should likewise refer to the idols or rather to the material from which they were made and not to the human act of carving. His argument is that in 37/95 the words (مَا تَنْجُونَ) can be interpreted 'what you carve', because the idols were truly carved by them, whereas in 37/96 (وَمَا تَعْمَلُونَ) could not be interpreted 'what you do' because the idols or the material of which the idols are made, were not made by them.

Let us now turn to the Commentators on the Qur'ān and see how they interpreted this verse, 37/96, which al-Ash'arī appears to have made controversial.

We have seen earlier how al-Ṭabarī was objective in his presentation. He simply states that mā can be either masdariyyah, in which case the statement would be: And Allāh has created you and your acts, or mawsūlah, in which case the meaning would be: and Allāh has created you and your acts, or mawsūlah, in which case the meaning would be: And Allāh has created you and what you carve, i.e., stone brass, etc. He simply adds that the second interpretation, i.e., that mā is mawsūlah, is - if God wills - the intention of Qatādah (قصران شا، الله فآدم) in a statement ascribed to the latter by Ṭabarī through a chain of authorities. (46)

Al-Ṭabarī who flourished in the third century (47) had probably completed his work before al-Ash'arī, whose 'conversion' (48) took place in al-Baṣrah in 300 A.H., began to make use of the text in advancing his doctrine with regard to human acts. But the Commentators who came thereafter are no more neutral. They purposely

supported al-Ash'arī's interpretation or actively rejected it.

Ibn Kathīr propagated the interpretation of al-Ash'arī, bringing forth in support of it a tradition from Bukhārī which reads,

"Verily Allāh makes the maker and his making, or the doer and his acts. (49)

Al-Baidāwī asserts that mā can possibly be considered mawṣūlah or masdariyyah, but ingeniously interprets the statement in both cases (50) in favour of the Sunnite doctrine: Whether mā is mawṣūlah or masdariyyah he made the reference to the idols. In the first case, this is obvious, but he says that the idols' form, though the making of the Meccans, is ultimately God's making by enabling them to do it and by creating all that their work depends upon. In the case it is masdariyyah, the verbal noun assumed from the verb which follows, stands in the sense of a passive participle and the meaning will be: and God has created you and what is done by you (مَعْمُولِكُمْ) which is the same on the first assumption. Al-Baidāwī further asserts that it is preferable to maintain that mā is masdariyyah without the assumption of the verbal noun being in the force of a passive participle, which is al-Ash'arī's interpretation. He adds: our friends adhere to this interpretation; and it is preferable (51) because it is free from omission and from the employment of metaphor.

The grounds of al-Baidāwī's preference are simply verbal reasons. The first interpretation of mā (مَصْدَرِيَّة) would imply the omission of the connecting pronoun, i.e., الْمَلِكِ, and the employment of the verbal noun in the sense of a passive participle on the second assumption, is a figure of speech. On these grounds, al-Baidāwī advances the Sunnite interpretation. The connecting pronoun in the accusative is, however,

frequently omitted ⁽⁵²⁾ without necessarily weakening the style in any way. In fact, it is omitted in the very previous verse, i.e., 37/35. To imply, on the other hand, an undesirability of employing metaphors in the Qur'an will take us to an old dispute from which those who admitted it appear to be on much firmer grounds. ⁽⁵³⁾ It is enough, however, that such an implication will conflict with al-Baidāwī's own frequent resort to ⁽⁵⁴⁾ metaphorical interpretations.

Let us now turn to a spokesman from the other party, the Rationalists, and al-Zamakhsharī is perhaps the best representative. His interpretation of the verse under discussion can be rendered as follows:- " **وَاللَّهُ خَلَقَكُمْ** **وَمَا تَعْبُدُونَ** " means: "He created you and created the idols which you make (as such, this will be of an effect) like that of **بَلِ رَبِّكُمْ رَّبٌّ** **السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ الَّذِي فَطَرَهُنَّ** (which means: but Your Lord is the Lord of Heavens and the earth Who has created them, i.e., created the idols.) Al-Zamakhsharī continues, "If you say: why do you deny that 'ma' is maṣḍariyyah, not mawṣūlah, and then the meaning would be: and God has created you and your deeds, as, the 'Mujbirah' (the fatalists) assert? Then I would answer that the meaning of the verse in the context obviously disagrees with this interpretation and is very clearly against it. This is because God the Almighty repudiates the Meccans' stand here, on the grounds that both the worshipper and worshipped are the creation of Allah and on the grounds of the irrationality of a created party worshipping another which is likewise created, while the worshipper is the one who has made the form of the party which is worshipped." He goes further, "If you interpret the verse as: and Allah has created you and created your deeds, there would be

no legitimate repudiation, and the statement would be out of the context. And there is another aspect, "(al-Zamakhsharī continues, "namely, that the words (مَا تَعْمَلُونَ), i.e., what you do, is the interpretation of (مَا تَنْحِتُونَ), i.e., what you carve; and ma in (مَا تَنْحِتُونَ) is a relative pronoun without dispute. Therefore, those who claim a different interpretation do so only arbitrarily and out of sheer prejudice." (55)

Abu Hayyān in treating this verse says that the clear interpretation is that mā is mawṣūlah joined to the accusative pronoun in (خَلَقَكُمْ), and the meaning would be: and He created your substance and the substance of what you do. He later adds: and it is said that ما is maṣḍariyyah so that the meaning would be: He created you and your deeds; and they (the Sunnis) made this a basis for the doctrine that human acts are the creation of Allah. (56)

Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, a famous traditionalist, explains how this verse was used as a basis for the doctrine of الإصحاب (the Sunnites), and gives objections raised against it. He then concludes: "Let it be noted that there are strong objections but we have many other proofs. (57) It is therefore better not to make use of this verse as another proof"

The above is the gist of the dispute over the verse 37/96 on which the basis of which the Ash'arites mainly build their doctrine. From our point of view, the argument of one side does not in fact invalidate the interpretation of the other. Al-Ash'arī's interpretation, however, appears to be more plausible. According

to the interpretation of his opponents, (مَا تَعْبُدُونَ) would refer exactly to what has been referred to by (مَا تَسْبُحُونَ) in the previous statement. This would have probably been better served by the employment of the personal pronoun, though the given style is certainly more effective. Moreover, we cannot concede to the claim that Al-Ash'ari's interpretation would be alien to the context. That God has created the idols and the acts of shaping them appears to be equally appropriate in the context.

On the other hand, Al-Ash'ari's insistence on his interpretation of /in "بِزَادٍ بِمَا كَانُوا يَعْبُدُونَ" can easily be a relative pronoun referring to the/ (مَا) in 37/96 is not necessary. " مَا " /deeds without affecting the meaning. In fact (مَا) is substituted in similar situations

by the categorically relative pronoun (الَّذِي), referring to deeds.

Take, e.g., XXXIX, 35 which reads:

وَيَجْزِيهِمْ أَجْرَهُمْ بِأَحْسَنِ الَّذِي كَانُوا يَعْبُدُونَ

Moreover, when (مَا) in 37/96 is looked upon as a relative pronoun,

it does not necessarily refer to the idols or the substance. It may

refer to the deed which is carving, and would then stand in the

grammatical position of an objective complement مفعول مطلق , being

an adjective of as assumed verbal noun, الملق . This possibility

is in fact conceded to by Az-Zamakhshari, but he rejects it on

(58)

contextual grounds in which we disagree with him.

From this analysis it appears that insistence on one or the other of the interpretations of مَا in 37/96 is arbitrary; and that the line adopted by al-Tabari seems to be the fairest.

While al-Ash'ari's interpretation is held to be a possibility, the question remains whether this interpretation would really support his doctrine that human acts are not in fact made by man but ^{by} God alone. Our

view is that it does not! All that it leads to is that human actions and movements and all that which results therefrom are God's creation. This does not conflict with the claim that man's acts and deeds are at the same time human making, since there seems to be a clear distinction between creation and making. Creation is to bring out something from nothing, (59) and all indications show that the usage of this word, in the sense of creation, is limited to God. (60) Unlike God's creations, human acts and movements are not eternal. They are performances which man produces as actor and which God causes to exist and to come into being as The Creator. In other words, man acts and performs, and it is God Who Creates. Thus, (61) khalaq belongs to God, whereas 'ama' belongs to man.

Thus, although Al-Ash'ari's interpretation of 37/96 may be permissible or even favoured, his deduction from it that man's acts do not belong to him is certainly in-admissible; and the Qur'an remains categorical in ascribing man's acts to man and in stating that they are done by him, made by him and acquired by him.

3. THIRD GROUP OF QUR'ANIC PASSAGES

This group consists of passages where man is categorically declared free in determining the course of his acts. The words used in this connexion belong to one or the other of two roots with the basic meaning of volition, namely, وَشَاءَ and شَاءَ.

Of the first root, the verbal derivative in the Fourth Form is employed in Qur'anic passages with the meaning of human wish, desire or determination. (62) The Qur'an reads:-

"When he (i.e. Abraham) said to his father and people: What do you

"worship?

A fake, gods apart from Allah do you choose (أَفَكَا إِلَهًا دُونَ اللَّهِ يَدُونَ) " and reads:- XXXVII, 86.

".....You desire (تُرِيدُ) nothing but, to become a tyrant in the earth, and you have no intention (وَمَا تُرِيدُ) of being one of those who set things right" XXVIII, 19

and reads:-

"..... and whoever wills (وَمَنْ يَرِدْ) to cause deviation from its purpose, (al-Musjid al-Haram), wrongfully, We shall let him taste a painful punishment" XXII, 25.

It also reads:-

"And He it is Who has caused the night and the day to succeed each other, (an indication) for those who chose (لِمَنْ أَرَادَ) to reflect or chose (أَوْ أَرَادَ) to be thankful" XXV, 62.

Of the second root ش ي ا , the verbal derivative in the First Form occurs in ten Qur'anic passages, (63) with the idea of choosing or determination ascribed to man.

The Qur'an reads:-

"Let him believe whoever wills; and let him disbelieve whoever wills, فَمَنْ شَاءَ فَلْيُؤْمِنْ وَمَنْ شَاءَ فَلْيُكْفِرْ" XXVIII, 18.

The Qur'an also reads:-

"Verily this is a reminder; whoever wills (فَمَنْ شَاءَ) let him choose a way to his Lord" LXXVI, 29. (64) LXXIV, 54-55; LXXX, 11-12

It also reads:-

"It (i.e., the revelation) is nothing but a reminder to the worlds; to whomever of you wills (لِمَنْ شَاءَ مِنْكُمْ) to be on the straight path." LXXXI, 27-28.

There are in addition many other Qur'anic statements which convey the idea of human freedom of choice and determination without employing either of the above two terms. The following are quoted here as representative samples:-

"Verily, We created man from a drop, a mixture; to try him We have made him able to hear and to see. We have guided him as to the way; whether (he would be) grateful or ungrateful." LXXVI, 2-3

"Have We not given him (man) two eyes, a tongue and two lips, and guided him the two paths?" XC, 8-10.

It is clear from the above, that the Qur'an categorically states that man is free to determine his course of action. Bearing in mind the earlier deductions, it can be summed up now that the Qur'anic attitude ascribes human acts to man and acknowledges man's freedom of choice.

IV: GROUP OF QUR'ANIC PASSAGES IMPLYING A SENSE OF COMPULSION

The relevant passages under this heading are those where human acts are attributed to God, or where they are declared to have been caused by an act of God or where man's freedom is declared to be controlled or curtailed by the Divine determination. (64) Relevant words employed in those passages belong to one or another of the following roots:-

هدى	اذن	غشى	صرم
ضلل	قدر	طبع	عمى
شىء	قضى	كنن	خلق
رود	ختم	وقر	

(a) Hudā and Dalāl هدى (a)

Hudā means: guidance; and its antonym is Dalāl. (65) Hence:

hadā هدى (1st Form), Hādī هادٍ (active Participle) and ihudā اهتدى (8th Form), and muhtādī مهتدي (active Participle) in the sense of: to guide and to be guided aright; and dalla ضل (1st. Form), ḍāl ضال (active participle) and adalla أضل (4th Form), and ḍāḥil مضل (active participle), in the sense of: to go astray and to lead astray respectively.

- Hadā (هَدَى), in the sense of guiding aright, and adalla in the sense of leading astray are ascribed to God (66) in the following Qur'anic passages: (67)
- 1 - "He misleads many thereby and guides many thereby; He misleads thereby only the miscreants" (68) II, 26
 - 2 - "Remember Him as He has guided you aright; before, you were indeed" 69
of those astray" II, 198
 - 3 - "God does not lead aright the folk who are transgressors" (70)
II, 258
 - 4 - "God does not guide aright the folk who are disbelieving" 71
II, 264
 - 5 - "Do you wish to guide him whom God has led astray?" (72)
IV, 88
 - 6 - "For him whom God sends astray you cannot find a way (to guiding
him)" (73) IV, 88, 145
 - 7 - "He whom God guides is indeed led aright, while those whom God
sends astray are indeed the losers" VII, 178
(74)
 - 8 - "He whom God leads astray, there cannot be a guide to him." /VII, 186
 - 9 - "God never sends a folk astray after He had guided them until He had
made clear to them what they should avoid." IX, 115.
 - 10 - "..... From amongst them are some whom God has guided aright, and
from amongst them are those on whom erring has just held,
(فَمِنْهُمْ مَّنْ هَدَى اللَّهُ وَمِنْهُمْ مَّنْ حَمَّ عَلَيْهِ الصَّلَاةُ) If you are keen to see
them guided aright, God does not guide aright him whom (He had
decreed to) mislead. (75) XVI, 36.
 - 11 - "Whoever God guides, he is guided aright; and for whoever God
leads astray you will find no protection beyond Allah" (76) XVII, 97.
 - 12 - "He whom God guides is indeed guided aright; and whom God sends
astray you will not find to him a guiding friend." XVIII, 17.
 - 13 - "God leads those who have believed to the upright way." XXII, 54.
 - 14 - "But those who do wrong follow their lusts without knowledge; whoever
can guide him whom God has sent astray." (77) XXX, 29.

- 15 - "God does not guide him who is a liar, an ingrate" XXXIX, 3.
- 16 - "God does not guide him who is extravagant and a liar." XL, 28.
- 17 - "Thus God sends astray him who is extravagant and doubtful" XL, 34
- 18 - "Thus God sends the unbelievers astray" XL, 74
- 19 - "Have you seen him who took his desire as his god and whom Allah misled in His eternal Knowledge (وَأَضَلَّ اللَّهُ عَلَىٰ عِلْمٍ) and sealed his hearing and his heart and set a covering on his sight? Whoever can guide him after Allah?" (78) XLV, 23

(b) المشيه and its synonym: الهداية

It was shown above that the idea of determination was one of the basic meanings of the roots: سود and ش ي ا (First Form of سود), and, ش ا, (First Form of ش ي ا), are employed in the sense of God's determining to guide aright, to lead astray, to cause to hearken, to purify or to seduce, (79) a determination which sometimes appears to be arbitrary. The implication is that human acts are caused only by a Divine decree and not by a human will. Even the human freedom which has been recognised in several passages discussed earlier, is occasionally stated as being constrained by the Divine decree.

The Qur'an reads:-

- 20 - ".... Then God by His will guided those who believed to the truth concerning which they, (the people of the Scripture), differed, by His permission; and God guides whom He wills to be a straight path". II, 213
- 21 - ".... Say: to God belong the East and the West. He guides whom He wills to a straight path." (80) II, 142
- 22 - "Had God willed, they would not have fought one another" II, 253
- 23 - "You cannot avail him against God, whom God wills to seduce; they are those whose hearts it is not the will of God to cleanse" V, 41
- 24 - "Had God willed, He could have brought them all together to the guidance" VI, 35

- 25 - "Whom God wills He sends astray, and whom He wills He places on a straight path" (91) VI, 39
- 26 - "Had God willed, they would not have been idolatrous. We have not sent you as a keener over them, nor are you responsible for them" VI, 107
- 27 - "Even if We should send down the angels to them, and make the dead speak to them, and gathered against them all things array, they would not believe unless Allah wills" (91)
- 28 - "Had your Lord willed, they would not have done it", (i.e., inspiring in one another plausible discourse through guile (82) - or infanticide) (83)
- 29 - "Whomever it is God's will to guide aright, He expands his bosom to Islam; and whomever it is His Will to send astray, He makes his bosom close and narrow as if he were engaged in sheer ascend" VI, 125
- 30 - "Had He willed, He could have guided you all" VI, 149 (Ch: XVI, 9)
- 31 - "It is only Your trial; according to it You send astray whom You will, and guide aright whom You will." VII, 155
- 32 - "Had your Lord willed, all the inhabitants of the earth would have believed" X, 99
- 33 - "When I want to advise you, my counsel will not profit you if God wills to send you astray (*إِنْ كَانَ اللَّهُ يُرِيدُ أَنْ يُغْوِيَكُمْ*) XI, 34
- 34 - "Say: Verily God sends astray whom He wills, and guides unto Him who turns to Him" XIII, 27
- 35 - "Have the faithful not yet despaired, (from their antagonists's embracing the faith), as, Had God willed He could have guided all mankind" XIII, 31
- 36 - "Thus God sends astray whom He wills, and guides aright whom He wills" XIV, 4 (LXXIV, 31)
- 37 - "And God sends astray the transgressors, and God does what He wills" XIV, 27
- 38 - "Thus We revealed it (the Qur'an) as plain signs, and verily God guides aright whom He wills" XXII, 16
- 39 - "God guides to His light whom He wills" XXIV, 35

- 40 - "Verily We have sent down clarifying revelations; God guides whom He wills to a straight path" XXIV, 46 (X, 25)
- 41 - "Verily you cannot guide whom you like, but God guides whom He wills; and He knows best those who go aright." XXVII, 56 (II, 272)
- 42 - "Had We willed, We could have given every soul its guidance" XXXII, 13.
- 43 - "Nor are the living equal with the dead. Verily God makes hear whom He wills (إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَسَمِيعٌ مِّنْ شَيْءٍ) You cannot make hear those who are in the graves" (84) XXXV, 22
- 44 - "This is God's guidance whereby He guides whom He wills; and whom God sends astray, for him there is no guide" XXXIX, 33
- 45 - ".....But We have made it (the revelation) a light with which We guide whom We will from our bondmen; and verily you guide to a straight path". XLII, 52 (VI, 88)
- 46 - "They will not heed unless God wills" LXXIV, 56
- 47 - "Yet you do not will unless God wills." LXXVI, 30 (LXXXI, 29)

(c) اذْن

One of the meanings of the root اذْن is to permit or allow.

The verbal noun اذْن of the First Form, in the sense of God's permission, as it appears, is given in the following Qur'anic passages as something (85) on which certain human acts are dependant. Those passages read:-

- 48 - "...then Allah guided those who believed to the truth, concerning which they have differed by His permission" (86) II, 213
- 49 - "And We have not sent any messenger but that he might be obeyed by the permission of Allah" IV, 64
- 50 - "And it is not for a soul to believe except with the permission of Allah, and He lays abomination upon those who do not reflect" X, 100
- 51 - "O Prophet! We have sent you as a witness, bringing forth good tidings, and a warner; And a summoner for Allah by His permission" XXXIII, 45-6.
- 52 - "... Some of them (i.e. People of the Book) wrong themselves, some of them act in moderation, and some of them take precedence in good deeds by the permission of Allah" XXXV, 32

(d) Qadar: قَدَر

The basic meaning of the root قَدَر appears to be: measure or attainment; ⁽⁸⁷⁾ hence the definition given to قَدْر and قَدْر ⁽⁸⁸⁾ as "the decree of God in measure" In this sense the words قَدْر (infinitive), and قَدْر ^{ind.} (4th Form), appear to be employed in the following passages with, apparently, the idea of pre-determining human acts:-

- 53 - "... And then you came according to a decree, O Moses" ⁸⁹ XX, 40
- 54 - "... and He created everything and decreed it a decree" XXV, 2
(LXV, 3)
- 55 - "So We delivered him (Lot) and his household all except his wife whom We decreed to be one of those who lingered" XXVII, 57
(XV, 60)
- 56 - "We set between them and the towns on which We have bestowed Our blessing, towns (still to be seen); and We decreed the journey between them" (290) XXXIV, 18
- 57 - "Indeed everything We created in accordance with a decree" LIV, 49
- 58 - "Verily Allah attains His object; for everything He indeed has made a decree" LXV, 3
(291)
- 59 - " (And it is He) Who predetermined and guided." LXXXVII, 3

(e) Qada' قَضَاءُ

The idea of "accomplishment" appears to be the basic meaning of the root of this word, i.e., قَضَى ⁽²⁹²⁾. Various meanings related to this basic idea are attached to this term. ⁽²⁹³⁾ One of these is the "Divine decree in Um al-Kitāh". ⁽²⁹⁴⁾ In this sense, the term is alleged to be employed in the following passage:-

- 60 - "And We decreed ^{وَقَضَيْنَا} for the children of Israel in the Book: Surely you will cause corruption in the earth twice..." (295) XVII, 4

(f) عَمِيَ، صَمِمَ، وَقَرَّ، أَكْنَهَ، غَشَاوَهُ، خَتَمَ، طَبَعَ

The basic meaning of طَبَعَ is sealing, (296) hence طَبَعَ (1st. Form): to close. Sealing something is done after closing it to ensure against opening it. Hence طَبَعَ اللَّهُ عَلَى قَلْبِهِ means that God has closed his heart tightly so that the light of truth cannot penetrate it. The same is one of the basic meaning of Khatama خَتَمَ. (297)

The basic meaning of the root غَشَى appears to be: covering; hence غَشَاوَهُ, inf., a cover; and أَغَشَى, 4th. Form, to place a cover over someone or over something. (298)

The root كَنَنَ also denotes the idea of covering; hence كِنَانٍ, pl. أَكْنَاهُ, a cover. وَقَرَّ is defined as "heaviness in the ear." (299)

All the ideas denoted by the above words as well as the word أَصَمَّ, 4th Form of صَمِمَ, i.e., deafness; and the word أَعَمَّى, 4th. Form of عَمِيَ, i.e., blindness, are ascribed in the Qur'an to God, apparently declaring that the misguided people were kept away from the truth by a seal placed on their heart by God, by a cover set on their eyes by God, by layers round their hearts and heaviness in their ears and blindness of their eyes, all of which were caused by God in order to prevent the light of truth from being perceived by their senses or conceived by their hearts.

In the following passage, the words خَتَمَ and غَشَاوَهُ are used:-

61 - "God has set a seal خَتَمَ اللَّهُ upon their hearts and upon their hearing, and a covering upon their sight. (101)

In the following passages, the verb طبع (1st Form,

both perfect and imperfect), is employed:-

- 62 - "..... and for their saying: Our hearts are uncircumcised: Nay, Allah has set a seal upon them, (i.e. their hearts), for their disbelief." IV, 155
- 63 - "And We set a seal upon their hearts, therefore they do not hear" VII, 100.
- 64 - "Thus God sets a seal upon the hearts of the unbelievers" VII, 101
- 65 - "And a seal was set upon their hearts, therefore they have no discernment" IX, 87
- 66 " "And Allah has set a seal upon their hearts, therefore they do not know" IX, 93
- 67 - "... Thus do We set a seal upon the hearts of the aggressors" X, 74
- 68 - "It is those upon whose hearts and hearing and sight Allah has put a seal." XVI, 108
- 69 - "Thus God sets a seal upon the hearts of those who do not know." XXX, 59
- 70 - "... Thus Allah puts a seal upon the hearts of every self-conceited haughty one."
- 71 - "They are those on whose hearts God has set a seal, and they followed their lust." XLVII, 16
- 72 - "... They believed and then disbelieved, so a seal was set on their hearts; and they have no discernment." LXIII, 3

In the following verse, it is declared that God has blinded and deafened the unbelievers:-

- 73.- "Those are they whom Allah has cursed, and so has made them deaf and has blinded their eyes." XLVII, 23

In the following passage God is declared to have set a cover on the unbelievers:-

- 74 - "We have set before them a barrier, and behind them a barrier; and We have thrown a cover over them, so they do not see. " (102) XXXVI, 9

And in the following verse, Allah is declared to have set a cover on their hearts and created heaviness in their ears:-

- 75 - "Verily We have placed veils upon their hearts, lest they should understand it, (i.e., the Qur'an), and in their ears (We created) heaviness." XVIII, 57. (VI, 25 and XVII, 46)

(g) Khalq خَلَقَ
(103)

In the following passages, human acts appear to be stated as having been created by God, with the apparent implication of man having no effective part in their production:-

- 76 - "Or have they set up partners to Allāh, who have created as He has created, so that the creation has become confused to them!" (104) XIII, 16
- 77 - "... Is there any creator but Allāh? He provides for you from the Heaven and the Earth." (105) XXXV, 3
- 78 - "... God is the Creator of everything." XXXIX, 6 (VI, 101-2; XXV, 2; XII, 16 and XL, 62)
- 79 - "Make what you say secret or make it public; verily He knows what is in the breasts. Shall not He Who created know...." (106) LXVII, 13-4

(h) ASCRPTION OF SPECIFIC HUMAN ACTS TO GOD

In the following passage the killing of the unbelievers at the hands of Muslims on the day of Badr, (107) and the act of throwing stones by the Prophet in the direction of the enemy on the said day, (108) are ascribed to God:-

- 80 - "You did not kill them, (i.e., the unbelievers), but it was God Who killed them; and it was not you who threw when you threw, but it was Allāh Who threw!" VIII, 17

The implications of the passages under group IV as rendered above, can be summarised as follows:-

- (109)
- 1 - That human acts are merely God's doing and God's Creation,
 - 2 - That the human acts were determined in Eternity by the Divine Decree, (110)

thus implying a sense of coercion,

3 - That man is led to error to the right path by God (121) and by God's Will, (122), thus implying again a sense of coercion, since man has no choice in being led one way or the other, and

4 - That man's ability to assess and to choose, using his mind and senses, is not real, since God may seal his heart and block his senses. (123) His freedom of choice is categorically declared to be under the Control of the Divine Will, (124) and the coming into being of his acts is dependent on God's permission. (125)

In other words, man, according to these Qur'anic passages as presented above, under group IV, is rendered helpless. He is not the author of his deeds, and he is not a free agent'.

HARMONY OUT OF APPARENT CONFLICT

Thus the Qur'anic passages discussed under the first three groups speak in a simple, clear-cut and straightforward style, of the following:-

- 1 - That man is a free agent, and
- 2 - That man is the author of his deeds.

The Qur'anic passages discussed under Group IV, on the other hand, imply, as they are rendered above, the following:-

- 1 - That man's freedom is constrained by the Divine Will, and
- 2 - That what appears to be the deeds of man are in fact God's acts and creation.

This appears to be a flagrant internal conflict in the Qur'ān; but in our view the inconsistency is merely superficial and not real. Muhammad's adversaries, we feel, would have easily discerned the inconsistency and would have attacked him on its ground, and a reaction to such a dispute would have been likely traced in the Qur'ān or elsewhere, (126) specially that the apparent inconsistency started

(127)
as early as Sūra 47.

That Muhammad's opponents were alert to the occurrence of any contradiction that might be committed by Muhammad may be evidenced by the story of the storm raised by the Unbelievers of Mecca over Sura (128) 21 verse 98. (129) Ibn Ishāq's version of this story runs as follows:-

"The apostle sat one day, so I have heard, with al-Walīd b. al-Mughīrah in the mosque, and al-Nadr b. al-Ḥārith came and sat with them in the assembly where some of Quraysh were. When the apostle spoke, al-Nadr interrupted him, and the apostle spoke to him until he silenced him. Then he recited to him and to the others: "Verily ye and what ye serve other than God is the fuel of Hell. You will come to it, but all will be in it everlastingly. If these had been gods they would not have come to it, but all will be in it everlastingly. There is wailing and there they will not hear" Q.XXI, 98.

"Then the apostle rose and 'Abdullah b. al-Ziba'rā al-Sahmī came and sat down. Al-Walīd said to him: 'By God al-Nadr could not stand up to the (grand)son of 'Abdu'l-Muttalib just now and Muhammad alleged that we and our gods are fuel for hell.' 'Abdullah said: 'If I had found him I would have refuted him. Ask Muhammad, "Is everything which is worshipped besides God in Gehenna with those who worship it" We worship the angels; the Jews worship 'Uzayr; and the Christians worship Jesus Son of Mary.' Al-Walīd and those with him in the assembly marvelled at 'Abdullah's words and thought that he had argued convincingly. When the apostle was told of this he said: 'Everyone who wishes to be worshipped to the exclusion of God will be with those who worship him. They worship only satans and those they have ordered to be worshipped.' So God revealed concerning that: 'Those who have received kindness from Us in the past will be removed far from it and will not hear its sound and they abide eternally in their heart's desire', (Q.XXI, 101) i.e., Jesus Son

of Mary and 'Uzayr and those rabbis and monks who have lived in obedience to God, whom the erring people worship as lords beside God. 'And He revealed concerning their assertion that they worship angels and that they are the daughters of God, 'And they say the Merciful has chosen a son, (exalted be He above this); nay, they are but honoured slaves, they do not speak before He speaks, and they carry out His commands', as far as the words, 'and he of them who says, I am God as well as He, that one we shall repay with Gehenna. Thus do ^{W_o} they repay the sinful ones.'" Q.XXI, 26-30."

This story shows how vehement was the keenness of the opponents of Muhammad to point to any inconsistency that might occur in the Qur'an which challenged them in the following words:- "And if it were from any source other than Allāh, they would have found in it many contradictions." V, 82.

In the absence of any trace of criticism of the Qur'an by Quraysh or any others on the ground of inconsistency with regard to the question of Qadar, it appears that the contradiction is only superficial and is not real. In other words, the contradiction occurs somewhere in the interpretation of the Qur'anic words and not in the words themselves.

In our view, the contradiction arises from the misinterpretation of the Qur'anic passages rendered under Group IV above, into which the popular concept of Qadar has found its way. The interpretations of the passages discussed under the first three groups, on the other hand, do not appear to be disputable, not only that their implications appeal

to reason, but the words are free from any ambiguity.

That the traditional interpretation of the Qur'ān is occasionally open to criticism is widely recognised, and it is enough to quote such an authority as Ahmad ibn Hanbal who is related to have said: "Three things have no origin; Tafsīr, Malāḥim and Maghāzī." (120)

The literature of Tafsīr began to be written after the popular concept of Qadar, the development of which will be traced later, had been crystalised and had gained unquestionable prestige and respect. As a result, the original concept appears to have been blurred, and the authors only revealed and propagated the ideas they held.

Let us now consider the interpretations of the Qur'anic statements given above under Group IV, beginning with the category of passages given under (a) where the words *هدى* and *ضلال* and their derivatives are employed.

It seems that the given interpretations of these passages are largely mistaken because they ignore the circumstances in which they appear to have been revealed. (121) Take, e.g., Sūra 4 v.88 (122) where the word *تَهْتَدُوا* is rendered: to guide, and the words *أَضَلَّ اللهُ* is rendered: has led astray. This interpretation disregards the contextual circumstances in which this particular verse is supposed to have been revealed. Tabarī relates these circumstances in various versions. According to him, the Muslims were divided at the time with regard to a group of people who defected to the unbelievers of Mecca after having joined Madīna as Muslims. Another version claims that the division of opinion was over some who had failed to join the battle in defence of the

(123)
faith.

Then the Qur'an was revealed, reading:

"How are you divided in the matter of the hypocrites into two divisions, while God has forfeited their work because of what they have acquired, (i.e., committed); do you wish to guide aright whom God has misled? And whoever God has misled you will not find a way (for guiding him aright)." IV, 88.

The context here obviously indicates that the word تَهْتَدُوا means: to reckon as guided aright; and the word أَضَلَّ means: has reckoned as misguided. (127) And the statement: adalla Allah here means: whom God has judged as having been misled or: who has been caused to go astray by God's revelation which ought to have guided him aright. The ascription of of guiding and misguiding to God in this context adds an emphasis to the meaning and implies a sense of rebuke to those who chose to go astray as a result of the Divine Revelation.

It is not suggested that the meaning proposed for this verse should run through all the other instances where the words hada and adalla are used, simply because the cotextual circumstances may vary. Reading these instances together we find it categorically or implicitly stated that God's guiding one way or another depends on the attitude assumed by the individual. In the quotations, 1, 10, 14, 15, 16, 17 and 19, God is declared to have misled or to mislead the miscreants, those who mislead others, those who follow their lust, and liars and ingrate, the extravagant and liars, the extravagant and doubtful and those who took their desire as their God, respectively. In quotation 14, God is declared to lead aright the believers, and in quotations 3 and 4 God is declared not to lead aright the transgressors or the unbelievers respectively. This shows that God's will is not arbitrary, and that His judgement follows the attitude chosen by man.

In this connexion, it may be remembered that the Qur'anic assumption is that in the past all people were the same till Revelation started when people began to be divided on account of their attitude towards it. The Qur'an reads:-

"Men were on community, then God sent the Prophets bearers of good tidings and warners. And He revealed therewith the Scripture with the truth so that it (the Scripture) might judge between men concerning that over which they disputed; and only those who were given it (the Book) disputed over it through hatred after clear proof came to them." II, 213.

It therefore appears that the words huda and adalla in these passages are employed in the sense of: to cause to go aright or to cause to err, since God's revealing the truth indirectly caused certain people to benefit from the Prophets' guidance, which is (III, 4; II, 185) elsewhere called huda, or nūr, i.e. light (XL, 41; V, 44; XLII, 52) and indirectly caused others to be condemned as a result of their persistence on their errors. The direct cause of being guided aright or otherwise, however, is the human attitude and the human choice. Those who gave the revelation proper consideration could be persuaded and could thereby benefit from the guidance; whereas those who, under the influence of their lust and evil desire, closed their minds to the revelation and refused to hearken to it, continued being on the wrong way thereby deserving to be condemned.

This sense of causation holds good for the passages numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, possible 5 & 6, 7, 8, 10, possibly 11 & 12 & 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18 & 19. A sense of irony is implied where *it* is ascribed to God, and this ironical sense is further emphasised in 5, 6, 8, 11, 12, 19, and 14.

It is to be borne in mind moreover that the word hadā is employed elsewhere in the Qur'ān in the sense of: leading to the abode of paradise or, ironically, to Hell. It reads: "Those who believe and do good, their Lord will lead them by their belief (to Paradise) where the rivers flow beneath them, in the abode of Delight". X.9 It also reads: "Those are the owners of the Garden, wherein they abide. We remove from their hearts whatever rancour may be in them. Rivers will flow beneath them. They will say: Praise be to God Who has guided us to this." VII,42-3. It also reads: "(And it will be said to the angels): 'Assemble those who did wrong and the like of them and what they worshipped instead of God, then lead them فَاهْدُوهُمْ to the path of Hell.'" XXX,II,22-3. Furthermore, Idlāl اضلال is also employed in the sense of rendering in vain: The Qur'ān reads: "Those who disbelieved and repelled from the way of Allah, (He) has rendered their work in vain أَضَلَّ أَعْمَالَهُمْ". XLVII,1 and 8. It also reads: "And those who were killed in the cause of Allah, (He) will not render their works in vain." فَلَنْ يُضِلَّ أَعْمَالَهُمْ XLVII,4.

Thus, besides the sense of causation for the words hadā and adalla discussed above, we possess another meaning, namely: to lead to the abode of reward or to

lead to Hell respectively. Idlāl, moreover, has one more meaning, namely, to render the acts in vain.¹²⁵ These meanings appear to be applicable to the passages numbered 7, possibly 8 and 9 and 10 and 11 and 12 and 13.

Thus there are several plausible possibilities of interpreting these passages without the implication of the sense of compulsion in human acts, whether it is the sense of indirect causation, or the sense of leading to the abode of reward or the abode of punishment, or the sense of reckoning or judging someone as being on the right or the wrong path.

We now turn to consider the next collection of passages rendered under (b) of Group iv above, as well as the collections under (c) and (f). These passages where God is declared to lead aright or astray according to His Will, where human deeds are given as dependant on His permission, or where God is declared to have sealed the hearts of the unbelievers and the evildoers, etc., appear to have their backgrounds in the "fatalistic" attitude of the Arabs and the question of the Qur'anic use of metaphorical and figurative speeches.

That the pre-Islamic Arabs, like their descendants the contemporaries of Muḥammad, believed in a form or another of fatalism personified in God who controlled all

things especially those affecting human life, can be easily gathered from the early Arabic literature. Ibn Qutaybah, for example, dealt with this subject,¹²⁶ citing quotations from pre-Islamic and Islamic poetry where it is stated that meeting and separation are with a decree,¹²⁷ that decrees overtake everything and nothing can be attained unless it is decreed,¹²⁸ that it is not what one plans but what God decrees,¹²⁹ that following the right path or otherwise is by decree,¹³⁰ that stratagems cannot repel what has been decreed,¹³¹ etc. He concludes: "This is the doctrine of the Arabs; and it was the adherence of all the 'Ajam."¹³² He earlier related a statement attributed to Qatādah ibn Da'āmah¹³³ that: "The Arabs believed in Qadar both before and after Islām."¹³⁴

The implication of what Ibn Qutaybah writes here is that fatalism was a doctrine of the pre-Islamic Arabs as well as of Islam; but all his evidence merely shows that it was a doctrine of the Arabs which repeated itself especially in poetry, and not necessarily of Islam. The statement he attributes to Qatādah is obviously related to the Arabs alone, those before Islam and those after Islam, but not to Islam as such. The fact that Qatādah is widely known as a Qadrite¹³⁵ excludes the possibility that he intended such an implication at all. It appears

that Qatādah even meant to criticize the post-Islamic Arabs who held views contrary to his, blaming them for reverting to a Jāhiliyyah doctrine.

The relationship between the concept of time,¹⁴⁶ Dahr, or Zamān and the pre-Islamic fatalism of the Arabs, has been ascertained by W.L. Chrêmeier¹⁴⁷ and T. Noldeke.¹⁴⁸

The following quotation from Noldeke is instructive:-

"Time is represented as bringing misfortune, causing perpetual change, as biting, wearing down, shooting arrows that never miss the mark, hurling stones and so forth. In such cases we are often obliged to render 'time' by 'fate', which is not quite correct, since time is here conceived as the determining factor, not as being itself determined by some other power, least of all by a conscious agent. But it must be admitted that the Arabs themselves do not always clearly distinguish the power of Time from that of Destiny pure and simple The fatalism of the poets, as we might expect, is neither clearly formulated nor consistently carried out. Rigid dogmas on the subject of determinism and free-will were quite out of the question."¹⁴⁹

Dr. Jawād'Alī asserts that the word Qadar was employed before Islam in the sense of 'what had been deter-

mined for every person',¹⁵⁰ and that the pre-Islamic Arabs believed that the "human life" proceeds in accordance with a specific and pre-determined plan which may be good or otherwise, and that what had been pre-determined was un-alterable."¹⁵¹ He also shows that the pre-Islamic Arabs believed in Allah whom they knew by the name of Allah and whom they also called al-Raḥmān and al-Dahr.¹⁵²

It is therefore safe to conclude that the pre-Islamic Arabs held the view that God whom they called Allah and al-Raḥmān pre-determined everything affecting the human life, and that they somehow related this idea of pre-determinism to the concept of Dahr or Ḥamān, and that their descendants, the Meccans who were the contemporaries of Muḥammad and his chief adversaries, continued to uphold the same views.

Bearing this in mind, let us now examine the following Qur'anic passages:-

- a- "They say: There is nothing but the present life of ours; we die and live, and it is only Time (al-Dahr) which destroys us. They have no knowledge in regard to that; they only form opinions." XLV, 24.
- b- "And when it is said to them: Contribute of what Allah has provided you with, those who disbelieved say to those who have believed: Shall we feed him

- who if Allah willed, He would have fed?" XXVI,47
- c- "And they say: If the Merciful (al-Rahmān) has so willed, we should not have served them (i.e., worshipped the idols); they have no knowledge about that, they are only guessing." XLIII, 20.
- d- "Those who have associated (others with Allah) will say: If Allah had willed, we should not have associated (anything with Him), neither we nor our fathers, nor should we have made anything forbidden. So did those who were before them count (the Messengers false until they tested Our power. Say: Have you any knowledge? Bring it forth for us then; you follow nothing but guessing and you are only conjecturing." 153
- e- "Those who have ascribed associates to God say: Had Allah willed, we should not have worshipped anything apart from Him, neither we nor our fathers, and we should not have forbidden anything apart from Him. So did those who were before them." 154 VI,35.

Bāqillānī claims that what the unbelievers said in 'e' above, and apparently in similar situations, was in the way of deriding the Prophet and the believers in retort to the Qur'anic assertion: If Allah so willed, He would have guided you all aright. 155

A. Guillaume adopts a similar attitude which he expressed in a rather harsh style, and apparently with a different intention. He says, "It has long been notorious that he (Muhammad) made no attempt to grapple with the difficulty his self-contradictory revelations on this subject (i.e., human will) caused to subsequent thinkers; indeed, it may be confidently asserted that the intellectual problem and the moral issues involved were not apparent to him.

D.S.Margoliouth's remark:

He goes on, *quoting* "It would seem from Sura VI, 149 (i.e. 148 in our count), that the obvious retort was made by the unbelievers that they were what God had made them, and His was the responsibility, not theirs. To this Muhammad can only reply that they are without knowledge and are liars."¹⁵

We certainly disagree with Bāqillānī and with Professor Guillaume's interpretations, and reject the claim that the unbelievers, by their words meant any mocking argument. We maintain that the unbelievers were serious in all the above five cases, revealing in each of them a strain of fatalism in their attitude.

It can be easily discerned that the way in which the Qur'ān retorted to the statements of the unbelievers is very similar, and in a, c and d, is nearly identical. It can hardly be claimed that the intention of the unbelievers in 'a' was mocking argument; and since the

retort of the Qur'ān in all cases was similar, it is not therefore reasonable to assume that their intention was serious in one case and not so in the others. Moreover, had it been the intention of the unbelievers to mock and deride, to reply to such an attitude by stating that their claims have no foundations or evidence, or by asking them to bring an evidence for their claim, would be a very unsuitable argument. *فَلَوْ شَاءَ لَمَّا كَرِهْتُمْ*

Furthermore, to claim that the Unbelievers meant to retort to the Qur'anic statement, "*فَلَوْ شَاءَ لَمَّا كَرِهْتُمْ*" is inadmissible. This statement is a part of verse 6/149 which follows verse 6/148 quoted in 'b'. It follows it physically and apparently chronologically, and does not seem to precede it as Bāqillānī implies. Verse 6/149 which contains that statement is obviously a continuation of the Qur'anic answer to the unbelievers which started in the earlier verse which is concluded as follows: 'Say, do you have any evidence, i.e., for your fatalistic attitude, (as it seems to be), to bring forth for us? You only follow your doubts and you are only conjecturing.' Then verse 6/149 continues: 'Say, to Allah alone belongs the reaching evidence, (i.e., for the truth He has revealed). Where it for Allah's Will, (i.e., to the exclusion of your choice) He would have guided you all.' 157

Thus the five Qur'anic passages rendered above

under (a), (b), (c), (d) and (e) equally expose an attitude of fatalism assumed by the Meccans who were the contemporaries of Muḥammad, and who inherited this belief from their pre-Islamic ancestors. The Qur'ān, on the other hand, by rejecting this attitude, accusing the unbelievers of ignorance and of having now foundations for their claim, reveals an anti-fatalistic view.

Now we come to the question of the use of metaphor in the Qur'ān,¹⁴⁸ which was disputed by the literalists on the grounds that the metaphorical use implies telling lies and a limitation of vocabulary on the part of the author.¹⁴⁹ The objection to the use of metaphor in the Qur'ān has been disproved on very convincing grounds;¹⁵⁰ and Bāqillānī, an Orthodox as he is, does not only acknowledge it, but he goes so far as to describe the metaphorical expression as being more eloquent and more effective.¹⁵¹

The unbelievers, on the other hand, resorted to rhetorical expressions and to the use of metaphor in emphasising their persistence in rejecting the claim of Muḥammad and the signs brought to them by the Qur'ān. The following verse illustrates this attitude:-

"And they say: Our hearts are veiled

وَآكْفَاءِ

for what you call us to, and in our ears there is

heaviness, (deafness ^{وَقُرْ}),
 and between us and you there is a curtain ^{حِجَابٌ}. 152 XLI

It appears that the Qur'an in replying to the unbelievers has resorted to similar rhetoric expressions in which the attitude of its opponents who attributed to Allah their disbelief and their sins in their fatalistic style, was derided and despised in a strong way. For example, the Qur'anic passage rendered above, No.75 in Group IV, which appears to be a retort to the unbelievers in a satirical style, nearly uses the unbelievers' own words. It reads as follows:-

"Verily, We have placed veils ^{أَكْبَاهُ} on their hearts lest they should understand it, and in their ears heaviness, ^{وَقُرْ}." XVIII, 57

The rhetorical expression with a sarcastic implication becomes more apparent when it is remembered that the Qur'an frequently invites the unbelievers to think in God's creation and to make use of the intellectual power and the senses with which they were endowed, as e.g. in XXVII, 60-64. When they failed to do so, the Qur'an began to criticise them in the following manner:

"... Hearts have they, but they understand not with them; eyes they have, but they see not with them; ears have they, but they hear not with them; they

are like the cattle, nay, they are further astray.

VII, 179 (II,171).

The Qur'an also reads:

"Would they not pay attention to the Qur'an, or there are locks on their hearts " أَمْ عَلَى قُلُوبٍ أَقْفَالُهَا " XLVII, 24

It also reads:-

"It is those whose eyes were blindfolded from My Reminder, and they were unable to hear

" الَّذِينَ كَانَتْ أَعْيُنُهُمْ فِي غَاطٍ عَن ذِكْرِي وَكَانُوا لَا يَسْمَعُونَ سَمْعًا " XLVIII, 101

"And when our verses are read unto him, he turns away with pride, as if he has not heard them, كَانَ لَمْ يَسْمَعْهَا

as if there is a heaviness in his two ears

كَانَ وَأُذُنَيْهِ وَقْرًا therefor, convey to him the 'good tidings' of a painful punishment. 31/7

All this is clearly a high rhetorical style which, in a satirical manner, hints at the stubborn attitude of the unbelievers who themselves had resorted to the use of metaphor claiming that their hearts were shut, that their ears were deaf and that there was a physical thick separation between them and Muhammad and his Book.

Bearing in mind the condemnation by the Qur'an, of the fatalistic excuses advanced by the unbelievers, and also the importance of the employment of metaphors in the dispute with them, we now consider the Qur'anic passages

under discussion.

It seems that all the Qur'anic passages where it is stated that God has sealed the hearts or covered the eyes or deafened the ears, are of this type of rhetorical style which blames the adversaries of Muhammad in an effective satirical way for their uncompromising attitude. There is no real physical seal on the hearts or cover on the eyes or deafness in the ears;¹⁵³ but there is a metaphysical seal, deafness and cover because the people in question behaved as though there were such a real seal, such a real deafness and such a real cover, and it was they who began using such expressions. The ascription to God of sealing the hearts, of deafening the ears, and placing a cover or making a barrier etc. appears to be a way of retort to the claim of the Meccans that it was God Who willed them to associate idols with Him and to be as they were, while they were helpless.^{154.}

The metaphorical interpretation seems to be vaguely recognised by Samarqandī when he dealt with Sura 2 verse 7.¹⁵⁵ Ibn Kathīr, however, attributes to Qatādah, who as we may remember, is acknowledged as a Qadarite, a rather ambiguous interpretation of this verse,¹⁵⁶ but Ibn Kathīr, like Ṭabarī, favours the physical interpretation of Mujāhid given above.¹⁵⁷ Baidāwī favours a non physical interpretation of the verse, but he skilfully turns it in favour

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the Sunnites. He says, there is no real seating or cover. What is meant is that He creates in their souls a condition **هينة** which perpetually causes them, **تمرهم على**, to love disbelief and sins, and to hate belief and obedience because of their straying and wrong following, and their disregard to their right evidence.

Baidāwi's interpretation is obviously far-fetched and, vague. The physical interpretation favoured by Ṭabarī, Ibn Kathīr and the others who followed them, on the other hand, disagrees with the context and would lead to inconsistencies. Moreover, such an information would be unfruitful and would be of no benefit to Muḥammad and those who suffered on the hands of the unbelievers whom they were commanded to invite to the truth. The metaphorical interpretation on the other hand, appears to have had been recognized by such an early traditional authority as Samarqandī, ¹⁵⁹ as we have just seen, although in a vague manner. The confusion arises when indications are found of his adherence to the physical interpretation.¹⁶⁰

The metaphorical interpretation becomes more clear when the Qur'anic statements under discussion are considered in the light of their contexts. Let us consider, e.g., Sūra 2 verse 7. The previous verse reads:-

"Indeed those who have disbelieved, it is the same

for them (i.e., of no avail) whether you continue to warn them or you do not continue to do so. They will not believe." II,6

In our view, the metaphorical expression began in this previous verse. The statement that it is of no avail to the unbeliever to preach them or not and that they will never believe, is not meant as an informative statement but, as a satirical provocative expression hitting at the stubbornness of the unbelievers and their stupidity in disregarding the signs brought to their attention by the Qur'an. It is therefore fitting to follow this statement by another which develops the idea in stronger terms where it is declared that God to Whom the unbelievers ascribe their failure, has sealed their hearts, has deafened their ears and has placed a cover on their eyes, God Who in fact is inviting them to the truth through his messenger. In brief, the whole idea is a criticism of the unbelievers' attitude in strong words and in an effective style. Therefore the question whether or not these statements are reconciled to the facts does not arise because they are not meant for information; and the metaphorical language is not subject to argument for or against views expressed in it. ¹⁶¹ Verse 7 of Sūra 2, moreover, stands as emphasis

to the previous verse, and not as the reason for it as Baidāwī appears to think.¹⁶² He seems to be still under the misconception that these statements are factual and informative, and has failed to recognise the metaphorical turn of the style.

The metaphorical interpretation was fully recognised by ash-Sharīf al-Radī in his book, *Talkhīs al-Bayān fī Majāzāt al-Qur'ān*. Of Sūra 2, verse 7, he says: "... but when they did not know how to utilise these instruments (apparently the heart, the ears and the eyes) in drawing evidence, they have become as if they had lost these instruments or as if these instruments have been corrupted by diseases." He continues: وَعَلَىٰ أَبْصَارِهِمْ غِشَاوَةٌ is another metaphor because they actually could see people and could reflect, but when they did not benefit from the faculty of seeing and did not make use of the evidence, God the Almighty described their eyes as having been covered"¹⁶³

Of Sūra 36/8-9, where God is stated to have chained the necks of the unbelievers and as having surrounded them with barriers etc., al-Sharīf says: "These are two metaphors. One of the clearest evidences for this, is that the subject here is the description of the blamed people in their condition of this world, not their condition in the Next. Do you not see how God the Almighty follows this

by saying: It is of no avail to them whether you warn them or you do not warn them, they will not believe? And since the subject matter here is in relation to the conditions of this world, and we have learned that the people ~~spoken~~ of were not seen with their heads pushed up by shackles in their necks, or surrounded by barriers, we realise that the speech is of the same way as that: God has sealed their hearts and their ears, as if this was the real description of the unbelievers when they heard the Qur'ān, i.e. lowering their chins, bending their necks, turning away from the guidance being too proud to surrender to the truth..." 164

Aḥ-Ṣharīf, however, seems to misunderstand the significance of ascribing to God the sealing of the hearts, the covering of the eyes etc. He says: "God has done so (i.e., sealing, covering, blinding, etc.) as a punishment for their disbelief." 165 In our view the ascription of these metaphorical acts to God is merely an allusion by the Qur'ān to the false claim of the fatalistic Meccans that their disbelief and sins were God's responsibility and not theirs. The Qur'ān in this way, is rejecting this claim. It is as if it is said: How can the Meccans attribute to God their failures? Did God seal their hearts, or their ears, did He place a cover on their eyes, or did

He surround the unbelievers with barriers so that they cannot reflect on the signs given to them by the Qur'ān? Samarqandī appears to hold similar views.¹⁶⁶ Such interpretation, however, would upset the whole idea of metaphorical expression, because if sealing is merely an allusion to the attitude of the adversaries of Muḥammad, how could that be made a punishment to them by God!

Thus it is clear that the metaphorical interpretation is safe and free from any complications; and the ascription to God of sealing, etc. is merely an eloquent allusion to the attitude of the unbelievers who wanted to escape from the responsibility of their failures. In the light of this, all the Qur'anic statements rendered under Group IV from number 61 to number 75 can be explained without any implication at all of a sense of compulsion.

We now turn to the passages where human acts, i.e., erring, going aright, or astray, believing or disbelieving, etc., appear to be declared as having been determined by God's will alone, a will which has been described as capricious and arbitrary.¹⁶⁷

Our argument will continue to be mainly based on philological and textual grounds, not so much on theological arguments and interpretations which developed long after the Qur'anic revelation.¹⁶⁸ We do not therefore

interpret Irādah in the **sense** of coercing as the Mu'tazilites ¹⁶⁹ do, or in the **sense** of determining in eternity one or the other of all possibilities as maintained by the Sunnites.¹⁷⁰ Moreover, we do not differentiate between the term Irādah and the term mashi'ahh as Abū Hanīfah did.¹⁷¹ Both irādah and mashī'ah basically mean: desire, wish, approval, meaning and determination. Of these approximate meanings, the context determines the exact meaning in a special situation, and may give a special colour or shade of another meaning.

Before we begin the ~~immediate~~ consideration of the said Qur'anic passages, we are to bear in mind the various possible meanings of huda' and idḷal given above;¹⁷² i.e., indirect causation, to judge or consider as being on the right or wrong path, or leading to the abode of Delight or to Fire. Therefore, depending on the context, these words or their derivatives are to be interpreted in one or another of their respective meanings. We are also to bear in mind the 'fatalistic' attitude of the Maccans, and the fact that many of these passages were revealed at times of distress when the Prophet and his followers who suffered from their adversaries were in need for consolation. Furthermore, we are to remember that our subject matter here is only human acts, therefore God's acts and

the Qur'anic passages related thereto are outside the scope of the present discussion.

The passages under discussion, namely those rendered under Nos. 20-47 above, can be classified as follows:-

- a- Conditional passages, i.e., those passages where it is declared that had God so willed, such and such human acts would have or would have not occurred. This group consists of the passages Nos. 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 32, 37, 35, and 42.
- b- The second category consists of the passages which may be described as exceptive, namely those passages where it is declared that such and such human acts cannot occur unless God so wills. This category consists of the passages Nos. 27, 46 and 47.
- c- This group consists of the other passages where God is declared that ~~He~~ causes such and such human acts as He wills.

Our comment on these passages is as follows:-

- 1- Apart from the criticism of the traditional interpretations of the texts which will follow, the idea of 'arbitrary will' is rejected. It is obviously inferred from some verses taken in isolation, where God appears to be declared as guiding aright or astray

whom He wills, such as verse No.36 above. In other words, this deduction is partial and does disregard the other instances where it is made clear that God's will to guide aright or into erring is related to the attitude of man. In passage No.34, e.g., it is declared that God guides aright who turns unto Him; and in passage No. 36 God is declared to lead astray the transgressors. In other words, it is not correct to infer that God's will directly causes the human voluntary acts.

It is pertinent to quote in this connection a subtle observation made by 'Abd al-Jabbār b. Ahmad,¹⁷³ quoted by ash-Sharīf al-Raḍī. The latter dealt with the phrase أَعْفَلْنَا قَلْبَهُ in the Qur'anic statement:

"And obey not anyone whose heart We have made neglectful of Our remembrance, but who follows his own desire

وَاتَّبَعَ هَوَاهُ..."¹⁷⁴ XVIII,28. He advocates that

أَعْفَلْنَا قَلْبَهُ is a metaphor, meaning: ascribing negligence, or describing as negligent, or finding in a condition of negligence. He brought quotations to justify the use of the Fourth Form of the verb in the sense of: finding in a state or in a condition.¹⁷⁵ Afterwards, ash-Sharīf attributes the following observation to 'Abd al-Jabbār,

saying: "Unless the phrase أَعْفَلْنَا قَلْبَهُ is interpreted in this way, and we were to follow the

interpretation of the adversaries to the effect of God's turning away from His Reminder, then the style should have been: فَاتَّبَعَ هَوَاهُ (i.e., as a consequence he followed his desire), because it is said:

أَعْطَيْتُهُ فَأَخَذَ (i.e., I gave him and then he took),

and: لَسَّطْتُهُ فَأَنْبَسَ ,

(i.e., I gave him pleasure and then he was thereby pleased), and: أَكْرَهْتُهُ فَذَلَّ ,

(i.e., I coerced him and therefore he surrendered). This means, "he goes on, "that these acts by the other party were caused by my own acts, and this is the normal and ordinary way of speech. But the fact that the conjunction here is وَ , " i.e., and , it became as if it were said: do not obey him whose heart is neglectful of our reminder and who follows his own desire, because when someone is found negligent it is he who has committed negligence and the act then is to be ascribed to him."¹⁷⁶

- 2- The rendering of passage No.33 as given above, is based on one of the interpretations offered by Baidāwī.¹⁷⁷ It assumes that in (اِنْ) in the verse is a conditional particle, that يَعُونَكُمْ is employed in the sense of leading into error, and that the main clause (the apodosis) of the conditional statement, is the initial part of the verse, i.e., 'and my council would not benefit you'. The

same verse here contains another in (إِنْ) which is also a conditional particle with the same apodosis. In other words, according to this interpretation, there is only one main clause for two conditional clauses.

Both Zamakhsharī and Baidāwī subscribe to this grammatical analysis of the verse, although they differed in the interpretation of the word يُخَوِّبُكُمْ. While Baidāwī apparently interprets it in the sense of leading into error,¹⁷⁸ Zamakhsharī interprets it in the sense of khidhlān,¹⁷⁹ a term which will be discussed later.

In our view, such a grammatical analysis makes the style very clumsy and cumbersome. The meaning does not seem to be effective or useful. This is in spite of Baidāwī's illustration by the saying: You are divorced if you enter the house, if you speak to Zayd.

Ṭabarī offers another meaning of the word and another grammatical analysis of the text, as it seems. He gives no other interpretation or analysis. He interprets the word يُخَوِّبُكُمْ in the sense of destruction,¹⁸⁰ and appears to consider the following nominal sentence, هُوَ رَبُّكُمْ, the main clause of the apodosis.¹⁸¹ This will make a slightly better sense. The verse can then be rendered as follows:- 'And my council will not benefit you if I wish to advise you. If God determines to destroy

you, (i.e., by punishing you), He is your Lord and to Him you will return.'

In our opinion, while Tabari's interpretation is quite a possibility, the verse is best interpreted by considering in (إِنْ), in إِنْ كَانَ اللَّهُ يُرِيدُ أَنْ يُغْوِيَكُمْ as a negative particle¹⁸² in which case يُغْوِيَكُمْ be interpreted in the sense of leading into error, which appears to be its basic meaning. The whole verse can be rendered as follows: "And my council will not benefit you if I continue preaching you. God was not to lead you astray, (i.e., by sending me to you.) He is your Lord and to Him you return." The initial sentence of the verse accordingly will be like: "And it is of no avail whether you continue to warn them or not;"¹⁸³ and the next sentence will be a criticism of the attitude of Noah's adversaries who rejected to avail themselves of the message of God Who intended to lead them to the right path and Who was not to deceive them into erring, because He is their Lord. In other words, the verse contains only one conditional statement which is the first part of the verse. The style according to this interpretation is simple, clear and straightforward; and it fits in with the context of the argument between Noah and his adversaries.

Thus, the verse does not contain any sense of compulsion both according to Tabari's interpretation and according to the interpretation we offer.

3- As for the other conditional passages, their traditional interpretation appears to be mistaken on the following grounds:-

I. The unnecessary assumption that the accusative object of the verb **يُرِيدُ** or **يَشَاءُ** in these statements is a verbal noun derived from the verb which follows in the main clause.

E.G., in the passage No.30, **فَلَوْ شَاءَ لَهَدَاكُمْ أَجْمَعِينَ** it is apparently assumed that the object of the verb **يَشَاءُ** is **هَدَايَتِكُمْ**, i.e.,

guiding you aright. Likewise, the assumed object of **يَشَاءُ** in 32 is believing by all those on earth. In No.26, it is **عَدَمَ إِسْرَاجِكُمْ**

i.e., not associating idols to God; and in No.42, the assumed is **إِنَّا كُلَّ نَفْسٍ هَدَاها** i.e., giving every soul its guidance,

II. The assumption that the denial of God's willing an act, or not willing another, implies His willing their opposites. Let us illustrate this by examples. Passage 42 states: Had We willed, We would have given every soul its guidance. The fact that not every soul is given its guidance,

which is a denial of the main clause or the major premiss in this conditional syllogism results in the denial of the minor premiss which is God's Will to give every soul its guidance, on the assumption that the assumed accusative of *مشاء* is the verbal noun of the verb in the main clause, i.e., *إيمانهم*.

Now, the traditional interpretation, it seems, assumed that the denial of God's Will to do so, means that He willed not to give, or rather to decree to deprive some souls of such guidance. In the same way, the denial of God's Willing some not to believe, as in No.26 above, results in the assertion of God's Will or decree that they should not believe. In other words, the traditional interpretation of these statements assumes that God's willing an act and God's willing its opposite to be true alternatives or mutually exclusive as two contradictory concepts, so that when one is denied the other is confirmed.

III The failure to recognise the textual circumstances of these texts, which include the fatalistic argument by the unbelievers who repeatedly said: Had Allah willed, we would have believed, etc.

In our view, all these conditional statements were revealed in reply to the fatalistic attitude of the unbelievers and their claim that the responsibility for their failures was God's. The verb شَاءَ or كَانَ though transitive is used here as intransitive, merely denoting God's will or wish or determination without reference to any specific object. Such a use of the transitive verb without the assumption of an omitted object at all occasionally occurs, depending on the intention of the author. 'Abdu'l Qāhir al-Jurjānī says in this connexion: "... the purposes of the people differ in the mention of the transitive verbs. Sometimes they mention them intending only to ascribe the meaning of the roots from which the verbs are derived, to their subjects - without reference to any object. When it is so, the transitive verb is like the intransitive in that it has no object, mentioned or assumed. This is like their saying: So and so unties and ties, commands and forbids, and harms and benefits..... What is meant in all this is to state the meaning in itself in a general way without any regard to an object. It is as if you say: It has become up to him the untying, the tying, the commanding and the forbidding etc. The Qur'an reads: "Are those who know equal to those who do not know", XXXIX, 9 and it is He Who causes to

laugh and causes to cry", and it is He Who causes to die and Who gives life,"^{LIII,43-4} and it is He Who enriches and makes poor". LII,48, What is meant is that it is from Him giving life, causing death, enriching, and impoverishing, etc; and so in every situation where the intention is to state a meaning negatively or affirmatively. The verb cannot be treated as transitive, since this would corrupt the aim and change the meaning.¹⁸⁴

In our opinion, the conditional verb شَاءَ or كَيْفَ here is used in the same way, with the purpose of stating the meaning of God's Will affirmatively or denying it without reference to an accusative object, mentioned or assumed. The conditional statements here simply mean: Were it or had it been to God's Will alone, such and such would or would not have happened. Moreover, it is an obvious mistake to assume that God's Will or decree of an act and His decree of its opposite ~~are~~ contradictory concepts; they are simply contrary terms. There may be no such decree at all, simply on logical grounds. Thus, if God's Will of guiding aright is denied, it is not necessary to assume that He must have decreed or willed to lead astray. In the same way, if God's decree of an act such as Disbelief is denied, it does not necessarily result that He had decreed its existence.

Thus, all these conditional statements are a retort to the fatalistic claims of the unbelievers, categorically declaring with no implication of compulsion that the mistakes they commit and their stubborn attitude were simply due to their choice and ~~were~~ consequently their responsibility. Were it to God's Will or Wish alone, not only the unbelievers of Arabia, but all those on earth would have benefited from the Divine guidance and would have believed. This means that it is God's desire, that it is His demand and command that all should reflect on the signs of the Qur'ān and make use of their senses and intellectual powers and should reflect on the creation of God.

4. There are five instances of the category which we have described as 'exceptive passages.' They are rendered by R. Bell as follows:

(a) "And do not say with regard to anything: I am going to do that tomorrow, except (with the reservation) that Allah so wills; ..." 185

(b) "... This did We make a stratagem for Joseph; he was not one to take his brothers in the religion of the king, but that Allah willed it;.." 186

- (c) "Even if We had sent down the angels to them, and the dead had spoken to them, and had We brought together for them everything as guarantors, they would not have been such as to believe, unless Allah had so willed; ...¹⁸⁷"
- (d) "But they do not remember except that it be Allah willeth;..."¹⁸⁸
- (e) "But ye will not will, except if be that Allah willeth; ..."¹⁸⁹

The above rendering of Bell agrees with the *tradition* interpretation of ~~Tafsir~~, but we comment on these interpretations as follows:-

- I. The particle which follows the exceptive particle in all these passages is أَنَّ an, which normally follows verbs indicating inclination, disinclination, order, prohibition, permission, fear, necessity, etc.,¹⁹⁰ and which together with the verb it governs, "is equivalent in meaning to the maṣḍar or infinitive of that verb."¹⁹¹ This infinitive performs the function of a noun, not of a sentence.¹⁹² This infinitive is therefore treated in accordance with its relation to the general term الْمُسْتَقْبَلُ مِنْهُ preceding the exceptive particle, i.e., إِلَّا. If the general term is not mentioned and not

assumed before the exceptive particle, the infinitive, which is *المستثنى* takes the position or the grammatical case in which the general term would have been.¹⁹³ In this case the exception is known as *الاستثناء المفعول*. However, the particle following *إلا* is not a conditional particle, but a masdar particle.

II. In all these five passages, the general term is not mentioned. In the first three instances, however, the clauses preceding the exceptive clause are grammatically independent; and as Baidawi seems to suggest, the general term is assumed.^{194A} The effect of this assumption will be something like: in no event except...

In the last two passages, i.e., d and e, what comes before *إلا* is incomplete and the verbs *تَسْأَلُونَ، يَسْأَلُونَ، يَذْكُرُونَ* are without an accusative. The 'exception' here seems to be that which is called *الاستثناء المفعول* explained above; and the infinitive which is governed by *إلا* appears to be the accusative object of the verb.¹⁹⁴ The effect will be as follows: and they will not remember, or will not choose, or you will not choose except God's will

or command. The full statement will be something like this: Whoever wishes, let him remember God and His signs; and when he does so, he will be choosing God's will and command. The words ^{وَمَا يَدْكُرُونَ} and ^{وَمَا لَيْسَ أُوْنَ} apparently mean what you are required to remember or to choose is:...etc., because this is the implication of the previous statements, viz.,

LXXIV, 54-5 ^{كَلَّا إِنَّهُ تَذَكُّرَةٌ ، فَمَنْ شَاءَ ذَكَرْهُ}
 LXXVI, 29 ^{لَعَلَّكُمْ تَهْتَدُونَ ، فَمَنْ شَاءَ اتَّخَذِ الرَّبُّ سَبِيلًا}
 LXXXI, 27-8 ^{إِنَّهُوَ الْأَذَى لِلْعَالَمِينَ ، لِمَنْ شَاءَ مِنْكُمْ أَنْ يَسْتَقِيمَ}

III. Accordingly, the texts of (d) and (e) appear to be another version of the Qur'anic expression of retort to the fatalistic attitude of the unbelievers. The effect will be: What they are required to remember or to choose to do or to believe is what God wishes them to do and not what they are doing. In this way, they style is lucid, clear and free from complications and contradictions.

IV. The context of verse (c) clearly shows that the statement is hinting at the fatalistic attitude

of the adversaries of the Qur'ān. Many of the surrounding verses, indeed most of the Chapter in which the verse occurs, namely, Chapter VI, speak of the attitude of these adversaries, how they turn away from the signs brought to them, (V.4) and how they demand other childish signs to speak out of the truth of the Qur'ān, and demanded the coming of the angels, (V.8) and even to see the God of Muhammad. The Qur'ān speaks much of the arguments with the unbelievers, inviting them to reflect on the signs such as the creation of the seeds, of vegetation, of the sun and the moon and the morning and the creation of man. (VV.95-6) It also refers to their stubborn attitude in ascribing partners to God, assigning certain categories of cattle to their idols and others to God, making arbitrary prohibitions, and falsely attributing all to God. (VV.136-9 and 142-4). The Qur'ān challenges: "Inform me with knowledge, if you speak the truth", and, ".... were you witnesses when Allah gave you this charge?" The Qur'ān repeats their accusation that what they upheld was God's will, and states that if it were God's will, they would not have disbelieved. (V.107) The Qur'ān immediately consoles the Prophet and assures the believers who were keen to see their adversaries turning to their ~~fact~~ and were therefore praying to God to bring forth the

signs asked for by the unbelievers who forced the greatest oath **وَأَقْسَمُوا بِاللَّهِ خِذَابًا نَبَاهِمَ** assuring that they would believe if these signs were brought in accordance with their challenge.¹⁹⁵

Here the verse in question follows, not for the purpose of information that the disbelief of the adversaries was to be perpetual, because such an information would be untrue. As is well known, some of these adversaries became Muslims much later. Moreover, such information appears to be insignificant. Samarqandī,¹⁹⁶ like some other authors of Tafsīr, holds that it is a true information and draws a parallel between the situation here and that of Noah of which the Qur'ān reads: "And it was revealed unto Noah that no one of your people will believe except those who have already believed..." XI,36. In our view, this is quite a different situation. The wording and the contexts are obviously different. In the case of Noah, the words are categorical in stating the futility of any further efforts with the unbelievers. The information was apparently useful, and Noah was commanded to divert his effort into the building of the Ark in which he and his followers could be saved from the doom of his enemies. (XI,37) In the case of Muḥammad here, such a statement did not lead to despair or to giving

up the struggle. We know that he continued preaching the same people in face of their stubbornness, and we also know that not all of the people concerned died unbelievers. The statement here, therefore, appears to allude to the uncompromising attitude of the adversaries of the Qur'ān in a rhetorical manner, hitting at their stubbornness and fatalism.¹⁹⁷

V. In the case of verse (b), the intention of the mention of the Will of God appears to be for the purpose of indicating the importance of what happened, which was not to be expected, namely that Joseph was able to retain his younger brother in a very delicate situation. Let us turn back as far as verse 70 of the same chapter in which the verse under discussion occurs, viz. No.12. That verse reads:

فَلَمَّا جَزَّاهُمْ بِمَا ارَادُوا فَوَجَدُوهُمْ يَفْتَرُونَ
فَلَمَّا جَزَّاهُمْ بِمَا ارَادُوا فَوَجَدُوهُمْ يَفْتَرُونَ

The traditional version of the story of Joseph claims that Joseph planned a deliberate stratagem in order to retain Benjamin. The quoted verse is therefore rendered as follows: "So when he (i.e. Joseph) fitted them (i.e. his brothers) out with what they required, he put the drinking vessel in his brother's load;.." ¹⁹⁸ In our view, this interpretation is mistaken, and the subject of the verb fitted them out is not Joseph himself but it refers to his pages in a metaphorical way. It was they who must have

actually packed the goods for Joseph's brothers.¹⁹⁹

Moreover, it seems that the drinking cup was left out in the sack of Benjamin inadvertently by these pages. Perhaps this is why the verb **جَعَلَ** is here used instead of the verb **وَضَعَ** which we expect to be used had the cup been placed deliberately. If this is so, as it seems to be, the events which led to the retention of Benjamin by Joseph in accordance with the Israelites' law, was not a plan schemed by Joseph, but it was just a chance of events which led to the fulfilment of his desire. So what happened is here ascribed to God in the verb **كَرَّمْنَا** which means: We have made a stratagem for Joseph, merely in order to indicate that it was a favour done to Joseph being unaware. In order to emphasise that what happened was not to be expected, it was emphasised by stating that it needed the Will of God in order to be, especially that the judgement was at variance with the law of the land in which the event occurred.

VI. In the case of passage (a), the assumed general term **المستثنى منه** from which the excepted thing **المستثنى** is taken out, may be assumed as a prepositional clause joining the verb **وَلَا تَقُولَنَّ**. It may be assumed on the other hand, to be joining the active participle in the words **إِنِّي فَاعِلٌ**. According to the first

assumption, the effect will be: And do not at all or in all cases except with God's Will, say to anything: I shall be doing this tomorrow. According to the other assumption, the effect will be: And do not say to anything I shall be doing this tomorrow in all cases except with God's Will. Zamakhshari²⁰⁰ rejects the second interpretation because "if someone says I am doing such except that God wishes, it would mean except that God's will obstructs the way to the act and as such cannot be governed by the prohibition النَّهْيِ ." In our view, this is a misunderstanding on the part of Zamakhshari because what is governed here by the prohibition is not doing such act when it is obstructed etc., but it is the saying and the assuring of doing it. This can obviously be governed by the prohibition. Moreover, Zamakhshari apparently assumed that the excepted Will of God is preventive, but this is unnecessary. It is better to leave the verb here as generalised and not particularised by any special accusative. The effect accordingly will be: Do not say I am going to do such and such except where there is a will by Allah. This seems to be a strong expression of the prohibition of the omission of the preservation of God's Will; since to say such a statement will be obviously blasphemous and would amount to

challenging the Divine Will. Zamakhshari's suggestion that the exception is attached to the prohibition in the sense that the Prophet was prohibited except by God's Will to say etc., ²⁰¹ amounts to: do not promise unless God permits you to promise. This is rather far-fetched. Tabari had earlier dismissed in a brief manner this view on similar grounds and on the grounds that such a meaning would be different from what is agreed by all authorities.²⁰²

Thus, the exceptive verses interpreted as above are effective, lucid and bear no relation to the claim of the implication of compulsion in human acts.

5. We now turn to the Qur'anic passages where it appears that God is declared to lead aright or astray in accordance with His Will, which may imply that man's will has no part to play. This group of verses consists of those numbered 20, 21, 23, 25, 29, 31, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44 and 45.

We have earlier explained away the idea of an arbitrary will, and now add the following remarks:-

1. Verse 29, which is verse No.25 of Sura 6, where it is stated that God expands the heart of whom

He wishes to the faith, etc., is highly rehtorical coming in the middle of the hot argument with the fatalistic unbelievers who arbitrarily divided their sacrifices between Allah and their idols and adopted certain taboos, attributing all in *their* whims to Allah! The verse therefore appears to be a criticism of this attitude, hinting at the same time at this unwarranted accusation, and it does not appear sound to take the words here literally. There is no physical expansion or tightening of the hearts or the chests, and Baidāwī himself observes that these expressions are mere allusions *كلمات* though he still implies a sense of compulsion in his interpretation, since he, in the same breath, ascribes to God the making of the soul recipient to the truth and free from obstruction.²⁰³ Tabari categorically takes this text as literally "As giving the reason for belief and obedience, and the reason for disbelief and disobedience, and that both are from God Who thereby determines those who are to believe and obey, and those who are to be otherwise since theghtening the hearts cannot produce belief or obedience, and expanding the heart cannot result in disbelief or disobedience."²⁰⁴ Even Zamaksharī himself fails to notice the metaphorical ascription of expanding and tightening of the hearts to God, and tried to explain away the implication of compulsion by the concepts of tawfiq and Khidhlānī.²⁰⁵ which will be discussed

In our view these interpretations are mistaken. They fail to take account of the context, and cause the construction of the style to appear clumsy and difficult. The verse is obviously metaphorical, like many others surrounding it,²⁰⁶ of the highest order or rhetoric, and should not therefore be interpreted literally. [Any sense of compulsion is easily removed by the immediately following verse which reads: "This is the path of thy Lord straightly - We have made the signs distinct for a people who let themselves be reminded".²⁰⁷ What is meant by the Lord's straight path here is obviously the path of Islam and its guidance, and by the distinct signs, the signs of God's unity and omnipotence.²⁰⁸ Amazingly Zamaksharī claims that the reference here is to the concept of tawfiq and Khidhlān;²⁰⁹ and Baidāwī follows him by giving this as a possibility.²¹⁰

II. In the case of passages 23, 31, 37 and 45 which are 5/41, 7/155, 14/27 and 42/52 respectively, the subject matter appears to be ^{the} divine deeds having no bearing on the human freedom. The clue in the first statement is the word فَسَادَ which is here interpreted by Tabarī as deviation from the right path.²¹¹

He develops his explanation as follows: "God the Almighty says: And whoever God wills to turn back by turning away from the path of guidance, you will not possess anything from God to deliver him from what God had pre-ordained for him, namely confusion and erring...."²¹². He earlier paraphrased the same in the following words: "Do not be

grieved over their hastening to reject your propethood, because I have indeed made it inevitable for them that they should not repent from their error, and should not turn away from their disbelief...." ²¹³ The statement which follows in the same verse and which reads "They are those God does not will to cleanse their hearts", is interpreted literally. ²¹⁴ Baiḍāwī follows these fatalistic interpretations and concludes: "This, as you see is an unambiguous statement which reveals the falsehood of the doctrine of the Mu'tazilites". ²¹⁵ Zamaksharī appears to surrender to these interpretations, but explains them away by the concept of Khidhlān and lutf, ²¹⁶ which, in our vies, is arbitrary.

To explain the word fitnah in the sense of dalāl or erring, does not seem to be valid, in spite of the fact that it is given as one of its possible meanings by Qāmūs. ²¹⁷ The basic meaning of the word, according to Azharī ²¹⁸ is ~~to be the sense of~~ trying and testing; and when its object is a human being, it tends to develop the sense of either seduction and temptation, or punishment and torture. The use of the word in the following line belongs to the first meaning

لنرقتنی ہی بالامس افتت سعید اقامسی قد قلا کل مسلم ²¹⁹

which means: If she has charmed me, she on the day before seduced Sa'īd till he turned away from everything else.

The following Qur'anic verse appears to be of the second use, i.e., the sense of doom or punishment -

"Taste your punishment

ذُوقُوا عَذَابَكُمْ

this is what you were in a hurry for" LI, 14.

The word fitnah in the verse under discussion appears to be of this sense, i.e., punishment, and the statement in which it occurs appears to be a warning to the hypocrites who earlier in the same verse are described as having declared merely by their tongue the word of the faith while they were in fact hiding rancour and disbelief in their hearts. The statement, therefore, should be interpreted as follows:- "and whoever God has determined to punish - i.e., as a result of his wrong attitude, no one, even you, can secure him from God". The statement which follows to the effect that God does not desire to cleanse their hearts should not be taken literally, otherwise the information does not seem to be of much avail. The statement appears to hit out at the hypocrites who believed that the Muslims were not aware of their secret schemes and of their true nature, by exposing them and revealing that God reaches their hearts. Moreover, it hits out at the stubbornness of the unbelievers by implying that it needed all the power of God to transfer them from their attitude. Furthermore, it may imply an indirect hint at the fatalistic attitude of the unbelievers who attribute their mistakes

to God. All this would agree with and fit the concluding statement of the verse: For them, there is disgrace in this world, and a great (severe) punishment in the next! Moreover, this way of interpreting the verse does not only make it free from the implication of a blind fatalism, but it maintains the beauty of the style and its excellence.

In the next verse in which Moses addresses God "It is only Thy trial by which Thou sendest astray ^{تَضِلُّبِهِمَا} whom Thou willest, and guidest ^{وَتَهْدِي بِهِمَا} whom Thou willest; ²²⁰.....", the rendering of the words ^{تَضِلُّ} and ^{تَهْدِي} appears to be mistaken. Otherwise, how can the trial by God ^{فِتْنَتِكَ} which is rendered by Bell as the earthquake, ²²¹ guide some aright and lead the other astray! In fact, the various interpretations given by the Tafsirs and the different versions which attempt to explain the circumstances in which the verse is supposed to refer to, render the text difficult. Tabrī, e.g., claims that the reference of the pronoun ^{هِيَ} in the statement ^{إِنْ هِيَ إِلَّا فِتْنَتُكَ} which preceded in the same verse, is ^{to} the worship of the calf by the people of Moses. Basing on that, he continues: [Moses addresses God] " The worship of the calf was Your test, in order that those who go astray by worshipping it can be distinguished from those who choose guidance by

leaving worshipping it."²²² This explanation amounts to - The worship of the calf was a test by God to distinguish those who worship it from the others, which is a vicious circle. It does not explain, moreover, how God guides or misguides by this test whom He wills, as is stated in the text, which Zamaksharī explains away by supposing an implication of a sense of causation in a liberal interpretation.²²³

In our view, the text should be related to the preceding verses which are rendered as follows - "151. Verily those who took the calf, anger from their Lord, and humiliation in the nearer life shall reach; so We do recompense those who invent, "152. But those who have done evil deeds, then thereafter have repented and believed- verily thy Lord is thereafter forgiving, compassionate"²²⁴

Thus, punishment in the nearer life is threatened, and forgiveness and mercy are promised to those who repent. We may also remember here that punishment is one of the meanings in which the word fitnah may be employed. It was established earlier, moreover, that the words idlāl and Huda may be employed in the sense of punishing and rewarding respectively. In the light of all this, the verse under discussion can be easily explained without complication. The word rajfah which basically means - a severe shock,

hence earthquake, appears to allude to the punishment which was threatened in the earlier verse. It also appears to be the natural reference of the pronoun in the statement = ان هوالاقتتاك and the pronoun in تفضل بها in the statement,

It is not necessary to assume that this pronoun and the preposition which governs it, are repeated in the following statement = وتفدى من تشاء. Again the word fitnah in the verse appears to convey the meaning of punishment which is here the earthquake. In fact this interpretation of fitnah is attributed to Ibn Abbas by Tabri, ²²⁵ without paying attention to it amid other versions in support of his interpretation of it as the worship of the calf, which was in his view a test by God.

The whole verse can thus be rendered as follows:-
 "And Moses chose his people, seventy men, for Our appointment. And when the earthquake overwhelmed them, Moses cried: My Lord, had You wished You would have destroyed them and me before; (i.e., since they worshipped the calf and before this earthquake;²²⁶ but You have bestowed clemency and indulgence). This earthquake is but the means of Your punishment whereby You destroy whom You have determined to (i.e. the evil doers). And You reward whom You have determined to reward." This way of rendering

the verse does not only make the wording of it simple and easy, and fit it well with the preceding verses, but it also fits it with the concluding statement and the following verse which are rendered "..... Thou art our patron, so forgive us and have mercy upon us Prescribe for us good in this world and in the thereafter as well;"²²⁷

In brief, the style of **تَضَيَّرَ بِعَامَرٍ كَذَّابًا** here resembles that of the following:-

وَتَهْدَىٰ مَنْ كَرِهْتَ

"We cause Our mercy to light upon whomsoever We will, and We allow not to perish the reward of those who do well", and

"Until the messengers despaired and thought that they had been counted false, Our help came to them; then those whom We willed were rescued, and Our violence was not turned back from the sinful people."

"The We fulfilled to them [the Messengers] the appointment We rescued them and whom We will and destroyed the extravagant **وَأَهْلَكَ الْمَشْرَفِينَ**"²²⁸

Thus, what is generalised in such statements as: "He punishes whom He wills and bestows His mercy upon whom He wills, is here defined. Those whom God forgives and upon whom He extends His mercy are defined as those who deserve it, the Messengers and those who follow their teaching and do well. On the other hand, those who are

deprived of His mercy and favour and are to be punished and doomed are those who reject the message of the Prophet, the extravagant and the criminal. It is up to God and not to men, to determine and to choose the category of people who are to be rewarded and the category of people who are to be punished. It is not as the adversaries of Muhammad claimed, that if it were true that they were to return to God, they would have the best reward with Him! (XLI,50) It is not as the Jews claimed that they were God's beloved children, (V,18), or His friends to the exclusion of the others. (LXII,6)

The statement in Verse 37 above which 14/27, speaks of reward and punishment in the same way. The whole verse is rendered by R. Bell as follows: "Allah establisheth those who have believed by the declaration which is firmly fixed in this life and in the Hereafter, and Allah sendeth astray ^{بُضِلَ} the wrong-doers, and Allah doeth what He willeth."²²⁹ We would reject the interpretation of the word ^{بُضِلَ} here as sendeth astray. The statement which surround this verse speak of reward to the obedient and punishment of the sinners, and therefore ^{بُضِلَ} here apparently denotes the sense of "punishing". Although the verse is concluded by the

statement ^{فَيَعْمَلُ اللَّهُ مَا يَشَاءُ} it is clear that the reference here is to God's determination to do justice by rewarding the obedient and punishing the others. R. Bell is at a dilemma with the translation of the word which is the Imperfect of the Second Form of which means: ^{cause to} to settle or to remain.²³⁰ Hence ^{يَلْتَمِسُ اللَّهُ} ^{الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا} apparently means: God causes the believers to remain firm and inspires them with confidence in their adherence; and the words ^{بِالْقَوْلِ الثَّابِتِ} here mean: the affirmed or proved faith.²³¹ Thus, after the Qur'an has stated that God confirms the believers in this world and therefore they do not move in face of opposition, and in the Hereafter - by confirming the truth of their adherence and by lavishing His rewards upon them - it states that the path of the wrong-doers is a punishment which they provoke by their wrongs.

As for the last of these three texts, it is clear that the reference is to a divine act, not to human acts, with no implication of a sense of compulsion. The divine act here appears to be God's appointment of whom He chooses to be His Messenger. The text is rendered by R. Bell as follows:-

"Thus We have suggested ~~that~~ thee ^(أَوْجَبْنَا إِلَيْكَ) a spirit , ^{روحا} , belonging to Our Affarit. Thou didst not (formerly) know what the Book and the

Faith were. But We have made it a light by which We guide whomsoever We please of Our servants, and verily thou wilt guide to a straight path".²³²

Here Bell interprets **أَوْحَى** as suggested. In his footnote, (5), he offers another two interpretations, i.e., "put into thy hear" and "inspired thee with." He further renders the word **رُوحٌ** as "a spirit"; but it is not quite clear how a spirit could be suggested or put into the heart or inspired. Zamakhshari,²³³ followed by Baidāwī,²³⁴ makes it an allusion to what was revealed and justifies describing it as rūh by the fact that it gives a spiritual life. Tabari offers two possibilities: mercy and revelation.²³⁵ Here again, it is difficult to understand how mercy could be revealed or how can a revelation be called a spirit. In our view, the spirit here is the angel,²³⁶ and the meaning of the initial part of the verse ^{is} means: "And likewise We sent you an angel as a messenger to you .." This is easily seen in the light of the preceding verse, where it is stated that it was not "to every human being that Allah should speak to him except by suggestion or from behind a veil, or by sending a messenger to suggest"²³⁷ Now, the pronoun "it" in the statement: "But We make it a light"

in our own verse ~~it~~ refers to the act of sending the Messenger to Muhammad, and it is this act of sending an angel to a Prophet, ^{which} is declared as having been made by God" as light" because of the direct guidance and inspiration which accompany it.²³⁸ The verse now continues: "with it, (i.e., the light of the revelation), We guide whom We choose." This means: it is up to us to determine and appoint who should be privileged by Our direct revelation.

This can be further supported by the absence of the proposition and the pronoun ^أ from the following statement: "And verily you guide to a straight path." In other words, the instrument and the object of guidance in this verse are different; God guides His Messenger by the direct revelation, whereas Muhammad guides people by his teaching which he receives through this direct revelation. This verse seems to be a reply to the adversaries of Muhammad who said: "Why was this Qur'an not sent down upon a man of the two town who was important?"²³⁹

In this connexion the Qur'an also reveals: "Those who have disbelieved of the people of the Book, and of the idolators, do not like that anything good should be sent down to you from you Lord; but Allah singleth out with His mercy whomsoever He pleaseth;..."²⁴⁰ The style of the verse under discussion resembles the following: "... casting the (prophetic) spirit upon whomsoever He willeth

of His servants,..",²⁴¹ and, "He sendeth down the angels with the spirit (which is) part of His affair upon whomsoever He willeth of His servants.." ²⁴²

III. The implication of an element of compulsion in the rest of the passages under discussion where it is apparently declared that God guides, leads astray and causes to hear whom He wills, arises from the assumption that مَنْ in these passages is the common object of the verb يَهْدِي or يُضِلُّ or يَسْمَعُ , and the verb يَشَاءُ , and that the assumed subject-pronoun in يَشَاءُ refers to Allah. Thus the statement

وَكَيْنَ اللَّهُ تَقْدِيرِي مَنْ يَشَاءُ , e.g., is rendered:

".. but Allah guideth whom He willeth."²⁴³

The relative pronoun man مَنْ is ambiguous. It means: "He Who";²⁴⁴ but may be rendered he whom, or him who or him whom. The traditional interpretation assumes that man here means: "him whom", being the common object of the verb 'guide' which precedes it, and the verb 'will' which follows it. It also assumes that the subject pronoun of the verb يَشَاءُ refers to Allah.

In our view this traditional analysis is arbitrary and causes weakness in the style, apart from the confusion it raises in the meaning. The relative pronoun مَنْ can simply be the object of the preceding verb, while the implied subject-pronoun in the verb يَشَاءُ refers to this relative pronoun and not to the noun, Allah.

This is much preferable both on grammatical and other grounds. To have a common object for two verbs to "dispute" over it weakens the style, and it is not necessary to have an object preceding its verb without a good reason. Moreover, the reference of the pronoun is normally the ~~the nearer noun or pronoun,~~ ^{unless the context determines otherwise.} Furthermore, the connecting pronoun ~~in~~ the sentence completing the relative pronoun, is omitted in the traditional analysis and has to be assumed, ~~unless the context otherwise determines.~~ The meaning of the statement according to our analysis, becomes something as follows: "God guides aright the one who wills or chooses to reflect and to be rightly guided; He leads astray those who choose to turn away from the signs of the Qur'an; and He causes to hear those who choose to lend the Qur'an an attentive ear. This interpretation of لَسَاءُ its subject-pronoun, and its assumed object, agrees with the other Qur'anic statements such as: "And say: The truth is from your Lord; so who wills فَمَنْ شَاءَ let him believe and who wills وَمَنْ شَاءَ let him disbelieve;...",²⁴⁵ "it is surely one of the great things. As warning to mankind. To whoever of you wishes لَنْ شَاءَ to be forward or to lag behind.",²⁴⁶ "Verily, this is a reminder, and He Who wills فَمَنْ شَاءَ chooseth to his Lord a way."²⁴⁷, "... so who wills, فَمَنْ شَاءَ chooses to

his Lord a resort."²⁴⁸ and "Nay, but it is a reminder, And He Who wills *فَمَنْ شَاءَ* remembers it."²⁴⁹ Furthermore, the reference of the subject pronoun in the verb *أَنَابَ* in the following statement: "Say: Verily Allah sendeth astray whomsoever He willeth, and guideth to himself whomsoever turns devoutly (to Him)²⁵⁰ *وَيَهْدِي إِلَيْهِ مَنْ أَنَابَ* certainly refers to the relative pronoun man before the verb. Therefore, to suppose that the subject pronoun of the verb in the same verse, to Allah, upsets the balance of the style. It is certainly better therefore to assume uniformity in the reference of the subject pronoun and therefore the text is best rendered as follows: "Say: Indeed Allah sendeth astray him who willeth to turn away from the truth, and guideth to himself him who turns devoutly to Allah." Further uniformity can be achieved by assuming that the reference of the subject-pronoun of the verb *لِشَاءِ* in all the other passages is man *مَنْ*. Thus, the will here is the human will, not the divine will; and the terms and *اضلال* and *اهداء* are to be interpreted in the sense of indirect causation or in any other meaning as given above and in accordance with the context. Accordingly, the element of compulsion in human acts is removed.²⁵¹

Now we come to the passages from 48 to 52 where human acts such as believing, obeying, disputing and good deeds in general are declared to be accomplished with the permission of God, thus curbing the human choice.

Idhn اِدْن is one of the difficult Arabic words; and the Qur'anic interpreters added to the confusion, having followed no systematic way in interpreting the word in its various occurrences in the Qur'an. The word is either by-passed or is given explanations which varies from a place to another, as suits the convenience of the commentator. In its first occurrence, i.e., Sura 2, verse 97, the word is given no explanation by Tabarī or Zamakhsharī or Samarqandī. The verse in question states that "... Gabriel descended with it (the Qur'an) on your heart with the idhn of Allah. In the next occurrence of the word, i.e., Sura 2, verse 102 - where it is said"... but they do not injure anyone thereby except with the idhn of Allah, Tabari interprets the word as Qada' i.e., decree,²⁵² and as 'ilm, i.e., knowledge²⁵³ indiscriminately. Zamakhshari's comment on the word here is very obscure. He merely says: "... because God may create at the same time one of His acts and may not,

Samarqandi interprets it in the sense of إرادة or تظية

In the third occurrence of the word, Zamakhsharī by-passes it,²⁵⁶ but Ṭabarī continues to give it the meaning of knowledge.²⁵⁷ We may wonder how can God's knowledge guide the believers as it is stated that God has guided those who have believed.....with His idhn. (II,213)

In the next occurrence of the word, (II,223) it is stated that God invites to Paradise and forgiveness with His idhn.²⁵⁸ Zamakhsharī offers here the meaning of taysir and tawfiq, i.e., making easy and helping. Ṭabarī on the other hand, interprets the word as giving information. (259) It is not easy to agree that a word can mean knowledge, somewhere, and imparting knowledge somewhere else. Zamakhshari's interpretation, on the other hand, is obviously artificial.

Let us take three more examples to indicate this confusion, namely, Sura 4, verse 64, Sura 7, vs.58 and Sura 14, vs. 25. In the first instance, the text reads: "He did not send a messenger except in order that he be obeyed with the idhn of Allah." The second text reads: "A good town or country, its vegetation comes forth with the idhn of its Lord.", and the last text reads:"...it (the tree) produces its edible fruit every season with the idhn of its Lord." Ṭabarī by-passes the word in the first two texts, but interprets it in the third text in the sense of command.²⁶⁰ Zamakhsharī, on the other hand, interprets the

word in the first of these texts in the sens of God's permission that the messenger be obeyed; in the second text in the sense of God's taysir, and in the third instance in the sense of its Creator's making it easy and His creation بِتَيْسِيرٍ خَالِقَهَا وَتَكْوِينِهِ. R. Bell interprets the word in the sense of permission everywhere.²⁶²

The above illustrates the lack of uniformity and consistency on the part of the Qur'anic commentators as far as the word idhn is concerned. Lexicographers, on the other hand, appear to be of the opinion that knowledge is the basic meaning of idhn.²⁶³ Qamus states that when the word is used as a verbal noun in the context that someone does something with the idhn of someone else, the meaning is knowledge; but if the verb أَذِنَ governs the preposition lām, i.e., to, and فِي, i.e., in, it means: to give permission or to consent; but if it governs only the preposition لِ or إِلَى, it means: to hearken, to give ear, or to be inclined.²⁶⁴ Edward William Lane considers the meaning of permission an extension of the meaning to listen. He says: "As though originally signifying He gave ear to him in respect of such a thing; and then he permitted, allowed him or gave him permission ~~to~~ or leave, to do the thing or such a thing."²⁶⁵

It seems that the root meaning of the term idhn

is: to give ear or to listen to; and in that sense the word appears to be used in the following line which is quoted by Sihah:

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وَأَنْذَرْتَهُمْ وَأَنْذَرْتَهُمْ وَأَنْذَرْتَهُمْ وَأَنْذَرْتَهُمْ وَأَنْذَرْتَهُمْ
صَمًّا إِذَا سَمِعُوا خَيْرًا ذَكَرْتَهُ

Lane's conjecture that the sense of giving permission is an extension of this meaning appears to be plausible; and we may add that the sense of knowledge is another extension of the same meaning, since to lend an ear to something leads to knowing it. Thus it may be summarized that idhn may convey one or another of three inter-related meanings, viz., to listen, to know and to consent, depending always on what the context may determine. Therefore, to render the word always in the sense of permission, as Richard Bell did, is to ignore the context, and it occasionally renders the text meaningless. Take for example, Sura 10, verse 100, where it is declared: "And it is not for a soul to believe except with the idhn of Allah." To render that as: except by the permission of Allah, makes the sense unintelligible, since it is not conceivable that a soul waits to receive a literal permission from God before it decides to believe. Moreover, when the word is employed in the sense of permission, it normally governs the prepositions إِلَى and فِي.

Reading carefully the Qur'anic instances where

the word idhn occurs with reference to Allah, one comes out with a feeling that a general element runs through them all, viz., awareness or being aware, which is of course close to the notion of knowledge. When the context refers to human acts, there appears to be an allusion to God's giving a befitting consequence, viz., a reward or a punishment. The idea of God being aware can easily be discerned in the statement that a good country gives its vegetation with the idhn of its Lord, and: a tree gives its edible fruit with the idhn of its Lord. The process in both cases is subtle and complicated though it is very **Beneficient** to man. But in all its stages it was well-handled by its Creator Who is fully Aware of all developments.

The same notion can easily be seen in the statement wherever the reference is to human acts. By practising magic, the magicians cannot harm anyone except that God is aware of their mischief so that He may store a befitting punishment for them. By His revelation, the believers were guided while He was aware of all happenings so that He might ~~store~~ their rewards. The Prophets were sent to invite people to the message of the Lord, while He is aware of the response of the people so that rewards and punishments could be determined. Moreover, no soul

is to believe and to obey except that God is aware of its attitude so that it can be accordingly rewarded.

The surrounding statements of these instances support this interpretation. E.g., Sura 10 verse 100 is concluded by the statement: and God places His punishment on those who do not believe. The verse therefore consists of two well-balanced parts: those who believe will be rewarded; and those who do not, will be punished. Sura 100, verse 102 is similarly concluded, and is followed by the statement: if they believed and feared, God's reward would have been better Sura 2 verse 213 is followed by the mention of Paradise, and Sura 33 verse 48 is followed by the mention of what is stored with God for the believers.

Thus, when it is declared that a human act is done or accomplished with God's idhn, it means: "with God's awareness of it so that due consequences will follow. In this way, no implication of a sense of compulsion is there.

Now we come to the Qur'anic passages which are interpreted to the effect that human acts are pre-determined by God. These passages are those rendered above under (d)

and (e),²⁶⁷ where the root words: قَضَا and قَدَر are used.

It is important to repeat here that the scope of this discussion is limited to human voluntary acts. It does not cover divine acts or organic or reflexive acts. It is also important to make it clear that this work does not deny the concept or the doctrine of qadar or divine decree in relation to events and acts outside our scope. It will be unsound to deny that the Creator of such a complicated and yet efficient and orderly world had pre-planned or pre-ordained its events.

The root قَدَر , it is true, conveys the idea of power قُدْرَة , and measure تَقْدِير : but we do not deny, as Rahbar did,²⁶⁸ that the term may be employed in the sense of divine decree, of which the word قَدَر as well as the word, قَضَا have become technical terms.²⁶⁹ We have earlier seen that the term was so employed in pre-Islamic literature,²⁷⁰ and it is difficult to assume that the whole world of early Islam had mistakenly used such a popular word merely as a result of theological speculations.

The Qur'anic passages quoted under (d) and (e) above include all Qur'anic texts, where those terms are used in relation to human acts; but we dispute that these passages or any of them have to be interpreted in such a

way as to deprive man from freedom over his voluntary work.

Suppose that all the quotations under discussion deal with human acts, and suppose also that the words taqdīr and qadā' and their derivatives are here employed in the sense of decree or preordaining, it will be wrong to deduce from the fact that God's decrees human acts, that man is necessarily deprived man of his choice. What is important is the factor or the immediate cause of the human acts, and it is not correct to claim that divine decreeing or pre-ordaining is the immediate cause. The immediate cause is the human desire, the human choice, the human inclination and determination. ¶

The divine decreeing of the human acts amounts to no more than God's knowledge in eternity of their happenings in time. God pre-planned and pre-ordained the world in order that the world may be efficient and orderly, and it is not sound to assume that all the world was pre-planned with the exception of the human acts. This category of acts may be very great and may be of far-reaching consequences, such as the processes of deliberate human acts which lead to scientific discoveries which in turn lead to innumerable mechanic and organic occurrences. In other words, human acts may be closely inter-related to, and may inter-act with other happenings and events. To

assume that they are not included in the pre-ordained plan of the world will render this plan to be incomplete, and it will be difficult to imagine how such an orderly world can exist and function on such a partial plan.

It is also wrong to assume that pre-ordaining human acts interfere with the human freedom, or to assume that such pre-ordaining is arbitrary. In our view, therefore, the term qadar is not to be interpreted as pre-determination, since such an interpretation may be assumed to imply cancellation of or interference with the human determination of the human acts. To summarize our view, we may say that human voluntary acts are - along with other events - decreed by God, but determined and produced by man.

In this way, the Qur'anic passages in question imply no sense of compulsion. There is no need to indulge in a process of explaining away the words as D. Rahbar did, in which we largely disagree with him. His method appears to be artificial and arbitrary.²⁷¹

We now reach the Qur'anic passages which are cited to prove that the production of all human acts is to be ascribed to God, and that they are not to be ascribed to man.²⁷²

In our view, all that these passages amount to is that creation is to be ascribed to God Who is the Creator.

It is important to distinguish between the connotations of the term khalq and those of the term 'amal, and we feel that while human acts can be ascribed to God as their Creator, they can be ascribed to man as his 'amal. Khalq appears to mean: to cause the existence of something or of anything without necessarily the employment of tools or instruments or a direct handling by the Creator. It is described in the Qur'an as merely God's saying: Be! The Qur'an reads:-

"What We say to a thing when We wish it, is simply to say: Be!, and it is". XVI,29

It also reads:-

"Only that which He does when He wishes a thing, is to say to it: Be! and it is" XXXVI,82

'Amal, on the other hand, is an accomplishment which normally requires efforts and tools and instruments. It appears to us that the human acts are the creation or the Khalq of God, but they are at the same time the 'amal of man. They are the khalq of God in the sense that He caused them to be, whereas they are the 'amal of man in the sense that man produced them. God's creation of human acts does not conflict with the fact that man produces them, so much as God's decree of the human acts does not conflict with the fact that man determines them.²⁷³

Now we arrive at the last passage in the list, which denies that the unbelievers were actually killed by Muslims on the day of Badr, and also denies that Muḥammad was actually the one who threw stones in the direction of the unbelievers on the same day.²⁷⁴ The text declares that it was Allah Who actually Killed the unbelievers and Who actually threw the stones.

Ṭabari²⁷⁵ justifies the above statement by stating that God the Almighty was the cause of these acts; but it is difficult to see how this justifies the denial of the fact that Muḥammad and the believers actually performed the acts mentioned in the text.

Let us now listen to what Zamkhsharī has to say: "...If you take pride in killing them, you did not kill them but Allah killed them because it is He Who caused the angels to descend, it is He Who threw the fears into their hearts, it is He Who decreed success and victory for you and it is He Who strengthened your hearts and removed from them fear and despair. And you did not throw, O you Muḥammad!; when you threw, but it was God Who threw. This means that the throwing which you did, you did not do it in reality because if it were you who threw it, its effect would not have reached except up to the degree of the throwing of human beings. But it was

God's throwing since it resulted in such a great effect. Thus, throwing is attributed to the Prophet, peace be upon him, outwardly because it outwardly occurred from him, but the text denies that it occurred from him in reality because the effect was beyond human ability and thus the throwing was in reality God's, and God was in fact the One Who threw and it is as if it did not occur from the Prophet at all."²⁷⁶

Zamakhshari's explanation is not absolutely clear, nor does it defend the Mu'tazilite doctrine that man is the author of his work. His interpretation appears to be literal; nevertheless his critic, the author of Intisāf, accuses him of reversing the truth, and in a glaring style claims that the text here is obviously an evidence that the ascription of human acts to man is metaphorical but their real author is God.²⁷⁷

In his comment on the verse, al-Rāzī says: Our people used this verse as an evidence to the belief that the human acts are created by God the Almighty. He elaborated on that saying; This is so since the Qur'ān states that you did not kill them but God has killed them while it is certain that they wounded them. This shows that the occurrence of these acts was only produced by God. Moreover, he continues, the Qur'anic statement: And you

did not throw when you threw, shows that while throwing is ascribed to the Prophet, he is denied to have thrown; and this means that throwing is ascribed to the Prophet in the sense of acquisition but not in the way of creating (production).²⁷⁸

Baidāwī has an interesting explanation. He implies that an act may be perfect and may be imperfect, and the noun which describes it is applicable to it in either case.²⁷⁹ He thereby implies that the act of killing and throwing are ascribed both to the believers and the Prophet on the one hand, and to God on the other, and the application in both cases is real; but in one case with an element of imperfection and in the other case with a sense of perfection and completion.

An interesting exposition of the verse is given by the famous traditionalist, Ibn al-Qayyim, which can be rendered as follows: "A group of people believed that what is meant by this verse was denying the act of the Prophet and ascribing it to the Almighty. And they made this a basis for the doctrine of Jabr, denying the ascription of the human acts to man, and affirming their ascription to God alone. But this is a gross mistake on their part in understanding the Qur'ān. If this was correct here, it will have to be generalised in all human acts and then it could be said: "you did not prey when

you prayed, you did not fast when you fast, you did not sacrifice when you sacrifice, and in general you did not do anything when you do anything, but God did all things. When they generalised this they have to admit it in all the human acts whether they are sins or otherwise, since there is no difference. If they limit this to the Prophet and all his deeds or to his throwing only, they become inconsistent. They were not rightly guided in understanding the implication of the verse!

He continues: "This verse descended in connexion with the Prophet's throwing the unbelievers on the day of Badr with a handful of stones and it did not miss the face of any of them without hitting it. And it is known that such throwing from a human being does not reach this extent. Therefore ~~what~~ actually happened of the Prophet was the beginning of throwing and it was God Who caused it to reach (all the faces of the unbelievers.) Therefore the act of throwing is ascribed to the Prophet in the sense of its beginning and it is denied as having occurred from him in the sense of its end.

He further continues: "And likewise the statement: You did not kill them but it was God Who killed them Thus God informs that He alone killed them, and that killing them was not done by

you (the believers), as He alone caused the stones to reach their eyes and this was not the act of the Prophet. The meaning of the verse in brief is that God established apparent reasons for repelling the unbelievers but He alone repelled them and destroyed them with hidden causes which were different from the causes which people could see. Therefore, what happened, namely the defeat and the killing (of the unbelievers), and the victory (of the believers), was ascribed to Him and it was done by Him and He is the best of supporters."²⁸⁰

Thus while the Jabraités make use of this verse in advocating their doctrine of compulsion, the Ash'arites utilise it in asserting their dogma of acquisition. The Sufis on the other hand use it in affirming their belief of unity.

In our view, the verse has no relationship to any of these later doctrinal developments and we maintain that all the literal interpretations of the verse are mistaken. It seems that the text was revealed in some special circumstances. The commentators mentioned above claim that the verse descended in reply to some of the victorious Muslims who after the Battle of Badr took pride in their achievements. The expression however is very strong, and reading the surrounding verses one comes out

with a feeling that the Muslims after the battle suffered from a feeling of remorse^{at} having killed their fellow Arabs and having humiliated Mecca and Quraysh. The verse appears to have been revealed in order to assure the Muslims that they held no responsibility for what happened because they were mere tools for the accomplishment of their Lord's command. The style expressed this in a very effective way by exaggerating this idea as if nothing occurred from them and as if what happened was merely the act of God and therefore they should suffer no sense of remorse and since there is nothing for them to blame. Thus, this rhetorical or poetical expression cannot be produced as an evidence to any of the disputing parties, and it is not valid to infer from it that human acts are not really ascribable to man.

Having analysed all the Qur'anic passages related to human acts, without straining the words and without neglecting the surrounding contexts, we may summarise the results of this analysis as follows:-

1. There is no internal conflict in the Qur'an over the question of human acts,
2. The Qur'an is categorical in affirming the

- freedom of man in determining his deeds,
3. The inference of a sense of compulsion from certain Qur'anic passages, was a result of misinterpretation,
 4. The Qur'an ascribes to man the production of his deeds, such production to be described as deed or act, ('amal), and to be distinguished from creation, (Khalq),
 5. Though the human acts are determined and produced by man, they may have been decreed by God in Eternity in the sense that what God foretold of man's deeds in time was included in His total plan of the world without necessarily implying any sense of constraining the human freedom, since God's decreeing human acts amounted to no more than relating them to what will happen outside the scope of the acts.

Thus, this thesis ~~o~~ needs the doctrine of qadar, but guards against misinterpreting it in such a way as to imply an element of compulsion. Qadar simply means the eternal decree or plan of the world, which was in accordance with God's determination and God's prediction, His determination of His creation, and His prediction of man's choice and efforts. The Qur'an charged its adherents with the accomplishment of certain commands and the avoidance

of certain offences; and in view of what has just been established, viz., the full responsibility of man, the Qur'ān assured them of a fair deal: reward for compliance and punishment for transgression.

This, we maintain, is the position of the Qur'ān; and the same must have been the current ideas and beliefs which prevailed during the life-time of the Prophet.²⁸¹ The same position appears to have continued during the early part of the age of the Orthodox Caliphate. It seems that the mistaken interpretation of the doctrine of qadar, according to which the concept implies an element of coercion, was a result of an attempt by sinners who sought an excuse for their failure under the cover of this doctrine, as the unbelievers had done before them.²⁸² A violent reaction against this attitude resulted in a complete denial of qadar and the heated dispute over this question. We hope to trace the evolution and the early developments of this dispute at a later stage. In the meantime, we proceed to consider the position of Ḥadīth in relation to the subject of qadar, not only to see how far the Ḥadīth agrees with the attitude of the Qur'an over this question, but we hope to gain also some insight that will guide us in pursuing the developments of disputes over this question.

CHAPTER VI

HADĪTH AND THE CONCEPT OF QADAR

The Ḥadīths related to human acts, like the Qur'anic passages discussed above, can be grouped under the following four headings:

- 1 - Ḥadīths which speak of rewards or punishments as consequences on human acts, thus implying that man bears responsibility for producing them,
- 2 - Ḥadīths which attribute the human acts to man, thus implying that man is the author of his acts,
- 3 - Ḥadīths in which human acts are stated to be dependent on man's own choice, and
- 4 - Ḥadīths where it is stated that man's acts are determined for him or where he is denied to be their author.

The first three categories can be regarded as one group which recognises the concept of human freedom; and the last category alone forms one group which apparently advocates an idea of compulsion.

A. Traditions advocating the principle of Human Freedom

1. Ḥadīths promising rewards or warning of punishment

The first category of Ḥadīths which promise the righteous of good rewards or condemn the evil-doers, are to be found in large numbers scattered over the various chapters of the canonical collections. The following are quoted as samples:

- i. "Allah prepares an abode in Paradise for the worshipper when he walks to the mosque and when he returns from

from the mosque." (1)

- ii. ".....and whoever kills himself with an iron (i.e. commits suicide), will be punished on account of this in the Fire of Jahannam" (2)

2. Hadīths in which human acts are attributed to Man.

There are numerous Ḥadīths where man is given as the author of his works, being the subject of verbs indicating works. The following are quoted as samples:

- i. "When the son of Adam dies, his deeds عَمَلُهُ ceases except three, (i.e. whose rewards continue to accumulate), viz., a running charity, useful knowledge and a righteous son who prays for him" (3)
- ii. "...and do اصْنَعِي what the Muslims do مَا يَصْنَعُ السُّلُونُ in pilgrimage" (4)
- iii. "Whoever does anything مِنْ صَنْعِ أَمْرٍ contrary to our teaching, it is rejected" (5)
- iv. "No child is born except with an unprejudiced heart. But it is its parents who Juda'ize or Christianize it." (6)

In the first of the above quotations the word 'amal is annexed to the pronoun which refers to the son of Adam; and, ^{the} subject pronoun of the Arabic equivalent of the word made or did refers to persons in the 2nd and 3rd quotations. In the 4th quotation, Juda'izing and Christianizing is ascribed to parents. This shows that man is recognised as the author of his deeds.

3. Hadīths which acknowledge that man determines his acts by his own choice

The third category of Ḥadīth consists of those which contain one of the words denoting a sense of volition such as irādah and mashī'ah with man as the subject. No less than 98 Ḥadīths where man's determination of his acts is attributed to him can be found in the early canonical collections where the words irādah and mashī'ah are employed.

The following quotations are sufficient for our purpose:

- i. ".....I asked further, 'Why is its door so high?', (i.e., the door of the Ka'ba^۲). The Prophet replied, 'Your people so did in order to let in those they wished لِيَدْخُلُوا مِنْ شَاءُوا, and to prevent those whom they wished to prevent وَيَمْنَعُوا مِنْ شَاءُوا" (7)
- ii. "There is a (supererogatory) prayer between every two adhāns, (the Prophet repeating this twice, and in the third time the Prophet added) for anyone who wishes لِمَنْ شَاءَ" (8)
- iii. ".....They - the starting points for the observation of the pilgrimage rituals - are so established for their inhabitants and for those who pass by them determined لِمَنْ أَرَادَ to perform the Hajj or the 'Umrah" (9)
- iv. ".....and when (Fasting of) the month of Ramadhān was instituted, the Prophet said, "Whoever wishes فَمَنْ شَاءَ let him fast it (i.e., the day of 'Āshūrā'), and whoever wishes وَمَنْ شَاءَ let him leave it" (10)

The Hadīths in the above three categories all acknowledge that man determines his own acts, and that he has a role in producing them.⁸¹ These Hadīths are in agreement with the prevailing ideas in the Qur'ān, and are so numerous that they can safely be regarded as expressing the general thinking of the early Muslim generation.

B. Hadīths Claimed to Advocate a Sense of Compulsion¹²

The last category of Hadīths, however, may give a different impression. It consists of a relatively small number of traditions. Because of their special interest to us, they are fully produced in their original in Appendix I at the end of this work. We now proceed to the translation of these traditions in their order in the Appendix, which will be followed by a critical examination of the texts. It will be seen that the position arrived at in the above analysis, namely that the human freedom is acknowledged, cannot be impaired by the seemingly implication of compulsion in these few Hadīths.¹⁰ Now, here is their translation:¹³

1. Muslim in his Sahīh relates that Yahya b. Ya'mur said, Ma'bad al-Juhānī was the first to speak about qadar. It happened that I and Humaid b. 'Abd al-Rahmān went on pilgrimage. We thought of seeking to meet one of the Companions, (i.e., the Companions of the Prophet), and ask him about what these people speak of qadar. So we happened to meet 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. al-Khattāb about to enter the Mosque. I and my friend surrounded him, one on his right and one on his left. I felt that my friend wanted to leave the matter to me, and then I asked saying: O you father of

'Abd al-Rahmān. In our midst some people emerged who read the Qur'ān and seek to reach the bottomé of knowledge, and he mentioned more about them. They claim there is no Qadar and that the matter is spurious. Ibn 'Umar answered: If you meet them inform them that I disassociate myself from them and they are disassociated from me. By Him by whom 'Abdullah b. 'Umar swears, if any of them possesses the weight of Uḥūd of gold and gave it all in charity tī will not be accepted from him until he believes in Qadar. He added: My father, 'Umar, related to me saying: While we were with the Prophet a man came out with very white clothes and very black hair and without any trace of travelling, but no one from us could recognize him. (The Ḥadīth continues describing the stranger sitting opposite to the Prophet and how he asked him about the meaning of Islām, the meaning of Īmān, the meaning of Iḥsān and then about the coming of the last day. At the end the visitor disappeared and the Prophet informed his Companions that it was Gabriel. In his answer to the question about ^{the} definition of Īmān, the Prophet is related to have said, "It is that you should believe in Allah, in His angels, in His Books, in His Apostles and in the Last Day; and that you should believe in the Qadar, good or bad.") (14)

2. Muslim again relates on the authority of 'Abdullāh (15) that the Prophet said, "Indeed each of you is collected in

his mother's stomach as a drop for forty days after which he becomes a clot for another forty days, then he becomes a small piece of flesh for a similar period. Then the angel is sent to blow the soul into the embryo and the angel is ordered to write four words: his provision

رِزْقَهُ , his term وَأَجَلَهُ , his work عَلَيْهِ , and

whether he is to be of fortune or misfortune. By Him Who there is no God but He, it may be that one of you follows the path of the people of Paradise until there is only the length of one arm between him and Paradise, but the Book overtakes him and he follows the path of the people of Hell, then he enters Hell. And it may be that one of you follows the path of the people of Hell until there is only the length of one arm between him and Hell, but the Book overtakes him and he follows the path of the people of Paradise, then he enters Paradise." (15)

- (3) 3. Muslim also relates on the authority of Abū Hurayrah that the Prophet said, "A man may follow the path of the people of Paradise for a long time, then his work receives the stamp of the work of the dwellers of Hell. And a man may follow the path of the people of Hell, then his work finally receives the stamp of the dwellers of Paradise." (17)
- (4) 4. Muslim further relates that the Prophet said: "A man may follow the path of the people of Paradise in the eyes of the others, while he is one of the people of Hell;

and the man may follow the path of the people of Hell in the eyes of the others while he is one of the people of Paradise."⁽¹⁸⁾ Another version of this Hadīth adds: "And works will be judged by the concluding acts, (i.e. al-Khawāṭim)".⁽¹⁹⁾

5. 5. Muslim again relates that 'Alī said: We accompanied a Bier to the cemetery of "Baqī' al-Gharqad" and the Prophet came to us. He sat down with a stick in his hand and we sat round him. The Prophet let his head sink in his breast and began to strike with his stick, saying, "There is no one of you, there is no breathing soul except Allah has written its place in Paradise or in Hell, and except that it has been written happy or unhappy." Then someone asked: O you the Apostle of Allah! Why should it not be that we depend on, and leave it to, our Book and then abandon the work? The Prophet answered: "Whoever is decreed to be one of the people of happiness, will come to the work of the people of happiness; and whoever is decreed to be one of the people of unhappiness, will come to the work of the people of unhappiness." The Prophet added: "Work! Everyone is guided."⁽²⁰⁾ As for the people of happiness, they are guided to the path of the people of happiness and as for the people of unhappiness, they are guided to the path of the people of unhappiness." Then he recited: "As for him who gives alms

and fears God and believes in the good reward for the good work, *فَأَمَّا مَنْ أَعْطَىٰ وَاتَّقَىٰ وَصَدَّقَ بِالْحُسْنَىٰ*, We shall make easy for him to pursue the way for the good future. And as for him who is covetous and did not care and disbelieved in in the good reward for good acts, *وَأَمَّا مَنْ بَخِلَ وَاسْتَغْنَىٰ وَكَذَّبَ بِالْحُسْنَىٰ*, we shall make easy for him the path of distress." (21)

- (6) 6. Muslim also relates that Abū al-Aswad al-Du'alī said: 'Imrān b. al-Huṣayn said to me: Do you see that people are doing nowadays, in which they are exerting themselves, is it something determined and passed earlier for them in accordance to a previous decree, or is it something where they are tested in what is given them by the Prophet in order that the evidence be binding upon them? I answered: But it is something already determined and passed for them. He then retorted: Would that not be injustice? Abu al-Aswad said: I was extremely shocked and I replied: Everything is God's creation and His possession and He is not to be questioned for what He does, but they are to be questioned. Then he said: May Allah rest your soul; I only wanted to examine your mind! Two men of the tribe of Muzaynah came to the Apostle of Allah, peace be upon him, and asked: O you messenger of Allah! What do you see concerning what people now do and are exerting themselves in it, is it something pre-determined and passed for them, or is what they now receive from what their Prophet has brought to them, where they are being tested in order that evidence be

binding on them? He said: "But it is something determined and passed for them; and the support for this in the Book of the Almighty is: "And by a soul and By Whom Who perfected it and inspired it of the ways of violence and of fear'." 22

7. 'Ā'ishah is related to have said that the Prophet was invited to attend to a bier of a boy from the Anṣār and I said "O you Messenger of Allah! Luck be for him. A sparrow from amongst the sparrows of Paradise! He did not commit a sin; and evil could not reach him" The Prophet retorted: "Nor other than this O 'Ā'ishah! Verily Allah created dwellers for Paradise while they were still in the loins of their fathers and created dwellers for Hell while they/still ^{were} in the loins of their fathers." 23

8. Abu Hurayrah is related to have said, the Prophet said: "Adam and Moses argued. Moses said: O Adam! You are our father but you disgraced us and caused us to be dismissed from Paradise. Adam replied: You are Moses and God favoured you with His speech and wrote to you with His hands, and yet you blame me for what God had decreed for me forty years before He created me!" The Prophet continued: "And so Adam defeated Moses." 24

9. Ubayy b. Ka'b related that the Prophet said: "Verily the Youth who was killed by Khadir was stamped unbeliever. Had he lived he would have imposed upon his parents arrogance and disbelief." 25

10. Abu Hurairah related that the Prophet said, "Verily God has decreed for the son of Adam his share of zina, he will have it fulfilled inevitably. The zina of the eye is looking, the zina of the tongue is speaking, the zina

of the soul is craving; and the farj fulfils or rejects." (28)

11. 11. Abū Hurayrah also related that the Prophet said:
 ".....Care for what benefits you and seek God's help.
 If something befalls you do not say: If I did such and such, such and
 such could have been. Say: God has decreed and He does
 whatever He wishes. Indeed 'if' لو opens the work of
 Satan." (23)
12. 12. 'Abdullah b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ related that the Prophet
 said: "Verily all the hearts of the sons of Adam are between
 two of al-Rahmān's fingers, just like one heart which He
 causes to change however He wishes." The Prophet added:
 "O Lord, You Turner of hearts, change our hearts towards
 obeying, (i.e., serving), You." (28)
13. 13. Muslim again relates on the authority of 'Abdullah b.
 'Umar and on the authority of Abū Hurayrah that the Prophet
 said, "Let those who neglect their Friday prayers stop doing
 so; or God will seal on their hearts and they will become
 among those who are unaware". (29)
14. 14. Abū Hurayrah again relates that the Prophet said,
 "Let not anyone say: God! Grant me forgiveness if You will,
 grant me mercy if You will, and provide for me if You will.
 Let him determine his demand. Verily God does what He will,
 and no-one can coerce Him!" (30)
15. 15. A female servant of one of the Prophet's daughters
 related that the daughter of the Prophet informed her that he

used to teach her, saying: "When you rise in the morning say: Glory and thanks be to God; there is no power without him; what God determines to be shall be, and what God determines not to be shall not be!" (31)

16. 16. Zayd b. Thābit related that the Prophet invited him and let him to undertake that he and his family recite every morning a formula of prayers which includes: "My Lord! I do not say a word or swear an oath or make a vow except that Your Will is preceding it all. What You will will be, and what You do not will, will not be!" (32)
17. 17. Abū Hurayrah relates that the Unbelievers of Quraysh came arguing with the messenger of Allah over the question of Qadar; and then the Qur'an was revealed reading: (The day they will be pulled ^{into the Fire,} into their faces, Try the tough of Sagar. Verily everything We created with qadar!)" (33)
18. 18. 'Abdullah b. 'Umar relates that the Prophet, peace be upon him, appeared to his Companions while they were arguing over the matter of qadar. His face then turned as red as if the seeds of pomegranate were ripped open onto his face! He said, "Were you so commanded, or were you for this created? arguing some parts of the Qur'an against the others? In this way, the nations before you were destroyed!" (34)
19. 19. 'Abdullah b. 'Umar related that the Prophet besieged the people of Tā'if but did not conquer it, (i.e., the town). (35)
Then the Prophet said, "We shall return tomorrow, if God wills!"

The above list contains all the important traditions related to human acts where there is a shade of the idea of compulsion. Some of them are repeated in different versions. We now proceed to discuss them all, one after the other, in the above order. But before we begin to do so, let us remember the results of our discussion of relevant Qur'anic passages, which can be summarised as follows:

- (1) That this thesis does not reject the doctrine of Qadar in the sense that God planned in eternity all the world events in time. This plan includes:
 - (a) All occurrences determined and produced by God alone without man having any part to play in their production at all,
 - (b) All the human voluntary acts which man determines and produces. They were presumably included in the total plan as God had foretold them prior to their existence.
- (ii) That the meaning of Qadar as related to human voluntary acts is no more than the inclusion of the human acts in the plan which is sometimes called 'Umm al-Kitāb'⁽³⁶⁾ in accordance with God's foreknowledge, and does not necessarily imply any element of coercion or compulsion.

IMPLICATION OF COMPULSION IS NOT REAL

- (1) 1. Now we come to the first Hadīth quoted above, in which the important parts of the belief in Qadar is included in the definition of Īmān as given by the Prophet, and the apparent intention of Yaḥyā b. Ya'mur, the chief authority in the Isnād, is to take stock from this statement to disprove the thesis of Ma'bad al-Juhani who, as Yahya claims, was the first to speak of Qadar. The context implies that Yahya held the ideas of Ma'bad in relation to Qadar as heretical, and ^{that} what Ma'bad and his associates held was the rejection of Qadar. (37)

Assuming that this Hadīth is authentic, a careful analysis of the text itself shows that it does not conflict with the thesis which we have arrived at as a result of the relevant Qur'anic passages, in spite of the implications of the words of Yaḥyā b. Ya'mur. The words attributed to the Prophet merely state that belief in Qadar is an element of Faith, but there is nothing to suggest that the meaning of Qadar, which is stated to be an article of the Faith, implies a sense of compulsion. The addition of the words ^{حيره} and ^{وسيره} suggests the ideas of fortune and misfortune which are removed from the ideas of good and evil acts. The underlying idea here appears that man should assume an attitude of acceptance of whatever befallshim without revolt or despair or undue pride.

If Yaḥyā b. Ya'mur intends to make use of this

Ḥadīth in simply affirming a doctrine of Qadar, we shall raise no objection, since the existence of a doctrine of Qadar which does not deprive men of freedom is conceded; but he has no grounds at all for deriving from the words of the Prophet any sense of compulsion in the production of voluntary human acts.

In dealing with this Ḥadīth, however, we have to be cautious for the following reasons:-

- a - Belief or disbelief in Qadar is not given in the Qur'an where the elements of Imān (Faith), or those of its antonym Kufr (Disbelief), are enumerated. (38)
- b - The same Ḥadīth is reported by Bukhārī through another Isnād, where belief in Qadar is not given as a part of Imān.³⁹
- c - This Yahyā b. Ya'mur appears to be a doubtful character, especially where the subject under discussion is concerned. According to Yāqūt, he was accused of being a Qadrite. (40) Yāqūt further says that Yahyā was exiled from Baṣrah by al-Hajjāj and was subsequently appointed judge in Khurasan by Yazīd b. 'Abdullah who later dismissed him on account of his being given to drinking wine. (41)

2. The relevant parts of the second Ḥadīth are those where it is stated that man's 'amal, (work), as well as

whether he is to be of happiness or unhappiness are written down while man is being formed in the mother's womb and that the Book may overtake man before he dies and man has to change the course of his work in accordance with what he is destined to be in the Book.

This Ḥadīth is usually quoted as evidence for the popular concept of Qadar. ⁽⁴²⁾ In our view, the Tradition, assuming that it is authentic, has a different import. The idea of 'writing' man's acts and what he is to be, appears to be a symbolic rhetorical expression denoting God's foreknowledge. The statement that the Book may overtake man does not mean : it is what has been written, and not what man may do. The statement apparently serves as a warning and an encouragement. It is a warning to those who follow the right path not to surrender to evil desires even for a moment; if they do, they may be overtaken by death and thus end in the wrong way. It is an encouragement, on the other hand, to the evil-doers not to despair. It is an invitation to them to repent and aspire for God's forgiveness. In this way, the Ḥadīth has a moral basis, with no real implication of compulsion.

3. 3. The third Ḥadīth in the list is of the same idea as the above. It is a repetition of the second part of the previous Ḥadīth, just in different words. It simply

means that a man may follow a course for some time, but it is ended for him differently. The key word here is

يُخْتَمُ لَهُ, which A.J. Wensinck renders as 'receive finally the stamp of',⁽⁴³⁾ which is obviously arbitrary and far-fetched. The root خ ت م, may convey the meaning of reaching an end, or simply, ending. E.E.Lane says:"..

خَتَمَ الشَّيْءَ, inf. n. خَتْمٌ, also signifies ... He reached the end of a thing,⁽⁴⁴⁾ and, - 'you say also

حَمْدُ اللَّهِ بِخَيْرٍ (May God make his end to be good').⁽⁴⁵⁾

Thus, the obvious interpretation of the word يُخْتَمُ here is 'ended' i.e., the end of the course of work is such and such. Wensinck himself interprets the word خَوَاتِيمُ, a derivative of the same root which occurs in the Bukhārī's version:

إِنَّمَا الْأَعْمَالُ بِخَوَاتِيمِ,⁽⁴⁶⁾ as 'the concluding acts', and it is surprising that he should render the two words from the same root and in the same text differently.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Thus the

implication of this Ḥadīth, like that of the previous one, is not a sense of compulsion, but a warning that man should be on his guard and should endeavour to end well.

4. 4. The fourth Ḥadīth is similar to the second and third, since it simply states that an individual may appear to others to be on the right path while he in fact belongs to people of another type of work. This does not mean that man is what he is destined to be whatever he may do! It simply means that it is not what an individual may appear to be

doing for the time-being; but it is how he is going to end. Thus there is no sense of compulsion here.

5. The initial part of the next Hadīth states that the fate of everyone has been recorded. This does not necessarily mean that the fate of everyone has been decided so that it is of no avail or harm whatever one may do. It is nearer to the effect that everyone would be either rewarded or punished, and no one will be left without reward or punishment, which appears to be a turn of a preaching expression in a context of funerals when minds were set on the memory of death. As such, this statement does not necessarily have any implication of compulsion. Another key word in the hadīth is the word muyassar which is rendered by Wensinck⁽⁴⁸⁾ followed by W.M. Watt⁽⁴⁹⁾ as 'misguided'. According to this interpretation, the effect of the statement: اعْمَلُوا فِكْرًا مُبَشِّرًا in the hadīth will be: Work! Everyone is guided. This is obviously a misguided translation, springing from pre-conceived ideas of arbitrary guiding and misguiding of which we spoke earlier. The word muyassar is the passive participle of the second Form of the root يسر whose basic meaning is: Ease. Therefore, yassara means: made easy,⁽⁵⁰⁾ and muyassar means: is made easy. Thus the statement which is more complete in another version⁽⁵¹⁾ which reads as follows: اعْمَلُوا فِكْرًا مُبَشِّرًا خُلِقَ لَهُ, means: 'perform work! It is made easy for everyone what everyone is created for'. The Qur'an reads: "I did not create mankind and the genii except to serve

Me" (LI,56). Thus this statement denotes that the means for fulfilling the purpose for which everyone was created, namely, to worship God, have been made easy and accessible, and everyone can choose to make use of these available means. The Qur'anic quotation in the Ḥadīth, (XCII, 6-10) does not upset the meaning. It is simply to the effect that, having been given the means to obey, those who choose to give and to believe will be made easy for them the way to the abode of ease, (Paradise): and those who choose to be covetous and disbelieve, will be made 'easy' for them the way to the abode of hardship, (Hell). Thus assuming that the Ḥadīth is authentic, there is nothing in it to advance a theory of compulsion.

6. The translation of the conversational part of this Ḥadīth is quite difficult; and the Commentary of Nawawī⁽⁵²⁾ leaves the words unexplained; but the translation offered does not seem to have gone far wrong.

This Ḥadīth, however, has an air of obvious forgery. The conversation between 'Imrān b. Ḥuṣain and Abū al-Aswad smells of that. Moreover, Yaḥyā b. Ya'mur is here again in the Isnād. In addition, the phrase: وتصدق ذلك في كتاب الله

is not a familiar style of the Prophet. Furthermore, how can we imagine that the Prophet answers the delegation of Muzaynah who came to seek his guidance to the effect: "You exert yourselves in what has been pre-determined already for you." That does not seem to be a wise answer, since it implies that exertion in

work is futile. We would expect them to say, as 'Imrān said here: Would not that be injustice! or as others retorted in the previous Ḥadīth: Shall we leave the work and rely on the Book!

Another point is that the Ḥadīth here implies that the quoted Qur'anic words⁽⁵³⁾ mean: "and by a soul and by Whom Who has perfected it, and guided it to violation and piety." In other words, the verses are taken to imply that it is God Who directly causes the soul to turn to piety or to violation. This, in our view, is an objectionable interpretation. The Qur'ān speaks of the soul in general, and it is not correct to make a division. It is stated that the soul is inspired of the way of piety and the way of violation at the same time, but the individual makes his own choice. The Qur'anic statement here is similar to other Qur'anic statements where man is declared to have been guided to choose either way.⁽⁵⁴⁾

That there has been a forgery in this type of Tradition in order to advance the popular concept of Qadar can be evidenced from numerous instances of Ḥadīth put into the mouth of the Prophet where the Qadrites who deny this concept are condemned.⁽⁵⁵⁾ No impartial thinker would be prepared to defend the authenticity of these Ḥadīths.

7. In this Ḥadīth, 'Ā'shah praises the luck of the boy who dies before the age of maturity, and thus could not be blamed for committing evil, which, she says, could not reach

him. In his reply, the Prophet declares that God, while people were still in the loins of their fathers, ^{He} were assorted, ~~them~~, some for Paradise and the others for Hell.

This Ḥadīth, on the face of it, may appear to favour fatalism, since everyone is apparently stated as having been assigned a dwelling either in Paradise or in Hell before birth! A careful reading of the Ḥadīth, however, reveals that it is not so. 'Ā'ishah appears to be envying the boy for having died below maturity, thus escaping responsibility. He was not to be blamed for doing evil. The Prophet, in his retort, began with the following words: *أَوْغَيْرَ ذَلِكَ* which means: and not other than this, i.e. nor did he do a valid good act for which he could be praised. In other words, this brief statement of the Prophet denotes that the boy was not to be envied. We should not carve for dying early in order to escape responsibility. Man is created to serve and to be tested whether he deserves a dwelling in Paradise or another in Hell. Hence, the continuation of the Ḥadīth which apparently urges man to endeavour to be worthy of good rewards. Thus, this Ḥadīth, assuming again that it is authentic, does not necessarily mean that man is compelled in his work or that he has no role to play in its production.

8. In this Ḥadīth, Adam and Moses are supposed to have met and argued about the former's fault in causing mankind to be expelled from Paradise, We can hardly imagine that the two men really

met in the flesh. The Ḥadīth is related on the authority of Abū Hurayrah who is reported to have held the learned Jews in special esteem.⁽⁵⁶⁾ In another version of this Ḥadīth⁽⁵⁷⁾ Adam is reported to have asked Moses: How long, you know, did God write the Tawrah before I was created? Moses answered: forty years. Adam continued: Did you read in it, 'and Adam disobeyed his Lord and erred?' Moses said: Yes. Adam retorted: How do you then blame me for something which Allah decreed for me forty years before I was created? According to Ibn Taymiyah,⁽⁵⁸⁾ this tradition was rejected by several scholars including al-Jubbā'ī, the famous Mu'tazilite, master of al-Ash'arī from whom the latter broke away in 300A.H., over the question of the Intermediate Position of believing sinners, and over which Wāsil b. 'Atā' broke away from al-Hasan al-Baṣrī about two centuries earlier. Ibn Taymiyah tries to reconcile the Ḥadīth by claiming that the theme of the argument was not the commission of sin by Adam, but Adam's causing misfortune to his posterity by the commission of sin,⁽⁵⁹⁾ thus avoiding reflection on the righteousness of God. Ibn Taymiyah's attempt to save the tradition from the stamp of forgery appears to be futile. His answer is not only too subtle, but it amounts to the same interpretation he is trying to avoid!

We can easily see the point of those who reject this Ḥadīth as a forgery, probably by some Jewish quarters giving it

the dignity of Ḥadīth ^{by} ~~through~~ ascribing it to Abū Hurayrah aiming at venerating Moses and the Tawrāh. It may be, on the other hand, intended for the purpose of popularising the immoral thesis of the Murji'ites, or it may be both. It is pertinent to refer here to the long association between Abū Hurayrah and certain Jews like Ka'b who is related to have said: "I never met anyone who did not read the Tawrāh and yet knows it so much as Abū Hurayrah". (60) Bishr b. Sa'īd tells us: 'Verily by God we used to sit and listen to Abū Hurayrah and he would relate on the authority of the Prophet and on the authority of Ka'b; but when he leaves, I would hear some people from our company attribute the Prophet's words to Ka'b and attribute Ka'b's words to the Prophet.' (61)

9. The next Ḥadīth speaks of the boy who is supposed to have been killed by the companion of Moses as in the story of the Cave related in Sura XVIII, v.74, goes. The Ḥadīth states that the boy ^{طبع كافرًا} i.e., was created Kāfir, as traditionally interpreted. The assumption is that Kufr was imposed on the boy as it was decreed. This is taken as evidence for the claim that we are as we were created and that we have no choice in changing the condition in which we find ourselves. In other words, the Ḥadīth strips man from freedom of choice and denies any role by man in the production of his acts.

The above argument is based on two assumptions, viz.,

that ^{طبيع} is employed here in the sense of ^{the boy} being created with imposed trends and decreed modes of behaviour; and, on the other hand, that this concept be extended and generalised.

Let us deal first with the second assumption. If we admit that the Ḥadīth indicates that the boy was created unbeliever, and then generalise and say that what is decreed is unchangeable, there will be an internal conflict in the Ḥadīth itself. The parents of the boy, as stated in the Qur'ān, were believers; (62) and according to this generalisation, we shall have to admit that they were so created, and their belief would accordingly be unchangeable. As such, surely their belief could not be affected if their son's life had been spared, which ^{is} against the declaration of the Ḥadīth. This conflict results from the arbitrary interpretation of the word ^{طبيع} as having been created one way or the other; but the context here points to a better interpretation to which E.E.Lane refers in the following words:

" = ^{طبيع}inf. n. ^{طبيع}, said of a man, He was rendered (or pronounced) filthy or foul (in character)" (62)^a

Thus, the phrase ^{طبيع كافرًا} can be easily rendered as: 'said of him or pronounced or judged as unbeliever'. According to this interpretation, the Tradition contains nothing that implies compulsion in the matter of human acts.

10. 10. In the tenth Ḥadīth, it is stated that God has written the share of zinā to be committed by the son of Adam, and the son of Adam has to fulfil it inevitably. This appears to be a straightforward statement of compulsion; but the latter part of the Ḥadīth does not suit this interpretation. We therefore feel that the word katabak ^{كُتِبَ} here is employed, not in the sense of writing, but in the sense of 'judging, or estimating' which is one of the meanings which the root conveys. (68) Thus the statement is intended as an explanation rather than as information, denoting that a forbidden look is a type of zinā, a forbidden word is another type of zinā and craving of the soul is one more type fo zinā. Thus, assuming that the Tradition is authentic, it cannot be used as evidence for the thesis of compulsion.
11. 11. The next Ḥadīth is not really a problem because it appears to speak of happenings beyond the domain of the human voluntary acts. The initial part of the Ḥadīth, viz., ^{وَإِنْ أَحَابَبَكُمُ فَلَآتُ لَوْلَا نَفَعَتْ كَارِكًا أَوْ كَذًا. وَلَكِنْ،} ^{وَاسْتَعِينِ بِاللَّهِ، وَلَا تَحْزَنْ}, apparently urges the believers to be firm in their determination; and the remaining part of the Ḥadīth, viz., ^{وَإِنْ أَحَابَبَكُمُ فَلَآتُ لَوْلَا نَفَعَتْ كَارِكًا أَوْ كَذًا. وَلَكِنْ،} ^{فَرَقَدَّ اللَّهُ وَمَا شَأْنُ فَعَلٍ}, urges them if misfortune befalls them, or if their wishes are not fulfilled not to yield to despair. A Muslim, who fails to attain the desired results of his endeavour, should not ponder and say: Had I done such and such, such and such would have happened. He is advised to say:

God has decreed and He does what He wishes. Obviously the results of our endeavours are beyond our abilities. They are the work of God, and not the work of man. Thus, the tradition here speaks of Divine acts and not of human acts.

12. The importance of the twelfth Ḥadīth in the context of this discussion lies in the words which state that all human hearts are just like one heart between the two fingers of God Who changes it and directs it how and where He wishes, thus implying that the human wishes and decisions are subject to the control of the Divine Will. The Prophet therefore prays: O Lord! Channel our hearts toward your service.

The above interpretation, however, assumes a literal meaning of the Ḥadīth while the whole statement appears to be metaphorical. Surely, the word "fingers" metaphorically denotes God's overwhelming power, not literal fingers! ⁶⁴ The Ḥadīth merely conveys the idea of the transitory nature of the emotions and sentiments of the hearts and their instability. The heart loves on the first sight; but for no apparent reason suddenly changes to the opposite direction! Thus, this tradition has no bearing - regardless of the question of its authenticity - on the question of the human freedom.

13. The relevant part of the next Ḥadīth is the statement which speaks of those who neglect Friday prayers as follows:

'Or surely God stamps on their hearts,' أَوْ يُخَيِّمَنَّ اللَّهُ عَلَى قُلُوبِهِمْ

Here again, it is not sound to interpret the word يُخَيِّمَنَّ here in the literal sense of stamping. It was demonstrated earlier how the derivatives of the root to which this word belongs are metaphorically employed in the Qur'an. The word appears to be used here likewise. Thus, the Hadīth simply states that those who habitually neglect their religious duties without repentance, their hearts will be hardened as if they were tightly closed and stamped.

14. The relevant part of the fourteenth Hadīth in the list is the Prophet's statement: 'Verily He does what He wills and no one can impose on Him.' But the subject matter here is God's mercy, His absolving of sins; and His providing for men. The initial part of the Hadīth reads: لَا يَهْدِيكُمْ أَحَدَكُمْ، اللَّهُمَّ اغْفِرْ لِي أَنْ تَشِئْتَ، ارْحَمْنِي أَنْ تَشِئْتَ، ارزُقْنِي أَنْ تَشِئْتَ

Obviously, these subjects are beyond the scope of this discussion. ~~لا يَهْدِيكُمْ أَحَدَكُمْ، اللَّهُمَّ اغْفِرْ لِي أَنْ تَشِئْتَ، ارْحَمْنِي أَنْ تَشِئْتَ، ارزُقْنِي أَنْ تَشِئْتَ~~

15. In the next Hadīth, it is stated that: 'What God wills will be, and what God does not will, will not be.' Here again the subject matter appears to be the Divine acts and not the human acts. Moreover, the statement is a part of a formula of prayers supposed to have been

taught by the Prophet just as an expression of submission and resignation to God. Formulae of prayers and expressions of this nature are not subject to philosophical speculations, and as such they cannot be used in the context of philosophical or logical arguments, or brought as evidence for conclusions of this nature.

16. The sixteenth Hadīth is another formula of prayers, and the argument put forward in the previous Hadīth applies here.

17. Here Abū Hurayrah, whose conversion took place as late as the seventh year A.H.,⁶⁵ relates that the unbelievers of Mecca came to argue concerning the Qadar with the Prophet. The dispute referred to in the Hadīth is connected with the Qur'anic verses Liv/48-49, viz.,
 يَوْمَ يُحِبُّونَ وَالنَّارَ عَلَىٰ وَجْهِهِمْ ذُوقُوا مَسَّ سَقَرَ ، أَنَا كَلَّمْتَنِي خَلَقْنَا بِقَدْرِي
 which are Meccan.⁶⁶ This fact, in addition to the mention of the word Quraysh denotes that the event took place in Mecca many years before Abū Hurayrah joined the Muslim party. So it is clear that Abū Hurayrah who we are warned to be prudent and spectical when we deal with his Hadīth,⁶⁷ apparently did not attend the event; and this alone reflects on the authenticity of this Hadīth. However, the word Qadar, both in the Qur'anic verse and in the Hadīth, is undefined and it will be arbitrary to claim that it denotes here human acts. In fact, the context of the

Qur'an apparently speaks of Divine Acts.⁶⁸ Another point to be added here is that these two verses are closely linked to the previous one which reads: "Indeed the criminals are astray and (will be) in hot fires". The pronoun ~~it~~ ^{هم} annexed to the word ^{وَجُود} in the following verse refers to the word ^{الْمُجْرِمِينَ}, criminals, in the previous verse. How can then the verses 78 and 49 be assumed to have been revealed alone without the previous one, 47, with which they are so closely connected?

18. This Hadith reports another event of argument over Qadar, but this time the dispute is supposed to have been among the Companions of the Prophet. However, the wording of the Hadith makes one feel an air of fabrication with the intention of discouraging discussion over the question of Qadar. The pious 'Abdullah b. 'Umar, whose friendly relations with the early Umayyads will be discussed later, in this Hadith rejoices in having missed the occasion, and thus escaped the Prophet's reproach. Nevertheless, he minutely describes the condition of the face of the Prophet when he came out and saw his companions arguing; and we may wonder why such an interesting event was reported by none of those who took part in the argument but by someone who we may assume had heard of it. However, the word Qadar here is not defined and there is no grounds for claiming an implication of a sense of compulsion. All

the Ḥadīth may imply is frowning at philosophical speculations and disputes.

19. The relevant part of the last Ḥadīth in the list is the statement of the Prophet: "We shall return to Ta'if tomorrow if God wills", thus declaring that their return to Ta'if which is a human act was dependent on the Divine Will. But the words: 'if God wills', as discussed earlier, is merely a humble expression of resignation and submission to God, intended for keeping fresh the memory of God in the mind of the Muslim whenever he repeats the divine name. It is not therefore a real conditional phrase from which philosophical inferences can be derived.

CONCLUSIONS.

The above list does not claim to contain all the Traditions related to the doctrine of Qadar, but it is certainly more than a representative sample. It contains all the major Ḥadīths normally advanced as evidence of what we may describe as the popular concept of Qadar. If similar criticism is applied to all the other instances of Ḥadīth it will be found that there is no real authentic implication of compulsion. Thus we may conclude as follows:-

- I. There is no word authentically attributed to the Prophet that definitely implies a denial of the human freedom or of the share of the individual in the production of his acts.
- II. Forces were at work endeavouring to fuse an element of compulsion in the meaning of Qadar by putting into the mouth of the Prophet words to this effect and words in which holders of different views are condemned.
- III. Bearing in mind the above conclusions and the results of the discussion of the first three categories of traditions, it can be inferred not only that the Ḥadīth does not impair the conclusions derived from the investigation of the relevant Qur'anic passages, but also confirms these conclusions. In other words, the Qur'ān and bulk of Ḥadīth, whatever degree of authenticity may be assigned to these Ḥadīths, acknowledge man's freedom and his share in the production of his acts.

CHAPTER VIIMISINTERPRETATION OF QADAR.I. PRELIMINARY REMARKS

In this chapter, we try to trace the developments of the concept of Qadar which took place during the first century of Islam. The forms which the concept assumed by the turn of the century gave the stamp of all subsequent developments which were merely an elaboration of views or attempts to ameliorate the fatalistic implications. The century ended with two diametrically opposed attitudes; namely, the fatalistic view held by the vast majority of the faithful who called themselves Sunnis and looked upon their stand as orthodox, and the rational view held by those who rebelled against the fatalistic interpretation and who were regarded by the others as heretics.

It is now widely assumed that the original concept of Qadar in Islam was fatalistic, as it had been with the Arabs during the Jahiliyyah age, and that the argument started during the second half of the first Islamic century about this concept was a revolt against the harsh concept of fatalism, or was a result of an internal conflict in

the Qur'ān, or was a response to an external influence.

In our view, the sequence of events was the reverse. The original Islamic concept of Qadar was liberal, contrary to what it had been during the age of the Jahhiliyyah. What happened during the second half of the first century, which probably started a little earlier, was a subtle infiltration into the minds and the hearts of the believers of pre-Islamic fatalistic ideas and tendencies. These latent fatalistic tendencies revealed themselves in a conspicuous fashion when the subject of Qadar was casually raised during the seventh decade of the century. The original belief seems to have endeavoured to survive, but it was apparently defeated by the sweeping current of fatalism which started to justify itself by misreading the Qur'ān and by corrupting the words of the Prophet. [At this stage, some powerful personalities began to assert the original beliefs and to counteract the fatalistic tendencies, but in their enthusiasm these theologians exceeded the limits by denying that the human acts came under the concept of Qadar. This denial appears to have aroused the Muslim public opinion against them, and the rupture resulted into two divisions: namely, the Traditionalists whose views appealed to the populace, and the Rationalists whose views appealed to the few. The lines

of both divisions were continued into what was later styled the Sunnites and the Mu'tazilites respectively.

What we are going to do in these following pages is to trace the series of these developments and to investigate the factors which led to them. For the sake of convenience, the age under discussion is divided into three periods: ¹

- I. The period covering the epoch of the prophet and the reigns of the first Four Caliphs, i.e. up to 40 A.H.
- II. The period of the reigns of Mu'āwiyah b. Abū Sufyān and his son, Yazīd, roughly between 40 and 63 A.H., and
- III. The remaining period of the century extending from the year 63 A.H.

PREVAILING CONCEPT OF QADAR DURING THE EARLY PART OF THE FIRST CENTURY.

Let us now consider the conditions which, as far as we can see, appear to have prevailed during the first of these periods. According to our previous investigation, a doctrine of Qadar apparently existed; and although there was no precise definition of it, the concept seems to have denoted the idea of the total plan of the world as known to God in eternity without an encroachment on the human

freedom,^{being} implicit in the concept.

It seems that the same attitude continued during the reigns of the first Four Caliphs, though fatalistic tendencies apparently tried to obtrude. These attempts were suppressed by the Caliphs as appears from the following two reports:-

1. A man who was accused of theft and brought to the second Caliph, 'Umar b. al-Khattāb, appealed for forgiveness on the grounds that his crime was inevitable since it was decreed by God. The Caliph retorted that the criminal was lying against God, and he therefore doubled his punishment. ²
2. A Shaikh rose to 'Alī b. Abū Tālib and said: Let us know concerning our march unto Syria, was it decreed by God? 'Alī answered: By Him Who split the seed and created the wind, we did not tread on a territory and did not reach a valley except with God's decree! The old man retorted: Thus, my endeavours have been wasted! I do not expect any reward! 'Alī replied: Silence, O you shaikh! God has made great your reward for your march and for your retreat. You were not coerced to do either. The Shaikh said, But how did the Qadar lead us? 'Alī replied: Perhaps you are thinking of a binding

Qadar? If it were so, there could be no valid reward or punishment, and no sense in promising or in warning. God commands His creatures to follow voluntarily, and prohibited and warned them... He did not send His Messengers playfully, and did not send down His Books to His creatures senselessly, and did not create the heavens and the earth idly; this is the guesswork of the unbelievers.³

In the first tradition 'Umar rejects the claim of attributing the responsibility for the human work to the Divine decree, thus clearly implying that man bears full responsibility for his acts and that it is man who determines and produces his own acts.

In the second tradition 'Ali asserts that while the human acts were divinely decreed, yet man was not deprived of his freedom thereby. He further explained that seeking excuse in the Divine decree was the attitude assumed by the unbelievers.

All this fits exactly with our theories. Human acts are decreed in the sense that they were included in the total plan of the world which is called Qadar or Umm al-Kitāb. This does not necessarily imply a sense of compulsion.

Thus, the original concept of Qadar which acknowledges the freedom of man appears to have continued throughout

this period.

TACIT GROWTH OF THE POPULAR CONCEPT
OF QADAR DURING THE MIDDLE PART OF
THE FIRST CENTURY.

The murder of the third Caliph, 'Ut²man, and the hostilities and the misfortunes which followed, seem to have invited speculations over the question whether these misfortunes were desired by God or whether God has abandoned the Muslims after their glorious military achievements in Arabia and abroad. This may be evidenced by the story by 'Alī and the shaikh related above. Another symptom of this tendency may be derived from the following statement which is also attributed to 'Alī: "Al-Qadar is a dark path, therefore do not walk in it. It is a deep sea, therefore do not step into it. It is a secret; therefore do not interfere with it." ⁴

The civil wars between Ali and Mu'āwiyah which were accompanied by frustrations and miseries to 'Alī's supporters to whom 'Alī appeared to be the natural choice after the murder of 'Uthmān, ended in the murder of 'Alī in April 661 (41 A.H.). This must have been a severe blow to 'Alī's supporters, but his son, al-Ḥasan, soon surrendered to Mu'āwiyah, the adversary of his father, in order to

prevent further shedding of Muslim blood, and thus the Umayyads triumphed!

In a few years' time, al-Ḥasan died; and the Umayyads were rumoured to have had a hand in his death.⁵ No sooner al-Ḥasan died than the Muslims were forced to swear an oath of fealty to Yazīd, the unpopular son of Mu'āwiyah. In order to secure this, Mu'āwiyah resorted to unscrupulous means including bribery and intimidation. The Muslims, especially those in the Hejaz, had to acquiesce.

The year which followed Mu'āwiyah's death witnessed the treacherous murder of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī; and the way he was murdered, the ruthless treatment of his surviving dependants and the mutilation of his body, constituted one of the severest shocks ever suffered by the world of Islam. All this must have caused some effects on the mode of thinking of the Muslims at the time.

When al-Madīnah revolted against Yazīd in the following year, the rebellion was ruthlessly suppressed in the bloody battle of al-Harraḥ. The town which had sheltered the Prophet and where he lay was desecrated and given to plunder for three days; and the surviving companions of the Prophet were subjected to a very humiliating treatment. Soon Mecca, the seat of the Kābah, was besieged; and the 'House of Allah' was subjected to a severe and humiliating

assault. The Ka'ba itself was burned; and its walls cracked!

The age of Mu'āwiyah's and Yazīd's reigns must have been a period of loneliness, of frustration, and of perpetual sufferings, especially to the Muslims of the Hejaz. The oppressed Muslims must have been in great need for a solace and consolation, and this could apparently be found in the form of religious observances, especially the recitation of the Qur'ān. When these Muslims read the Qur'ān, we imagine, their understanding of the text was conditioned by their temperament. The words must have been connected in their minds with their misfortunes which were vivid in their minds. When they read, e.g., 'O you who have believed, forbear and be patient', (III, 200), they could not help applying this to their present conditions, rather than to the original context of the statement. They would see in it a command to them to forbear the misfortunes which have befallen them. We would expect them to experience a salutary effect from such statement as: 'Say, everything is from Allah' (IV, 78). They would probably generalise and feel that even the mischiefs of the Umayyads which had brought about their miseries, though human acts, were also from Allah. Therefore, if they resigned themselves and were patient, they would expect compensation in the form of the rewards promised to

those who are patient. (II,156, e XXXIX,10) Again, when they read statements where God is apparently declared to guide aright whom He wills and lead astray whom He wills, the suppressed Muslims understood them literally without relating them to other statements where those to be guided aright and the others were defined.

Thus, the Muslims of that age read the Qur'ān during this period of suppression in the context of their suffering; and through this, and probably through the repetition of pre-Islamic poetry which contained fatalistic ideas and tendencies found their ways to the minds of these people, especially in the absence of a clear-cut definition of Qadar. A relevant Tradition may serve like many others grouped under the chapters headed 'al-Fitan', in the canonical collections, as a manifestation of this tendency. In this Ḥadīth, the Prophet is related to have said that he prayed to God for three things; but he was granted two of them and not the third. He prayed that his nation may not be perished by famine, that they may not be perished by deluge and that God may not cause them to destroy each other. He was granted the first two, but not the third.⁶ Another version of the same Hadith reads as follows: ".... and my Lord said: O Muhammad! Verily if I have decreed a decree, My decree is irrevocable ..." ⁷

It appears that the Umayyads caught on this opportunity and utilised the tendency of resigning and submission, for their own ends. It also seems that the roots of the doctrine of Irjā', lie here. If whatever may occur is from God, why then should the Umayyads be blamed for their acts of violence or for their misbehaviour! After all, they confess to be Muslims and they should be accepted as such. As for their deeds, they can be left to the judgement of God. The following lines, attributed to an Umayyad,⁸ are significant:

<p>أن نعبد الله لا نشرك به أحدا ونصدق القول فممن جأروا عندنا والمشركون استنوا في دينهم قددا م الناس شركا إذا ما وحدوا الصمدا رد، وما يقض من شيء، يكن شدا⁹</p>	<p>يا هند فاستمعي ان سيرتنا نرجي الامور اذا كانت مشبهة المسلمون على الاسلام كلهمو وما اري ان ذنبا بالغ احدا وما قضى الله من امر فليس له</p>
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The last line here is important. It speaks of Qadar and asserts that what was decreed was inevitable. Thus, those who held Murji'ite views seem to have held at the same time a doctrine of Qadar according to which man is not to be blamed for his acts. This would appeal to the vague ideas of fatalism which gradually crept into the minds of the community of Hejaz.

Another relevant statement was given by Ibn Qutaibah which states that the Umayyad local governors and officials were in the habit of justifying their grafts and acts of tyranny, their selfish licentiousness, their sinful appetites and their treacherous iniquities by pointing to Qadar.¹⁰ The following examples also illustrate the interest of the Umayyads in the matter.

It is related that when Mu'āwiyah travelled to Madīnah in the year 51 A.H., to invite its community to swear the oath of fealty to his son, he pleaded to 'Ā'isha, the Prophet's widow. In his address, he used the following words:

وان امر يزيد قضاء من القضاء وليس لنا من الخيرة من امرهم

".. and the matter of Yazīd is a decree from amongst the decrees of God, and the creatures have no choice in their matter." ¹¹

It is also related that when 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān beheaded his kinsman and rival, 'Amr b. Sa'id, he commanded the crier to drop the head of his victim together with pieces of gold and silver to the latter's supporters who were awaiting at the gate and told him to shout:

ان امير المؤمنين قد قتل صاحبكم بما كان من القضاء السابق والامر النافذ

"Verily, the Commander of the Faithful has killed your man in accordance with the early decree and the executed command, but he guarantees to provide riding beasts for

those of you who require them, to clothe those of you who are in need for clothes, to give wealth to those who are poor, and to increase your pay." ¹²

In the events of 52 A.H., Tabarī relates that al-Mughīrah b. Shihāb - the Umayyad governor of Kūfah - was clement and did not chastise the people of heresies. He used to be told: So and so adheres to Shī'ism, and so and so advocates the views of the Kharijites; but he would answer: God decreed that you should remain ^{at} differente and disputing, (وقضى الله ألا تزالوا مختلفين) and God will judge between His slaves. ¹³

Many similar instances could have been quoted, and it seems that the words Qadā' and Qadar became a fashion of style during this age. The Umayyads found them convenient, and the frustrated Muslims were probably able to derive from their use a sense of tranquility and consolation; but their frequent use could not be without an inculcating effect.

This period extending from the time in which the Umayyad Dynasty was ushered in, to the time when the Ka'ba was burned and partly destroyed, may be regarded as the age of the tacit and unconscious formation and permeation, or rather the incubation period, of the popular views of Qadar. Till the date of the burning of the Ka'ba in the 3rd month, 64 A.H., the subject of Qadar does not seem to

have been disputed, although by then the fatalistic ideas appear to have found their way to the minds of Muslims, and began to be uttered on their tongues in times of distress. Moreover, fatalistic expressions in which misfortune is attributed to Dahr in the pre-Islamic fashion were revived. This can be illustrated by the following poem which was said by 'Abd Allāh b. Khalīfah of Banū Tayyi' in his lonely exile in the mountains of Kūfah where he died in 53 A.H.

طريدا ، ولو شاء الله لغيرا
 رضيت بما شاء ، الله وقدر
 كان لم يكونوا الى قبيلنا ومعتبرا
 لأن دهرهم أشقى بهم ولغيرا ١٤

فها اذا دارى باجال حتى ؛
 نفاذ عدوى ظالما عن مهاجرى
 واسلمنى قومي لغير جايه
 ولا يدعنى قوم لغوث ابن طي ؛

THIRD PERIOD: THE DEBATE OF THE SUBJECT
OF QADAR AND THE EARLY QADARITES.

I. Importance of the event of the
burning of a Ka'ba.

While the original liberal concept of Qadar prevailed during the first period, and the popular fatalistic ramifications tacitly developed during the second, the third period which started with the burning and the partial destruction of the Ka'ba witnessed the open dispute over the concept of Qadar.

It is related that when the Ka'ba was burned, a man said: It was burned with the Qadar of God, and another said: It was not burned by the Qadar of God.¹⁵ It seems that this was the spark which kindled the argument over the concept of Qadar.

It is related that when 'Abdullāh b. al-Zubair intended to renovate the Ka'ba after this event, Muslims hesitated very much to partake in the project fearing a total destruction if the Ka'ba was approached. 'Abdullāh climbed and began to work with his axe in front of the others to assure them; and when Muslims saw no harm befalling him, their fears were removed.¹⁶ This illustrates the tense veneration of the Ka'ba by the Muslims at the time, and shows

how serious the shock must have been when the Ka'ba was partially destroyed and burned as a result of the hostilities of the Umayyads. The event is likely to have aroused their stunned minds to the relationship between such blasphemous crimes and the divine Qadar.

II. THE ROLE PLAYED BY THE UMAYYADS.

Prior to the burning of the Ka'ba, as we have seen, the fatalistic ramifications appear to have permeated, and when the argument started about Qadar, we expect that the fatalistic interpretation must have gained the day. It seems that the Umayyads then availed themselves of the opportunity and encouraged the fatalistic views. Hence, the statement of Ibn Qutaibah quoted above in which the Umayyads are stated to have attributed their wickedness to the divine Qadar. A similar report says that 'Aṭā' b. Yasār, a story-teller who used to frequent the gathering of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī with Ma'bad al-Juhanī, asked: 'O Abū Sa'īd; those princes shed the blood of Muslims and seize their properties and say: "Our acts are in accordance with God's decree." Al-Ḥasan replied: "The enemies of God lie." 17

III. Rise of the Early Qadarites and the Attitude of the Theological School of Baṣrah.

The Murji'ite attitude of the Umayyads and their

use of Qadar in justifying their immoral acts appear to have invited a strong objection from certain righteously-minded theologians such as al-Hasan al-Baṣrī, Ma'bad al-Juhanī, and many others whose names appear in the list given by Ibn Qutaibah.¹⁸ These theologians propagated and defended a liberal interpretation of Qadar, and condemned those who denied the freedom of man in determining his acts.

The serious objection to the fatalistic interpretation appears to have arisen both in Iraq and in Syria; but the movement in Syria, the seat of the Umayyad Caliph, appears to have been more effectively suppressed,¹⁹ and the fatalistic interpretation given more official support and enthusiasm. It may be that because of this reason that John of Damascus who flourished early in the second century A.H. accused Islam of being fatalistic,²⁰ having been influenced by the popular view in his surrounding.

The most serious rising against the popular view of Qadar which was in a ferment during our second period and was given an exoteric expression early in the third period which is being considered, was by the school of Baṣra headed by al-Hasan al-Baṣrī.²¹ It now remains to study carefully the views of these theologians and to discuss the real factors which prompted them to declare war against

the fatalistic interpretation of Qadar. It is also important to trace the link between this school of thought and the famous sects of the Khanijites and the Mu'tazilites.

IV. CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE CALIPH
AND AL-HASAN AL-BASRĪ ABOUT QADAR.

The best document which has reached us about the views of this school is a message supposed to have been written by al-Ḥasan al-Basrī to the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān in response to a letter from the Caliph in which he questioned al-Ḥasan on his views of Qadar. The Caliph said in his letter: "We have come to know of an interpretation of Qadar by you which we never heard from the Companions of the Prophet whom we happened to meet, or through the authorities who had expired". He asked al-Ḥasan to let him know whether he derived these views from the Qur'an or whether they were his original views.²²

The following are quotations from al-Ḥasan's message:-

1. "The Companions did not argue about what we now maintain, because they were (tacitly) agreed on it; but we began to raise this matter when people started to deny it, following their misleading lusts and evil desires and playing with the words of the Book of Allāh." ²³

2. "... And what God has forbidden is not from Him, because he does not like what He dislikes, and does not dislike what He likes. He says: (If you disbelieve, verily God is not in need for you and He does not like disbelief from His slaves, and if you are grateful God will like it from you.) (Q.39/7) If disbelief, (kufr), were a part of Qadar God would have been pleased with those who disbelieved; and God were not to decree an act and then be displeased with what He has decreed. Thus, transgression and injustices are not acts decreed by God, but the meaning of God's decreeing is His command, and the Qur'an reads: (And your Lord commanded وَقَضَىٰ رَبُّكَ that you should worship none but Him).²⁴
3. "And God's saying: 'No accident befalls in the earth or in yourselves but it was in the Book, before we created them', L VII,22, does not apply to disbelief or belief, to obedience or disobedience. It applies only to properties, to souls and to harvests."²⁵
4. Al-Hasan addressed the Caliph: "Let it be known, O you Commander of the Faithful, that God is too just to blind a slave and then says to him: See, otherwise I shall punish you; or deafens him and then commands

him: Hear, or I shall punish you; or ^{render him} dumb ~~him~~ and then commands: Speak, or I shall punish you."²⁶

5. "And they argue concerning the matter of God's Knowledge and say: God knew that some people will disbelieve, and therefore they cannot believe because God's fore-knowledge becomes an obstruction. What they say amounts to the claim that God requires His slaves to do what they cannot do, and to leave what they cannot afford to leave; but God exposes their lie when He says: 'God does not require a soul to do what is beyond its ability. (Q.2/286).'" It is only that God knew that disbelief would occur from them by their own choice and by their following their desires. They (wrongly) compare this with God's fore-knowledge of their becoming tall or short, etc., but it is not so. (These physical features) are God's acts which are not preceded by their choice, and over which they have no power to change. As for disbelief, God foretold that they would choose it by following their desires, and knew that if they disliked it they would leave it, and that they have an ability with which He endowed them in order to try them." ²⁷

V. AUTHENTICITY OF ATTRIBUTING THIS
CORRESPONDENCE TO AL-HASAN AL-BASRĪ.

Before discussing the contents of the message of al-Ḥasan, it is important to ascertain the attribution of this message to him. Shahrastānī in his *Mīṭal* 28 denies that this message was written by al-Ḥasan and suggests that it was probably written by Wāṣil b. 'Aṭā'. His words read as follows:-

"I have seen a message attributed to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī which he wrote to 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān who had questioned him about the matter of Qadar and Jabr and he, (al-Ḥasan), replied with what would agree with the views of the Qadarites drawing evidence from the Book and reason. But it, (the message), seems to have been written by Wāṣil b. 'Aṭā', because al-Ḥasan was not to deviate from the consensus of the predecessors, according to which Qadar, good or bad, is from God. This statement is nearly unanimously agreed by them. What is amazing is that he interpreted the texts as referring nearly to fortune and misfortune, ease and hardship, illness and health, life and death, and similar things which are the acts of God, without

extending the texts to what is good and bad of
 the acquisitions (aksāb) **اكتساب العباد**
 of the creatures."

Shahrastānī obviously intends to exonerate al-Ḥasan and to emphasise that the Qadarite views were not expected to be held by such an eminent theologian as al-Ḥasan. However, Julian Obermann effectively argues that the message belongs to al-Ḥasan especially on the grounds that the message does not contain any reference to other Mu'tazilite doctrines and does not employ the Mu'tazilite terminology,²⁹ which would have been the case had the author of the message been Wāṣil. To these aspects advanced by Julian Obermann may be added one more evidence against the suggestion that Wāṣil was the author. Wāṣil was born in the year 80 A.H., while 'Abd al-Malik died in 86 A.H. If the message was addressed to 'Abd al-Malik, we cannot imagine that its author was someone below the age of seven. An internal evidence against the attribution of the message to Wāṣil, moreover, is the statement: 'And we had to start the talk about the Qadar, etc., **وقد أحدثنا الكلام فيه** which occurred in the initial part of the message. It is only one of those who first spoke about Qadar who could write in these terms; but Wāṣil's activities belong to the early part of the second century,³⁰ some decades after the dispute over

this problem started.

Al-Tabarī³¹ informs us that a man came unto al-Ḥasan and said: 'I have divorced my wife three times,' to which al-Ḥasan replied: 'You have indeed disobeyed your Lord, and your wife has irrevocably been separated from you.' The man said: 'But God decreed this for me *قضى الله ذلك عليّ* ; and al-Ḥasan who was eloquent retorted: 'God did not decree, namely He did not command'; and then recited: 'And your Lord decreed *وَقَضَىٰ رَبُّكَ* that you should not worship but Him'. Here al-Ḥasan interprets the word *قضى* in the verse 17:23 in the sense of commanding, and identifies the idea of commanding with that of decreeing. This is exactly what is done in the second paragraph quoted above from the message; and this may serve as a further evidence to the claim that the letter was written by al-Ḥasan.

VI. AL-ḤASAN AL-BASRĪ AND THE QADARITES.

Al-Ḥasan Al-Basrī is held by the Orthodox in the best place of honour;³² and it seems that it was incomprehensible for the Orthodox authors of relatively late dates that such a man could uphold the objectionable views of the Qadarites. Hence, the denial by Al-Shahrastā-

ni that Al-Ḥasan was the author of the message, some of its passages are quoted above. But, in addition to the above argument, the works of the earlier Traditionalist authors give a strong impression that Al-Ḥasan was at least for sometime one of the early Qadarite leaders. Reference has been made to his association with 'Aṭā' b. Yasār, Ma'bad al-Juhanī, and Qatādah b Da'āmah, all of whom are acknowledged Qadarites.³³ In an answer to a question by 'Aṭā' about the wicked rulers who pointed to Qadar, al-Ḥasan replied that they were lying against God.³⁴

It has also been mentioned that al-Ḥasan explained a-way the use of the equivalent of the term 'decree, i.e.,

، قضا in the sence of 'commanding'. Furthermore, we possess the following traditions:

Al-Taharī in his Ta'riḫ, Vol.13, P. 95 relates that :

1. Mālik, (apparently the renowned Imām), said: "We prefer Ibn Sīrīn to al-Ḥasan". He was asked, Why is it so, O Abū 'Abd Allāh? He replied, "Al-Ḥasan indeed was the delusion زيفه of the Qadrites".
2. Ayyūb - apparently b. Abū Tamīmah whom al-Ḥasan is related to have described as the best of the youth of Baṣrah³⁵ - said: "I argued with al-Ḥasan over the subject of Qadar till I had to threaten him به by the Sultān".

3. Abū Rabāh b. 'Ubaidah said. "The most I fear about al-Ḥasan is his talk of Qadar whereby he causes frictions among people".

Thus, it is clear that al-Ḥasan was a spokesman of the Qadrite views, and he continued to uphold their views till nearly the end of the first century. This is inferred from the second quotation here, where Ayyūb reports that he argued with his master and threatened to reveal him to the authorities. He could hardly do so till he was about 25 years old or so, and he was born about the year 70 A.D.³⁶ This also shows that al-Ḥasan was somewhat cautious in dealing with the authorities, unlike Ma'bad al-Juhanī who was put to death about the year 80 A.H. Al-Ḥasan's views, however, must have reached the ears of al-Ḥajjāj, hence the unfriendly relations between the two men reported by Ṭabarī,³⁷ though al-Ḥasan's prudence saved his neck, from the sword of al-Ḥajjāj. Ṭabarī reports, moreover, that al-Ḥasan evaded clashing with al-Ḥajjāj till the latter died.³⁸ Ibn Kathīr, moreover, reports that al-Ḥasan was not in favour of an open rebellion against the rulers;³⁹ though he saw that cursing them in private was permissible,⁴⁰ and he is further reported to have prostrated himself in thanks to God when he heard of the death of al-Ḥajjāj.⁴¹ Ibn Kathīr

adds: and then al-Ḥasan came out from his hiding.⁴²

To portray al-Ḥasan as a man so adventurous as to speak openly against the established order - as implied in the article on al-Ḥasan in the Ency. of Islam - is therefore a mistake. The story which makes him appear as bolder than such esteemed personalities as Ibn Sirīn and al-Shu'abī - related by the author of the article in the Ency. - does not necessarily imply this. The words of al-Ḥasan did not contain any rejection of the appointment of Yazīd b. 'Abd. al-Malik as Caliph, nor does he imply any abuse to the rulers. All he said was an advice to the Governor of Iraq and Kūrasān, namely 'Umar b. Hubayrah, not to obey the Caliph in what is disobedience to God.⁴³ Al-Ḥasan was well-known for his heart - meeting style of preaching, but he was not of an abusing tongue.

The following statements are attributed to Ayyūb who was reported above to have argued with al-Ḥasan, by Abū Dawūd in the context of the subject of Qadar:

1. "Al-Ḥasan said to me: "I shall never return to anything of it at all."⁴⁴
2. "Two categories of people tell a lie about al-Ḥasan: Those who uphold the objectionable views of Qadar and thereby seek to popularise their views, and those who have grudges in their hearts and say: Did he not say such and such?"⁴⁵

Again, Abū Dāwūd relates that Ibn 'Awn, another of al-Hasan's disciples, said:

1. "While I was Journeying in Syria, a man called from behind. When I turned, I found it was Rajā' b. Haywah. He said: O Abū 'Awn, What is that which people are talking about al-Hasan? I replied: They tell many lies about him." ⁴⁶
2. If we realised how far the word of al-Hasan would reach, we would have written a testimony of his return and brought witnesses for it. But we thought it was a word that came out but would not be carried away. ⁴⁷

The first and last of the above four reports of Abū Dāwūd imply that al-Hasan held the Qadarite views and then recanted them, which is corroborated by Ibn Qutaibah. ⁴⁸ However, the last report hints that al-Hasan's repentance was not realised by many, and even some denied it. The two reports in the middle are confusing, since they are a rejection of the fact that al-Hasan held the Qadarite view. Perhaps this rejection applies to the last years of al-Hasan's life.

Whether al-Hasan had really recanted his earlier views, as alleged, or the reports of his repentance aimed at something else cannot be settled with certainty. A careful reading of the various reports however leaves us

with an impression which can be summed up as follows:

- i. Al-Ḥasan was certainly one of the leading Qadarites, and he must have held the views till late in his life.
- ii. What al-Ḥasan held was in fact a subtle thing. It was a partial denial of Qadar. He believed in Qadar, but denied it as far as voluntary human acts are concerned. He acknowledged Qadar in all other things, as will be explained later. Al-Ḥasan - may be as a result of a careful thinking and the pressure of the public opinion - might have realised that it was not necessary to reject the application of Qadar where he denied it, in order to maintain the principle of human freedom. He might have corrected his views about Qadar towards the end of his life, continuing at the same time to uphold his views of the human freedom. This might not have been carefully expressed or carefully reported, hence the confusion about his position after his death. This view may be corroborated by the following report: Ḥumaid said: al-Ḥasan came unto us in Mecca, and the Jurists of Mecca asked me to request him to preach^t them; and he delivered a

speech, the like of which I had never heard! Thus a man asked: O Abū Saʿīd, Who created Satan? He said, God forbids! Is there any creator besides Allah! God created Satan and He created good and evil. The listeners said, May God cover them with shame those who tell lies about this man." ⁴⁹ This report implies that al-Ḥasan was accused of denying that evil was created by God; but his statement there is not against the principle of human freedom; and creation and free will are two different issues. However, this Tradition somehow shows the general confusion.

- iii. As we know, the Qadarite views became more unpopular with the passage of time; and as we shall see, the Qadrites proper were confused with other later sects held as heretics, and extremely so. This, it appears, caused the association of the Qadarites with al-Ḥasan to be gradually obliterated from the memory, especially in view of the distinction and prestige he enjoys with the Traditionalists. Hence, the absence of mention of this association in later literature, and the deliberate denial of this association by certain authors ^{like} ~~as~~ al-shahrastānī.

iv. The attempt to dissociate al-Ḥasan from the Qadarites appears to have started early. Hence Traditions 4614 and 4615 related by Abū Dāwūd through Khālid al-Ḥadhadhā', in which al-Ḥasan is quoted to have pronounced statements of the fatalistic nature⁵⁰ probably belong to this attempt. This Khālid who died in 142 A.H. is however said of his reports as not authoritative.⁵¹

However, the possibility that al-Ḥasan modified his views sometime before his death in 110 A.H., does not invalidate the claim that al-Ḥasan was the author of the message since it is assumed that he wrote it before he did so. And thus we possess a document in which the authentic views of those who held a liberal interpretation of Qadar and began the revolt against the mistaken popular interpretation of it, can be easily found.

DATE OF THE MESSAGE OF AL-HASAN.

While all indications denote that al-Ḥasan was the author of the message, we feel that the correspondence was with the Caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, not with the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik. The reign of 'Abd al-Malik was mostly turbulent, and it was hardly suitable for the Caliph to indulge in such theological speculations.

Moreover, the mild tone of the Caliph's letter to al-Ḥasan makes it likely to have been written by the clement Caliph, 'Umar b. 'abd al-'Azīz, rather than by the stern ruler, 'Abd al-Malik. In addition, we could hardly expect such a bold answer from al-Ḥasan to 'Abd al-Malik without stern consequences. Discretion appears to have been an element of al Ḥasan's attitude towards the harsh rulers; and we are told that he had kept calm after an argument with al-Ḥajjāj and that he concealed himself from the latter till he died 9 years after this argument.⁵²

We cannot agree to J. Obermann's suggestion that al-Ḥasan's prestige saved him from the wrath of 'Abd al-Malik and the sword of al-Ḥajjāj. Even the prestige of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar himself could not save him from the tongue of al-Ḥajjāj,⁵³ and the Ka'ba's veneration ^{for the Ka'bah} could not save it from his stones. Furthermore, it is 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz who appears to take a special interest in the subject of Qadar. He is reported to have brought Ghailān al-Dimashqī to account for the latter's views of Qadar,⁵⁴ and to have corresponded with others on that question in a fashion similar to that of the letter received by al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī.⁵⁵

While we feel that the Caliph's letter which prompted the writing of the message in question was sent

by 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz and not by 'Abd al-Malik, we still believe that Wāsil could not be the author. Wāsil was about twenty years old when 'Umar died in the year 101 A.H., and his independent activities did not appear to have started yet. We hardly expect such a respectful letter from the Caliph be sent to a youth of about twenty who does not appear to have exerted much influence as yet. On the other hand, that Wāsil was an advocate of the Qadarite views is not open to question; and the fact that the rupture between him and his master al-Ḥasan was, as tradition goes, over the question of the intermediate position of sinners and not over a dispute over Qadar, makes us feel that till this rupture, which apparently occurred about 105 A.H. when Wasil became about 25 years old, the two men held similar or even identical views about Qadar.

Thus, till some time after the death of 'Umar, the Umayyad Caliph, in the year 101, al-Ḥasan appears to have continued his views of Qadar which opposed those of the Caliph, and it will be rather strange that the Caliph who took such an interest in the matter and corresponded with others concerning it would omit to question such a prominent personality as that of al-Ḥasan about it. Thus, it seems that the date of this message was somewhere between the years 100 and 101 A.H., namely, during the reign of

'Umar b. 'Abd. al-Āzīz.

DATE OF THE BEGINNING OF THE EARLY
QADARITES.

The date when al-Ḥasan and his associates began to dispute about Qadar can be inferred from the statement of Yahya b. Ya'mur that when Ma'bad al-Juhānī started to talk of Qadar in Baṣra, he and Ḥumaid b. 'Abd al-Rahmān travelled to Mecca on pilgrimage and discussed the subject with 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar.⁵⁶ Apart from the question whether the Tradition is authentic or otherwise, it can be safely assumed that Yahya b. Ya'mur was discrete enough to be sure that it was possible for him and Ḥumayd to make the journey to Mecca on pilgrimage and meet 'abd Allāh B. 'Umar there after Ma'bad had begun to speak about Qadar in Baṣrah. On the other hand, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar is said to have died in ~~the year~~ 73 A.H., three months after the death in battle of 'Abd Allah b. Al Zubayr.⁵⁷ The latter died on 17th Jumāda I, of the same year:⁵⁸ and thus 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar's death was round the middle of Sha'bān 73 A.H. This was about four months before the season of pilgrimage of that year. Therefore the meeting between Yahya and 'Abd Allāh could not be in the pilgrimage season of the year 73 A.H. The meeting could not occur

during the season of the previous year either, in view of the military hostilities round Mecca between the Umayyads and 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair which disturbed the season of that year. The two militant parties were unable to perform the full rituals of pilgrimage. 'Abd Allāh and his men could not go out of Mecca for the ceremony of 'Arafah; and al-Ḥajjāj, the Umayyad commander, and his men could not perform the ceremonies in the Sacred Mosque.⁵⁹ Therefore, the earliest pilgrimage season when Yahya could anticipate to see 'Abd Allāh and discuss with him the problem of Qadar was that of the year 71 A.H.

It can therefore be concluded with a large measure of certainty that the sharp dispute over Qadar started in Baṣrah somewhere between 64 A.H., the year when the Ka'ba was burned, and the year 71, when it was reasonably possible for Yahya b. Ya'mur to meet 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar in Mecca.

EARLY SPOKESMAN OF HUMAN FREEDOM

Ma'bad al-Juhanī is stated to have been the first to speak of Qadar in Baṣrah, and this may be accepted in the sense that he was the first to speak openly against the creeping popular interpretation. It is probable that he went out of his way in pronouncing his views, and this may account for the claim that Ma'bad was the Father of

The Qadarites,⁶⁰ though he might not have started the discussion before al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. On account of this, it seems, the liberal interpretation of Qadar became more associated with his name, and when he was put to death about the year 80 A.H., probably for political reasons,⁶¹ his death was associated with his views of Qadar. Al-Ḥasan's position about the subject appears to have conspicuously manifested itself later, probably when the political atmosphere in Iraq which was stifled by the murder of al-Ḥusain and the hostilities with Ibn al-Zubair, began to relax by the time 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz ascended the Throne.

CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF THE DEBATE

Let us recapitulate in a chronological sequence the developments which appear to have taken place during the third period which is under consideration, as can be derived from the above discussion. In the first place, the fatalistic tendencies which tacitly permeated the Muslim minds during the previous period protruded themselves round the middle of the seventh decade of the first century, and the Umayyad rulers and officials utilised the tendencies for their advantages. Immediately, some conscientious theologians rose against this, which they considered

as an immoral danger, and asserted the human freedom which was originally acknowledged. In their argument, these theologians committed some mistakes, as will be explained presently. Therefore, the spokesmen of this 'rebellion' whose views displeased the rulers and implied the rejection of a deeply - routed doctrine, became unpopular. All this took place apparently by the year 71 A.H.

The concept of human freedom was defended by various people, here and there; but the subject became somehow more closely associated with two names early, viz., Ma'bad al-Juhanī in Baṣrah, and al-Maqsūs in Syria. Both men were put to death in or shortly after the year 80 A.H., either on account of their political activities, or on account of their unpopular views of Qadar, or on account of both.

Although al-Hasan al-Basrī appears to have held the same views simultaneously with the two men just mentioned, it appears that out of prudence he did not pose as an outspoken upholder of the concept until the general atmosphere relaxed towards the end of the century, and freedom of speech was restored. It was then that 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz ascended to the office of the Caliphate; and being an enthusiastic theologian himself, he engaged himself in theological speculations and arguments. It is

related that he effectively argued with the Khawārij,⁶² and that he argued with Ghailān al-Dimashqī over the subject of Qadar,⁶³ Abū Dāwūd relates that 'Umar corresponded with some men over the subject of Qadar. It also seems that it was he who corresponded with al-Ḥasan al-Basrī over the latter question. Thus the activities of those who rose in defence of the human freedom fall between the middle of seventh decade of the century and about the end of the century. On account of their views of Qadar, they were branded Qadarites, whether correctly or otherwise; and the reaction to their activities is reflected in the various Traditions in which they are condemned, and to which a reference was made earlier.⁶⁴ This was made easy by the survival till the rise of the argument about Qadar of such Companions as Ibn 'Umar and Sahl b. Sa'd,⁶⁵ both of whom are prominent authorities in the Traditions related to Qadar.

THE QADARITES PROPER

The group of scholars who defended the human freedom and actively opposed the fatalistic tendency, and whose activities mainly fall within the second half of the first century, may be looked upon as the Qadarites pure and simple. The beginning of the following century

witnessed the disintegration and the disappearance of this school, either by the death of its members or through 'repentance'. Ghailān al-Dimashqī was put to death by Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik; al-Ḥasan al-Basrī seemed to have modified his views, and it appears that he was followed by his disciple Qatādah b. Da'āmah.⁶⁶

This school of thought is to be distinguished from the school of the Mu'tazilites, which was founded by some of al-Ḥasan's disciples at a time when the school of the Qadarites began to decline. The Mu'tazilites continued the defence of the human freedom, though in a different way. They did not limit their activities to the interpretation of Qadar, but added some other doctrines, such as the concept of the Intermediate Position of sinners. But because of their denial of the inclusion of human acts in the concept of Qadar, they were also called "Qadarites". Hence the confusion between the Qadarites proper and the Mu'tazilites. The absence of reference to the latter sect and their chief doctrines in the canonical collections, as rightly observed by Wensinck,⁶⁷ may be due to the disappearance of the Companions by the time the Mu'tazilites flourished.

THE VIEWS OF THE EARLY QADARITES AS
CAN BE EXTRACTED FROM AL-HASAN'S COR-
RESPONDENCE.

Having established the approximate date of the

rise of the Qadarites and that al-Hasan al-Basri was one of their spokesmen, and having also ascertained the authenticity of attributing to him the message sent to the Caliph on Qadar, let us now turn to this message for the purpose of analysing its contents as contained in the quotations given above. These quotations, namely from 1 to 5 contained all the important views enunciated in the message.

In the first extract, al-Hasan says: "We began to talk on this matter, (apparently, the human freedom), when people began to deny it." The word denoting: "began the discussion" here, is 'ahdatha' which implies the idea of 'innovating'. This indicates that al-Hasan was one of those who argued early in favour of the liberal interpretation of Qadar, though it does not necessarily mean that he alone began to do so - especially that al-Hasan is using the plural of the First Personal Pronoun as the subject of the verb 'ahdatha'.

Al-Hasan's statement at the same time implies that the rise of the dispute over the concept of Qadar was spontaneous, since he declares that the revolt by the exponents of the human freedom was a spontaneous reaction to the denial of this freedom by certain interested elements who harboured immoral ends. In other words, al-Hasan

declares that he and his party rose in the defence of what they believed to be the original thought of Qadar, against the innovation of fatalistic ideas. If that is so, there is no ground for the claim that the discussion was prompted by some outside influences.

Ibn Hajar, e.g., claims that Ma'bad al-Juhanī - held by him as the first to advocate the Qadarite views - was influenced by certain 'Susan' of Baṣrah, who is claimed to have been a Christian convert, and to have defected later to Christianity.⁶⁸ This Susan is in fact put on top of the list of Qadarites composed by Ibn Qutaibah;⁶⁹ but it is not unlikely that this was an attempt by the Traditionalists to seek an external origin in order to show that the concept objectionable to them, was an intruding Christian influence.⁷⁰

Professor Macdonald claims that the opposition to predestination was due to the influence exerted by John of Damascus and Theodore Abū Qurrah,⁷¹ but this is rightly dismissed by Dr. Watt on the ground that the activities of these men began after the rise of the discussion of Qadar.⁷² Again, the statement of Wensinck that "something must be attributed to the influence of Christianity - after acknowledging that the sequence of the development of Muslim dogmatics was indigenous"⁷³ - is vague and groundless. Like the surmise of Professor Goldziher⁷⁴

that the discussion was a reaction to the harshness of predestination, it wrongly assumes an original fatalistic belief in Islam.

We now proceed to continue the analysis of the contents of the remaining extracts from the message of al-Hasan. In the paragraph quoted as No.2 above, al-Hasan categorically denies that disbelief, transgression, injustices and apparently all evil acts are parts of Qadar. He bases his argument on the Qur'anic statement: "... and He - God - does not like disbelief from His slaves..XXXIX,7. If al-Hasan's argument here is carried to its conclusion, we may infer that he also held that good acts - unlike evil acts - are parts of Qadar. But this he denies in Para 3, where he excludes all human acts from the general Qur'anic statement: "No accident befalls in the earth or in yourselves except that it is in a Book before We create it" LVII,22. Al-Hasan limits this statement to acts and occurrences created by God.

Thus, the thesis of al-Hasan - and apparently that of his associates who were, like him, branded as Qadarites - acknowledges the doctrine of Qadar as far as the divine acts and occurrences - over which man exercises no control - are concerned; but it at the same time denies

the claim that the human voluntary acts formed a part of the concept of Qadar or that they could be attributed to God.

The exclusion of the human voluntary acts from the concept of Qadar, is where al-Ḥasan seems to have diverged from the position at which we have arrived in discussing the position of the Qur'ān itself as derived from the relevant Qur'anic passages. The common agreement between the position of al-Ḥasan and that we have reached, is on the reality of a doctrine of Qadar; but while we consider the concept to be all inclusive, al-Ḥasan excludes from it the human voluntary acts. This exclusion by al-Ḥasan and his party of scholars appears to be the factor which invited resentment by the Muslim public opinion.

It has been demonstrated that the exclusion of human acts from the concept of Qadar was not necessary in order to maintain the idea of the divine righteousness, which al-Ḥasan was striving to defend in Para 4 quoted above from his message. He seems to identify the concept of divine decree with the idea of coercion; but it is not so. The divine decree, as far as human acts are concerned, simply means God's foreknowledge of what man would choose and would do, and coordinating this with other future events and occurrences. If al-Ḥasan and his party confined their

argument to asserting the human freedom and the human responsibility without denying that human acts formed a part of Qadar, their argument might have probably appealed to Muslims and the rupture which was caused by the dispute might have been averted.

In the last paragraph, quoted as No.5, al-Hasan condemns in clear terms the attitude assumed by those who took shelter in the doctrine of Qadar, and sought an excuse for their immoral acts in the divine decree. He condemns them on account of the implication of their attitude, which was also explicitly advanced by them; namely, that God's knowledge was responsible for their acts since what God foretells must take place. Al-Hasan argues that God's knowledge has no direct bearing on the occurrence of the human acts. God's foreknowledge must come true because, as far as human acts are concerned, it is like a true reflection; and reflection has no effect on the coming into being of the original. Al-Hasan adds that human acts in this respect are unlike other events where the human choice does not come in, such as the physical features like their being tall or short, their being black or white, etc.

Al-Hasan here is quite correct; and we are in agreement with him. His argument amounts to the denial

that the divine knowledge implies coercion, a fact which he earlier failed to realise. Had he just realised that the concept of Qadar and divine knowledge are nearly synonymous, he may not have jumped to the denial of the relationship between the human acts and the concept of Qadar.

SUMMARY OF THE VIEWS OF THE EARLY

QADARITES.

Thus we can summarise the views of the Qadarites proper as follows:-

- i. They acknowledged the doctrine of Qadar in so far as human voluntary acts are not concerned.
- ii. They actively denied a relationship between the concept of Qadar and the human voluntary acts, which was probably responsible for their unpopularity.
- iii. They acknowledged God's foreknowledge of all happenings, including the human voluntary acts; but at the same time asserted the human freedom and denied that the divine foreknowledge had any direct causation of the coming into being of the human acts. In this way, they asserted the human responsibility.

EXTENTION OF THE APPLICATION OF THE
TERM QADARITES.

Thus the original Qadarites were certain theologians scattered in the Hejaz, in Iraq, in Syria, and probably in other parts of the world of Islam. Thier activities mainly fall during the second half of the first century of Islam; and therefore their advent was widely reflected in Tradition. Their interest centered round the concept of Divine Justice, as can be taken from Paragraph 4 extracted from al-Hasan's message above. Therefore, they disassociated God from the human voluntary acts; but in their endeavour, they appear to have somehow misinterpreted the concept of Qadar. This misinterpretation was probably the factor which made them unpopular with the majority of the Muslim populace who were led by interested rulers and by pious conservative theologians. These Qadarites do not seem to have interested themselves in further ideological novelties, beside; their interpretation of Qadar.

In the beginning of the second century, these Qadarites proper who do not seem to have formed a closely-knit corporate body, began to disintegrate and die out, though their views - in the original or in a modified

form - continued to be adhered to by some of the followers of the surviving sects. These later adherents to the concept of Qadar in a liberal sense, though they may have held other views at the same time were branded also as Qadarites, though on account of their other views may be described by other titles. Ghailān al-Dimashqī, e.g., is described as Qadarite by Ibn Qutaibah,⁷⁵ and as a Murji'ite by al-Ash'arī,⁷⁶ and is reckoned a Mu'tazilite by the author of Intiṣār.⁷⁷ Moreover, the term Qadarite is commonly used as a label for the Mu'tazilites who unanimously maintain that sins are not created or decreed by God.⁷⁸

It can be confidently assumed that the early authors on sects such as Ibn Qutaibah, al-Ṭabarī and al-Ash'arī who were at the same time Sunnites, were more concerned with the sects which survived till their time, and were apparently inclined to describe their opponents who held some views on the human freedom, along with other ideologies, by the undesirable epithet of Qadarites. In reading these literatures, it will be wrong, therefore, to assume that the term always refers to the Qadarites proper: it is important to consider the context.

Failing to observe this, Dr. W.M. Watt was badly misled in his treatment of the Qadarites. On Page 50 of his work, *Free Will & Predestination in Early Islam*, he

quoted all the references to the 'Qadarites' in al-Ash'ari's Maqālāt, being under the impression that the word always refers to a precise body of Qadarites pure and simple. But it is clear that al-Ash'arī is indiscriminately using the word in the sense of 'someone who holds qadarite views!', not necessarily referring to the early theologians who started to talk about Qadar. Making use of some glimpses and whims, Dr. Watt concludes: "the prominence of the Qadariya would date from the closing years of the Umayyads and continue for the fifty years or so of the 'Abbāsids until the great days of the Mu'tazila (till about 190 perhaps)".⁷⁹

This makes the Qadarites and the Mu'tazilites more or less contemporaries; and may even imply that the latter had started earlier. But the fact that the advent of the Qadarites is widely reflected in Tradition and not that of the Mu'tazilites, not only refutes this conjecture, but also demonstrates that the flourishing of the school of Qadarites was very near to that of the Khawārij who enjoy a similar 'distinction' in Tradition.

Again, certain Khushaish is quoted with approval by Dr. Watt where an elaborate system of divisions of Qadarites is given, together with views about various topics ascribed to the Qadarites. Some of these topics, such as the question of the murdered's decreed term of

life, obviously belong to later ages; and some of the views ascribed therein to the Qadarites, (such as the denial of God's foreknowledge of the human acts)⁸⁰ are at variance with the expressed views of the Qadarites. We strongly feel that Khushaish, like Dr. Watt, must have misread the earlier literature and then attempted to reconstruct a nice system of divisions of the school according to his imagination.

Because of the absence of reference in al-Ash'ari's Maqālāt and in Malāṭi's Tanbīh, to Ma'bad al-Juhani - a name closely associated with the early discussion of Qadar - Dr. Watt apparently ignores all the reports about him which are made by Muslim, Abū Dāwūd and al-Sam'ānī which state that al-Juhani was the first to raise the question of Qadar. Al-Sam'ānī also states that he was put to death on the orders of 'Abd-al-Malik b. Marwān who died in 86 A.H., thus corroborating the reports which date al-Juhani's death in the year 80 A.H. But Dr. Watt identifies al-Juhani with an obscure Kharijite Ma'abad, simply because of similarity of names.⁸¹ But this Kharijite Ma'abad belonged to a sub-branch of the 'Ajradite branch of the Khawārij, the founder of which, according to Dr. Watt,⁸² was imprisoned in Iraq about forty years after al-Juhani's reported death.

THE QADARITES, THE KHARIJITES AND
THE MU'TAZILITES .

It now remains to discuss the relationship between the Qadarites proper, on the one hand, and the Khawārij and the Mu'tazilah, on the other. In other words, we wish to investigate how far the Qadarites were influenced by the former, and how far they contributed to the rise and development of the latter.

Professor A.J. Wensinck implies that the genesis of the Qadarites ^{could be found in the} ~~was born by~~ Kharijites. He states:

"... the Kharijites' position contains the leading idea of the Qadarites, and the latter were the heralds of the Mu'tazilites." ⁸³

The leading idea of the Qadarites and probably their only idea - if we speak of the Qadarites proper, which appears to be Wensinck's intention, - is the assertion of human freedom in determining human acts and the denial of a close relationship between human acts and the Divine Qadar. It can hardly be claimed that this idea was contained in the Kharijites' ideologies prior to the dispute over the question of Qadar in Baṣrah and elsewhere, sometime during the seventh decade of the first century.

Wensinck himself acknowledges that the Khawārij were largely partisans of predestination;⁸⁴ and the minority who held to the doctrine of Qadar, to whom Wensinck refers⁸⁵ on the authority of al-Ash'ari's Maqālāt, belong to a date later than that when the discussion on Qadar began.⁸⁶ To suggest that the debate on the relation between faith and works leads to the question whether they are the product of man or the creation of God,⁸⁷ is a far-fetched surmise like that of Dr. Watt's assuming statement that: "The development of the Khariji doctrine about children and about ignorance shows how the conception of the righteous God demanding righteousness from His creatures leads by an irresistible logic to the doctrine of human responsibility with its corollary doctrine of Qadar".⁸⁸

Both suggestions namely, that of Wenssinck,^{and} that of Dr. Watt assume an original concept of fatalism, to the difficulties of which the minds were awakened by such debates. In our view, the discussion of the concept of Qadar by those who were branded Qadarites was prompted by the revival of pre-Islamic fatalistic beliefs which was accentuated by a long series of sufferings and shocks which called for some means of solace, and by the work of the interested rulers.

Professor Wensinck also suggests that the views of the Qadarites "formed the basis of the movement of the Mu'tazilites".⁸⁹ Here again, the statement appears to be too general. First of all, who are those to whom the Professor refers as Qadarites? He appears to be one of the victims of the misuse of the term; and therefore he ascribes to the Qadarites views about questions and subjects of later ages. For example, on p.166, of the Muslim Creed, he quotes with approval that a Qadarite section denied the existence of Paradise and Hell in the Orthodox sense; and on P.261 of the same work he quotes that "... the Kadarites maintain that it is impossible that God should have left His servants free from the obligation of the law, for thereby He would have led them to sin", which obviously belongs to the argument about "Ṣalāḥ". But we know well that these problems were raised much later than the time when the subject of Qadar began to be discussed, and therefore they are not so reflected in Tradition. The term Qadarites as used in this context by Professor Wensinck appears to be a reference to the Qadarites proper as a group or as a sect in their own right; but the unnumbered views apparently belong to the sect of Mu'tazilah or other scholars whose doctrines happen to include the principle of the human freedom, and by virtue of that they were described

as Qadarites.

As far as we can see, the similarity between the Qadarites and the Mu'tazilites is only limited to the belief in the human freedom and the denial of a close association between the human acts and the concept of Qadar. The Mu'tazilites inherited these ideas from the school of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, apparently through Wāsil b. 'Atā' and 'Amar b. 'Ubaid who were both disciples of al-Ḥasan, and who separated from him in the beginning of the second century to formulate doctrines he had rejected.⁹⁰ However, the Mu'tazilites championed the doctrine of Qadar when the Qadarites proper began to disappear. It was because of this reason, we believe, and not because of an exaggerated likeness between the two sects - as Professor Wensinck asserts⁹¹ - that the Mu'tazilites were called Qadarites. Again, it is an exaggeration to claim that the Qadarite views form the basis of the Mu'tazilites, though the latter sect appears to have been born in the premises of the former school. The Mu'tazilites' doctrines developed and grew in response to various cultural factors; and apart from the doctrine of Qadar, they were not legacies of the mother school.

Thus, it was al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī himself - who was one of the chief exponents of the Qadarite views till about

the time Wāsil and 'Amr declared their independence - who formed the major link between the school of the Qadarites proper and the sect of the Mu'tazilites. It was not Ma'bad al-Juhānī, as the wording of certain authors would suggest. Al-Sam'ānī in his Ansāb ⁹² e.g., implies that 'Amr b. 'Ubaid learned his views of Qadar from M'bad, and states that the people of Baṣra became fascinated by Ma'bad's views when they saw 'Amr following him, and that Ma'bad was put to death by al-Ḥajjāj on account of this. But 'Amr b. 'Ubaid could not have met Ma'bad at an age when he could understand such discussion, since he, like Wāsil, was born in or about the year in which M'abad is reported to have died!

THE QADARITES AND THE MURJI'ITES.

We have traced the roots of the Murji'ites in the efforts which aimed at exonerating the Umayyad rulers who adopted an oppressive and immoral behaviour; and associated the rise of the Qadarites with the reaction to these efforts which included a misinterpretation of the concept of Qadar.⁹³

A.J. Wensinck ⁹⁴ traces the Murji'ites' views somehow in the Qur'anic verse IX:106, where it is stated that (the judgement of) some others (of the Companions who

stayed behind and did not join the Prophet in his expedition to the Tabūk) is left to God Who might punish them or accept their repentance.⁹⁵ Wensinck, moreover associates the beginning of the Murji'ites as a distinct sect with a discussion which he presumes to have started over the fate of those Companions referred to in the said verse. He says that these Companions were relegated to Hell by the Khārijites. Assuming that these Companions were sinners without repentance, he presumes that they were defended against the Khārijite thesis in the way enunciated in the Qur'anic verse, hence the terms irjā' and Murji'ites.

We have been unable to trace any record to the effect that these particular Companions referred to in verse IX:106 were a subject of dispute between the Khārijites and the Orthodox. Moreover, Wensinck seems to have been misled by certain Qur'anic interpreters who claim that these Companions did not repent. In fact they are stated to have repented and that the repentance was accepted.⁹⁶ It is clear from the context that verse IX:106 together with the group of verses surrounding it were revealed during the journey of Tabūk, speaking of those who were left behind and their categories.⁹⁷ The reference in this particular verse according to the inter-

preters,⁹⁸ is to Murārah b. al-Rabī'ah, Hilāl b. Umayyah and Ka'b bin Mālik. The following set of verses belong to the time when the Prophet returned from the journey; and among this group, verse IX:118 states that the repentance of these three people was accepted. Wensinck is apparently mixed about the whole situation; and therefore, most of his assumptions are not warrantable.

'Murji'ism' in some form or rather in the sense of simply suspending judgement of the fate of sinners, has certainly its scriptural basis; since the Qur'ān declares that, apart from disbelief, all sins are forgivable depending on the divine will.⁹⁹ This theme, it may be safely conjectured, began to be actively discussed and affirmed when the Caliphs became subjected to severe criticism especially by the Khārijites. An impetus must have been given when the Khārijites developed their cardinal doctrine ^{that} ~~and~~ sins were incompatible with faith in the year 64 A.H.¹⁰⁰ Supporters of the rulers must have then intensified their efforts in the defence of their masters; and it seems that they made use of the fatalistic tendencies thereby activating the work of the Qadarites.

The thesis of the early 'Murji'ism', namely, that faith **cannot** be invalidated by sin - if we may call this 'Murji'ism' - does not need to offend the Muslim

Orthodoxy; and it seems that it was identified as the Orthodox position. However, there are two aspects to the problem, the share of man in the production of his work and the relation between work and faith. On the first aspect, the advocates of an attitude of quietism came forward with the interpretation of fatalism, which prompted the activities of the Qadarites. The latter made the mistake of the partial denial of Qadar, which brought about the wrath of the Orthodox against them and played into the hands of the 'Murji'ites'! This may have also intensified the identification of 'Murji'ism' as Orthodoxy, and the fatalistic interpretation of Qadar was accepted as an original belief.

On the other question, namely, the relation between faith and work, it seems that further Murji'ite speculations led to minimising the importance of work so long as faith was maintained. It was this doctrine it seems, which began to isolate its upholders from the Orthodox community, and the term irjā' began to acquire the character of heresy. In the course of time, the upholders of the fatalistic interpretation of Qadar, together with the idea of minimising work, were marked off as a group outside the Orthodox community, and were denoted by the special epithet of Muriji'ites.

Thus, the development of Murji'ism went through three stages:

i. A universal 'murji'ism' which was no more than a latent acceptance of the Qur'anic thesis that sins beyond disbelief were forgivable.

ii. 'Murji'ism' which means an active advocacy of the Qur'anic thesis, either objectively or with ulterior motives, accompanied by the advocacy of the fatalistic interpretation of Qadar.

During these two stages, 'Murji'ism' was identified with Orthodoxy; though during the second stage, it was held as a heresy by the Qadarites.

iii. 'Murji'ism' as a technical term, indicating the heresy of minimising the importance of work, while the epithet 'Murji'ites indicates a heretical group separated from, and condemned by the Orthodox. The Murji'ites apparently continued their fatalistic belief; but they were not condemned no account of that because the Orthodox shared this belief with them; It was only when fatalism was given a clear and effective expression in the eloquent style of Jahm b. Safwān, who is rightly regarded as a Murj'ite by al-Ash'ri,¹⁰¹ that the Orthodox began to re-examine their inconsistent interpretation of Qadar which was exposed effectively by the Mu'tazilites, and to

assume an opposing attitude towards an outright concept of fatalism.

Let us now try to fix up the approximate dates of these developments. The first stage was simply the original attitude, which - we believe - was held by the Prophet and continued to be universally held until the fatalistic tendencies began to obtrude and the Khawārij declared their doctrine of sin. The development of the second stage was gradual and subtle; and it began - we feel - with the rise of the Umayyads; but it took shape and assumed a concrete expression since the year 64 A.H.¹⁰² The third stage, during which Murji'ism began as a technical term denoting a separate group of people holding ideas objectionable to the Orthodox, appears to have started round the year 80 A.H. This can be inferred from the following Tradition:

"Abu Wā'il was asked about the Murji'ites and he replied: " 'Abd Allāh, (apparently b. Mas'ūd), informed me that the Prophet said: Cursing a Muslim is a deviation, and to fight him is disbelief.'" ¹⁰³

Abu Wā'il is said to have died in 82 A.H.¹⁰⁴

If the report is correct and the date of his death is accurate, it becomes clear that the term 'Murji'ites was in circulation by the year 82 A.H., though Abū Wā'il does

not seem to define his attitude toward the views of the theologians who were denoted by this epithet.

The above was the only Early Tradition that could be traced with a reference to the Murji'ites, though a few Late Traditions can be traced, in which the Murji'ites are condemned.¹⁰⁵ All this indicates that the Murji'ites became a separate heretical group not earlier than the middle of the 9th decade of the first century.

It is to be borne in mind that the Murji'ites who held the combined doctrine of fatalism and minimisation of the importance of work and who prior to the 9th decade belonged to the Orthodox community but were dismissed later as heretical on account of the second part of their doctrine - are to be regarded as the pure Murji'ites. Later theologians might have held one part or the other of the Murji'ite doctrine, together with a doctrine belonging to another party; hence he would be described by more than one title. For instance, Ghailān al-Dimashqī is described as a Murji'ite and also as a Qadarite.¹⁰⁶

C O N C L U S I O N S .

The results of our investigation of the subject of Qadar can be summarised as follows:-

1. The existence of a doctrine of Qadar has been confirmed, as a Qur'anic doctrine; it means:
 - 'The eternal plan of the world, which includes:-
 - i. all events and occurrences which are determined and created by God, and
 - ii. the human voluntary acts as determined by man and fortold^a in eternity by God.

There is no such clear-cut definition of the concept in the Qur'ān, nor could such a definition be found in the early Traditions; though this definition is easily and precisely inferable from the relevant texts. There was therefore room for possible confusion and dispute over the concept.
2. The inclusion of human acts in the total plan of the world, Umm al-Kitāb, does not interfere with man's freedom of choice, nor does it deprive man of his full share in the production of his acts; since it means no more than an antecedent recording of what man was going to choose on his

own, and relating this to the other parts of the plan. A comprehensive and fully-integrated plan is necessary for such a complex but yet orderly and efficient world.

3. The original liberal concept of Qadar prevailed during the lifetime of the Prophet and apparently continued throughout the reign of the Orthodox Caliphs. Fatalistic tendencies were combated by the Caliphs whenever they attempted to protrude. Later on, the distinction between the human and other acts as parts of the concept of Qadar began to be blurred, and fatalistic ramifications began to accumulate. The factors which contributed to this development appear to be:-

i. The miseries, misfortunes and injustices which accompanied the formation of the Umayyad Dynasty, which inclined the frustrated souls to resorting to fatalistic dispositions which provided them with a solace. The frustrated minds misread the Qur'ān and misinterpreted it as fatalistic.

ii. The repetition of pre-Islamic poetry which contained remnants of pre-Islamic

fatalism. The frustrated minds must have found a source of solace in chanting such poetry, which was not without an inculcating effect.

iii. The influence exerted by the Umayyad rulers.

4. The fatalistic tendencies which invaded the Muslim minds during the first twenty years or so of the initial part of the Umayyad reign began to betray themselves when the subject of Qadar was raised apparently after the Burning of the Ka'ba in the year 64 A.H. The danger of the misinterpretation of the concept and its misuse by the unpopular officials invited the attention of certain righteously-minded theologians who began to defend the principle of divine justice and endeavoured to restore what they believed to be the original concept of Qadar.
5. By the year 73 A.H. in which 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar died, the discussion of Qadar turned into a sharp dispute. The school of Baṣrah assumed leadership in defending the human freedom and moral responsibility. The school was led by al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and included eminent scholars like 'Aṭā' b. Yasār, Ma'bad al-Juhānī, Qatādah b. Da'āmah, and later,

'Amr b. 'Ubayd and Wāsil b. 'Atā'. This school of Baṣrah had sympathisers scattered elsewhere who shared their views of Qadar.

6. In their endeavour to assert the human freedom and responsibility by removing any idea of divine compulsion, the defenders of divine justice unnecessarily denied the existence of any relationship between the divine decree and human acts. This amounted to a partial denial of the doctrine of Qadar, belief in which was deeply rooted in the minds and hearts of Muslims who strongly resented this denial. This led to the division of Muslims into two disputing parties with mutual ill-feeling; namely, the Traditionalists who held fast to their fatalistic interpretation and the 'Liberals' who were branded Qadarites - an epithet which they resented as a misnomer but somehow it stuck to them. The dispute with these Qadarites is widely reflected in Tradition.
7. The activities of the school of Baṣrah and of those who held similar views who were all marked off as Qadarites, seem to have occupied the last thirty years of the first century of Islam;

but they began to disintegrate by the turn of the century. This school of Basrah and those who sympathised with its views at the time may be described as THE QADARITES, PURE AND SIMPLE, because they hardly introduced any other novelties beyond their interpretation of Qadar.

8. The rise of the dispute over the question of Qadar was prompted by internal developments which mainly accompanied the rise of the Umayyad Dynasty. The revolt by the defenders of the divine justice was simply a reaction to what they regarded as an immoral attitude on the part of the officials at the time. Their activities were not prompted by an external influence, nor were they a reaction to a Qur'anic harsh concept of Qadar. Such a harsh concept can hardly be inferred from the Qur'ān, as has been demonstrated. The grounds of the argument of these original Qadarites were mainly scriptural.
9. When the Qadarites proper disintegrated in the beginning of the second century, their interpretation of Qadar was championed by the Mu'tazilites who established themselves on the ruins of the former school. This earned the Mu'tazilites the

nickname Qadarites. In fact, this title was extended to all later thinkers who held a liberal view of Qadar and who belonged to any of the various sects or were merely independent thinkers.

10. It can thus be asserted that the original concept of Qadar acknowledges the human freedom and responsibility.

NOTESCHAPTER 1

1. Items Nos 1,36,55,57,64,66, and 77 of Appendix A.
2. Items Nos. 26 and 33.
3. Item No. 60
4. Items Nos, 2,9,10,11,24,30,32,34,37,43,47,48,49,50,53,54,55, 58,59,60,61,62,63,67,68,70,71,72,73,74,75 and 83.
5. Item 10
6. Such as CV1. 3 which reads *فَلْيُذَوِّرْ هَذَا الْبَيْتِ* "Let them worship the Lord of this House", and C1X. 2 which reads, *"قَصِّرْ لِرَبِّكَ وَأَخْرَجْ"* "Pray to your Lord and sacrifice", and LXXXV11, 1. which reads *"سَبِّحْ اسْمَ رَبِّكَ الْأَعْلَى"* "Glory the name of your Lord, the Most High".
7. In LXX1X, 37-41, a division is made between those who transgress and give priority to the present world, whose final dwelling will be Fire and those who fear God and curb their desire, whose final resort will be Paradise, S.V. XC11, 5 - 10.
8. Item No. 90 of Appendix B.
9. Item 9.
10. Item ^{29,} 38
11. Items 17,36,46
12. Items 102, 103
13. Item 75.
14. Item 3 of App. C
15. Items 1,2,3,4,7,8,10,11,14,15,27,28,29,34,35,41,45,46,48, 50,53,55,57,62,67,77,78,87,89,93,100,106,109,110,112,121
16. Item 97.
17. Items 24,49, & 94.
18. Items 10,34,23,32,54,65,66,79,109,124&125..

19. Items 6, 36,56, and 95
20. Item 12.
21. However, acts of a basically moral nature began to be directly commanded or directly prohibited. (Ref. XXX 90-92 XV11 23-37, and VI - 151-152). Anyway this was the beginning of a new trend.
22. It is interesting in this connexion to note that this attitude of rejection, an intangible and invisible mode of behaviour, and the attitude of acceptance and believing, which is also so, are indicated in X,42 by the word amal , (Item 90), a term which normally conveys an active physical and visible performance. The assumption, it seems, is that the attitude produces acts legitimately, describable by the said term. Another interesting verse is XXIX, 12 which reads: "The Kāfirūn told the MU'minūn, (invited them to), follow our path and we shall bear your sins, ولنحمل خطاياكم". The word Khāṭayākum here is in the plural, whereas the argument was only over one subject, i.e., the fundamental issue of the faith, and the mu'minūn were merely invited to deny Muhammad's message. The assumption is perhaps that the attitude of kufr results in other sins. The fault of the Kāfirs is alluded to in the singular in the verse XXIX, 40 which reads: "And each - of the nations mentioned in the preceding verses - have We taken by their sin بذنبة". The sin here refers to haughtiness and denial specifically mentioned in the previous verses. Moreover, it is declared that repentance cancels sins, (Item 78) but when sin is a positive performance it is difficult to see how it could be cancelled if sin means simply the act in isolation or unaccompanied by the attitude of rebellion. The act has been accomplished. What is meant, it seems, is that when the attitude which was manifested in the physical act has changed, forgiveness is forthcoming.

23. In the text, however, God is the subject of the verb harrama in the sense of has forbidden, in 8 verses assigned to the present period, namely: VI, 119, 143,¹⁴⁴ 150, 151, VI1, 32, 33 and XVI, 115. The Theme of these verses is the type of good permissible for consumption and the wearing of clothes, a point on which a universally uniform moral judgement is unlikely.
24. Items 1, 48, 49, 53, 57, 75, 80, 81, 170, 174, 194, 217, 230, 254, 275 of Appendix E.
25. Items 17, 24, 68, 82, 101, 112, 188, 223 and 253.
26. Items 13, 50, 98, 164 and 203.
27. Items 30, 67, 76, 78, 106, 108, 144, 236, 256, 257 and 270
28. Item 87.
29. Item 139
30. Item 66
31. vv. 31-32 of Sura 53 which appears to be Madinese in a Meccan chapter read: "The Allah belongs what is in the heavens and what is in the earth, that He may recompense those who do evil for what they have done and may recompense those who do well with the best (reward). Those who avoid heinous crimes and indecencies except al-laman". laman apparently means occasional lapses or commission. Verses 173-176 of Sura 3 read: "And hasten towards forgiveness from your Lord and Gardens wide as heavens and the earth, prepared for the pious, اللتقين". Who contribute in the times of prosperity and in the times of adversity, who restrain their anger and deal leniently with people; Allah loves the good-doers, الْحَسْبِينَ; and who when they commit an indecency or a wrong doing against themselves, remember God and ask forgiveness for their sins; and who absolves sins but Allah: and do not persist in what they have done when they know".
32. It is interesting to quote here the following passage in connection with the Biblical doctrine of sin: "If the essence of sin is departure from God, then, in whatever form, idolatry must be the worst sin because the most complete (thus). That is its position throughout the historical books. In the Judges it is the cause of all Israel's sufferings". (Art. Sin, in A Dictionary of the Bible. Vol. 1V 1902, P.530).

Thus it appears that in the Biblical concept, it is also the departure from God which is the essence of sin.

33. Items 8,21,65 and 102 of Appendix E.
34. Item 47.
35. Item 153
36. Item 15
37. E.R. Bernard in his discussion of the problem of "Heredity of Sin", in the above-mentioned article, admits that "in the OT are already found the materials for conception of moral evil as generic characteristic", and that "in the OT the transmission of a sinful nature from parent to child is already admitted, but it is not traced to Adam", (P.534). Apparently following the line of St. Paul he interprets these Biblical references in the sense not of a transmission of a sinful disposition or an actual sinful nature but that "by Adam's fault sin, an alien power, got a footing in all the world; and involving all men in actual sin, brought death upon all", (P.535). This interpretation is based on the invalid assumption that without the law Adam and his descendents would not die: Again, although this interpretation is more liberal than the Augustinian doctrine of Original Sin, it diverges from the Qur'anic concept of punishment which is asserted to be involving no one but the agent of the acts. Moreover, death, as a natural phenomenon is nowhere in the Qur'an regarded as a punishment. On the other hand it would agree with the Qur'anic position if a sinful disposition is interpreted in the sense that man - unless restrained - is violent, ungrateful and transgressing.
38. The division made later by jurists of the first category into wājib and mandūb, and the second into haram and makruh is apparently an elaboration on these concepts.
39. Namely in XV11, 22-37 and XV1, 90-92 where direct commands and prohibitions are given. They concern paying respect to parents, giving relatives and the needy, moderation, murder, illicit cohabitation, the property of the orphans, measure, keeping the clear from evil, modesty in walking, justice, righteousness, indecencies, aggression, fulfilment of covenants and oaths.

40. Although this verse is in a Meccan chapter, the style looks

Madiness.

41. Similarly, V,45 states that the Jews were under the law of an eye for an eye.

42. Q. V,46

43. Q. v,48

44. Item 119 of Appendix E. Cf. IV; 13-14

45. Q.XXXVW, 36

46. Tabarī, Jamī', Vol. XII. Pp. 11-12

47. 111; 229-230 and LXV; 1.

48. LV111, 4.

49. II:187

50. IX.97 and 112. In the verse 97 of the same chapter the Bedouins, al-A'rab are described as not knowing the hudūd of Allah; and in 112, the believers are described as preserving the hudūd of Allah

51. It appears that all the aspects of the Quranic ethical teaching, moral or ceremonial are of equal stress; and it does not seem right to assume that the ceremonial teaching is of more importance. The moral teaching may appear to be more so when it involves others, and it is perhaps due to this that specific corporal punishments are prescribed for certain moral offences, and there is no such prescription for ceremonial offences. This Quranic position is different from the Jewish attitude if the following statement is true:"In the Jewish world.....sin against ceremonial law had been so exaggerated as to put out of sight sin against moral law," (From Art. Sin, A Dictionary of the Bible Vol.1V, P.534 Col. 1)

52. E.g. XXV1, 108,125 & 150, XL1 63; LXX1, 3

53. Namely, XXX111, 33,111,32 & 132,1V. 59; V.92; V111, 1,20 & 46; XX1V, 54; XLV11, 33, LV111, 13; LX1V. 12 & 16

54. Namely XL1X, 14; 1V 13, LX1X, 52, XXX111 71, and XLV111, 17.

55. Namely 111, 50 and XX1V, 54

56. Namely: 1V,14 and XXX111, 36
57. Namely 1V, 42 and 111, 152, and Lv111, 8 - 9
58. It is interesting to quote here the following statement with reference to the concept of sin in the O.T. "Sin as the contrary of righteousness is disobedience to God, departing from God, self-assertion against God. Thus the fundamental O.T. conception of sin is not sin against other men or against a man's self but sin against God. (From Art. 'Sin', A Dictionary of the Bible, Vol. 1V, P.528. Col. 2).
59. Supra. ft.31. (31)

CHAPTER II

1. In the terms of Toshibiko Izutsu, the first category of vocabulary is designated as 'primary or descriptive'; whereas the latter category is called 'secondary or evaluative'. (The Structure of the Ethical Terms in the Qur'an, Keio Institute, Tokio, 1959, pp. 262-3).
2. Lxix, 11 reads: When the water burst, (taghā), We indeed carried you in the one which was running; (floating, i.e., the Arc)."
3. E.W. Lane, Lexicon, bk. I, pt. V, defines the word as: "He exceeded the just, or common, limit, or measure; was excessive, innordinate, immoderate, or exorbitant".

In this sense the word was apparently employed in the Jāhiliyyah age. Zuhair b. Abī Sulma is related to have said, "And He destroyed Dha'l Qarnain in the past; and Pharaoh who was ruthless and taghā, (exceeded the bounds), and the Negus". (W. Ahlwardt; p. 101, 1: 13). Ibn Hisham also Quotes Umayyah b. al-Salt as saying: "Then You said to him, (Moses), and to Aaron: Go and invite Pharaoh to God, and he was a taghiyah, a tyrant". (Vol. 1, p. 23A). The far-reaching implications of the word are reflected in the fact that the participial form of the root is put in direct contrast to muttaqīn in xxxviii 49, 55: and its First Form verbal derivative is contrasted to khashiah in xx, 13, 14, and in Lxxix, 15-19; and to khawf, fearing God, in Lxxix, 37 - 41.

4. According to some philologists, taghūt measures with fa'alūt from taghwa, the 2nd. and 3rd. radicals interchanged position, and the radical which has thus become second and which is a weak letter was transformed into a long open vowel to suit the preceding short open vowel. (Ṣiḥāḥ, vi, 2413)
5. According to Ṭabari, (Jāmi', V, 52 - 4), reference here is to a Kāhin or to Ka'b b. al-Ashraf. Reference, however, it seems, is to the customary law as opposed to the canon law.
6. There are only three occurrences in Madīna, ref. App. C. In the early Traditions, the word occurs in four cases in the sense of sin; (Ref: Wensinck & others, Concordance de la Tradition Musulman, Tome iv, pp. 4 - 5).
7. Lisān al-'Arab, I, 58.

8. This is at variance with the sweeping statement made by Wensinck and Krammer in "Handwörterbuch des Islam, 1941", that 'It is dubious whether the pre-Islamic Arabs knew the expression khatī'ah at all'.
9. Tabarī, Jāmi', V, 203 - 5.
10. ibid, xv, 79.
11. ibid, xxi, 121
12. ibid, III, 155 - 6
13. ibid, v, 274. khatī'ah appears to be an active noun or a verbal adjective of passive meaning of the verb khatī'a, with an added tā'^{for} emphasis.
14. Anwār, Vol.I, p. 172.
15. In early Tradition, khatī'ah earned a firm ground for a claim as a popular term of sin. The Concordance To II, 41 -4, quotes about 50 passages in which the term, in the singular or the pl., is used in the sense of sin. Its kin-derivatives khata' and akhta'a have gained more in the meaning of 'indeliberate error'!
16. Jāmi', vol. xxix, p. 147
17. The Origin of Islam in its Christian Environment, London, 1930, p.88.
18. Cf. II, 61 & 90; VII, 71.
19. Insistence on interpreting this word simply in the sense of erring or going astray or misleading, or leading astray is not quite satisfactory. The idea of losing appears to be a major ingredient of its meaning.
20. Lane, (pt. V, 1797, col. I.), interprets the word here as: her memory being lost.
21. "Islam & The Christian Theology", 1947, pt. I, vol. II, p. (191)
22. Early Tradition abounds in the use of the term in the moral sense, as can be seen from the numerous quotations given by "Concordance, Tome III, pp. 515-8". The idea of leading astray predominates, which probably reflects the sectarian disputes. We meet the interesting phrase: al-a'immatu'l mudillūn, and their description as aftaw bi-ghayri 'ilmin fadallū wa adallū. (They gave fatwa without adequate or su-

fficient knowledge, thus going astray and leading astray).

23. Six Ancient Poets, P. 48, L. 81.
24. *ibid*, P. 12, L.11.
25. In the early Tradition, the quasi infinitive, jurm seems to have acquired the sense of sin. Concordance, T.I, P.338, e.g., quotes the following: "And he indeed shall be punished for his jurm"
26. Jāmi', VII, P. 179.
27. Cf. XVII, 15; LIII, 38, XXXV, 18 and XXXIX, 7.
28. Lisān, under the word جر
29. Tabarī, (Jāmi' XXIX, 179), apparently followed by Zamakhsharī, (Kashshāf, III, P. 293), interprets the word in this verse as 'running to a place of protection', (shelter), like a mountain. But this will result in interpretations different from each other with no common ties between them.
30. Oxford English Dictionary.
31. Sīrat Ibn Hishām, Vol. I. P. 244. Fujūn and its kin-derivatives are widely used in Tradition, (Concordance, XIX, 72 - 73 & 78), in the sense of breaking loose of the moral order.
32. E.E. Lane, Lexicon, Bk. I, Vol. III, P. 280, Col.1.
33. Abū Hilāl al Askarī, Diwān al-Maḥānī, Cairo, 135 2 AH, Vol. II. P. 152.
34. Six Ancient Poets, P. 19, L.25.
35. Kashshāf, Vol. I., P. 369
36. Early Tradition abounds in the use of the term. The Concordance, T.II, Pp. 185 - 9, quotes 132 Hadīth where the term is employed in the moral sense.
37. It is clear that the word i'tadū here does not mean 'you should wrong them', but it means, 'you are entitled to retaliate with equity'. It is only given this metaphorical expression because it stands in a formal contrast with the word i'tadā, and so this

idea of retaliation is expressed metaphonically in a kin-derivative of the word. It is not therefore justifiable to infer - as Reverend Gardner did in his Qur'anic Doctrine of Sin, P. 12 - that this is a command of transgression allowed in the circumstances. You can call it transgression only metaphonically, otherwise it is not a real transgression. The Reverend confuses the issue by insisting on a literal interpretation of the word, inferring, not rightly, that "In the actual action described as transgression against one's fellowmen, the idea is rather that of simple hostile action which, as the verse quoted shows, may be unjust and therefore wrong, or justified as an act in retaliation and therefore right". In other words, the Reverend wishes us to believe that, according to the Qur'ān, wrong is not inherent in the act; but this is based on his misinterpretations.

38. Cf. XXIII, 7 and LXX, 31.
39. Cf. II, 173 & VI, 145.
40. Cf. LXV, 1.
41. In the pages from 156 - 163 of "Concordance, T.IV, where Ḥadīths containing 'udwān and its kin-derivatives are quoted only in about 6 cases the word is employed in the sense of sin.
42. See, e.g., Lane's Lexicon, under ithm and dhanb.
43. Lisān al-'Arab, under the word ithm.
44. The Concordance quotes 70 early Traditions where ithm and its kin-derivatives are employed in the sense of sin.
45. Reference here is to the disobedience of the archers on the day of Uhud to the Prophet's order not to leave their position till further orders from him. (Tabarī, Jāmī', IV, P. 128)
46. E.W. Lane, Lexicon, Bk. I. Pt. IV, P. 1524, Col.3.
47. "Islam and Christian Theology", Pt. I, Vol. 2., P. 194.
48. See Concordance, Tome III, Pp. 81 -4, Sharr and its antonym

- are also used in place of the couple mafrūf and munkar in the expression ya'muru bi'l-khairi wa yanhā 'ani'l munkar sharr
49. In the opinion of some lexicographers the original meaning of this word is to reduce! (Lane, Lexicon, Bk.1, Pt. V, P.1920).
 50. Ibid.
 51. Lisān al-'Arab, under the word zulm
 52. I.e., the right to retaliate.
 53. Early Traditions which abound in employing the term, use it nearly exclusively in this specific meaning of injustice and oppression. (Concordance, Tome IV, Pp. 81 - 85).
 54. Al - Mufaddaliyyāt, Vol.I, P. 457, (ft).
 55. Six Ancient Poems, P. 72, L.11.
 56. Cf. Tāj al-'Arūs, under fasād.
 57. The Concordance, T. II, Pp. 454 O 455, quotes about 15 instances of early Traditions where the word is used as a general term of sin.
 58. Lane, Lexicon, 31, Pt. 6, P. 2307, Col.3.
 59. Another reason for this might be the much greater frequency of the use of the term in the Madīnan revelations. In fact the popularity of the term during the Madīnan period, which might be due to the idea of spite implied in the term, may be reflected in the story of Abū 'Āmir related by Ibn Ishāq, I, 411 who was held in esteem as an ascetic before the Hijrah and earned the title rāhib. He stubbornly opposed Islam in Madīnah, and when he found that most of his tribesmen accepted Muhammad's mission, abandoned them and went over to Mecca, where-upon the Prophet said: "Do not call him henceforth a rāhib, but call him a fāsiq".
 60. The Khawājij and Mu'tazila held that fāsiq is doomed to a permanent doom of Fire, though the latter held that his will be lighter than that of a kāfir. The Sunnis on the other hand held that unless his sins involved rights of mortals the fāsiq's sins may

be absolved by God's mercy in view of his righteous acts.
But if he should be sent to Fire it will be temporary;
he will be removed to the Garden thereafter.

61. Guillaume, A. The Life of Muhammad, P. 493
62. Tabarī, Jāmi', Vol. 27, Pp. 193 - 4.
63. Concordance, T. I, P. 521, This Hadith reads: "wakana yakthuru fīhim waladu'l hinh".
64. Lane, Lexicon, Bk. I., Pt. VI, P. 2304, Col.3.
65. Ibid
66. Tāj'al - 'Arūs, X, 273. The text reads:

غويت، وان ترشد غزبية ارشد	وما انا الا من غزبية ان غوت
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67. ibid. The line reads:

ومن يغولوا بعدم على الخي نادما	فمن يلقوا خيرا يحمد الناس فضله
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The Concordance, XIX. 20, quotes three Traditions where ghayy is nearly used in the sense of sin.
68. al - Mufaddaliyyāt, Vol. I, P. 399.
69. Concordance, T.I., P. 8 quotes 8 instances.
70. Lane, Lexicon, Bk. I, Pp. 231 - 2.
71. E.G. XVIII, 64 which reads: "He said: that is what we kunna nahghī (were seeking to find)".
72. The Concordance quotes 30 instances in which the term is employed as such. (T.I. Pp. 202 - 204).
73. Lane, Lexicon Pt. IV, P.1458, Col.2.
74. Anwār, I. 143.
75. Concordance, T.III, Pp. 12 - 15, quotes nearly 60 instances where sayyiah and sayyi' alone are used as subst., denoting the general meaning of sin.
76. This practice has been admirably dealt with recently by Professor B.R. Serjeant in his article 'Haram and Hawṭah, The Sacred Enclave in Arabia' published in Mélange Tāhā Hussain, Cairo, 1962.

77. Abū Ja'far b. Ḥabīb, al-Muḥabbar, Heyderabad, 1942, P. 239.
78. Early Tradition abounds in employing the term, (see Concordance T.I., Pp. 451 - 8).
79. Al-Mufaddaliyyāt, Vol. I, P. 249.
80. ibid, P. 322. In Tradition, Fāhishah is also used alluding to evil speeches and to sexual offences.
81. Six Ancient Poets, P. 14., Poem 11, L.5.
82. Meccans used to circulate round the Ka'ba naked (Tabarī, Jāmi' VIII, P. 154).
83. Professor Izutsu, Ethical Terms, Pp. 242 - 3, deduces from the combination of sū' and fāhishah in this and similar instances that they are identical terms. This is obviously strange. Even if they both allude to the same thing it does not follow that they are synonymous. Each term has its own connotation, hence the combination of the two terms, each serving by conveying its associations.
84. Qāmūs, II, 153, under nakara.
85. Ṭaj, III, 584
86. Cf: XVIII, 87 and LIV, 6. Bell translates the word here as 'unheard of'.
87. Cf. XXII, 44, XXXIV, 45 and LVII, 18. Bell renders the word here as Our disapproval:
88. Jāmi', XXV, 43.
89. Kashshāf, III, 87
90. Anwār, II, 242
91. Jāmi', XII, 71.
92. Kashshāf, II, 144
93. Jāmi', XXVII, 64 - 69
94. Kashshāf, II, 179 and Anwār II, 290
95. Six Ancient Poets, P. 49, Poem 23, L.1.
96. al - Mufaddaliyyāt, Vol. I, 207.

97. al - Wāqidī, ^{B.M.,} Or 1617 Fol. 98 b.
98. The Life of Muhammad, P. 496.
99. Lane, Lexicon, Bk. I, Pt. II, P. 468, Col.3.
100. This is probably why J.W. Sweetman defines it as a technical fault. (Islam and Christian Theology, Pt. I, Vol. 2 P. 196)
101. Concordance, T.I., P. 385, quotes 5 early Traditions where the term junah occurs
102. Lane, Lexicon, Bk. I, Pt. II, P. 662, Col.2. But according to A. Jeffery, Foreign Vocabulary of the Qurān, Pp. 116-7 the word is likely to be borrowed from Syriac, though it is said it goes back to a Jewish-Aramiac origin.
103. Six Ancient Poets, P. 81, Poem 4, L.11.
104. Al - Mufaddaliyyāt, Vol. I, P. 182.
105. Another kin-derivative, hawbah is used in this sense; and it occurs in Tradition in a passage which reads: "God, accept my repentance and forgive my hawbah. "Concordance, T.I., P.523 quotes this and another 4 early Traditions where the term occurs in the sense of sin.
106. Tāj, Vol. II, P.30.
107. Ibid.
108. Ṭabarī, Jāmi', VIII, 116, interprets the word here as doubt, and also so in VI, 125; but he adds 'puzzlement' as a possibility in the latter case.
109. Early Tradition makes a limited use of the term in the sense of sin. (Concordance, I. 445)
110. Lane, Lexicon, Bk. I. III, P. 1037, Col.1; and Tāj, IV, Pp. 159 - 160.
111. Lisān, under rijs.
112. R. Bell quotes him in ft. 3. P. 414.
113. Jāmi', VIII, 71 and XI, 2
114. Jāmi', VIII, 31 and XI, 174.
115. See Lane, Lexicon, Pt. III, 1037, Col. 3.

116. In colloquial usage nowadays, the stage is taken clearly by two words, dhahb and ma'siyah, the former used in daily use and more often denoting aggression against fellow men, and the latter predominates in religious circles. The latter may be illustrated by a song now popular in sūfī circles which begins as follows:

"mālak wi mā il-ma'āṣī yallī shabābak fāt,
 'Ūm ishari'l lail witnaddim 'ala'l 'āḥī-fāt"

which can be rendered as follows:

"O you whose youth has gone,
 Rise, stay up at night (praying and reflecting),
 and regret what has been missed".

In the Malayan world, the term ma'siyah is now in the vogue; and it is getting more and more confined to the instance of kāhalwah, (khalwat in the Malay style), which is prohibited by law in all the Malay states and which is locally defined as a man found in suspicious retirement with a woman marriageable to him but is not his wife. The officer in charge of looking for people committing this offence is styled Pegawai Penchegah Ma'siyat. (This phenomenon may be said to correspond to a tendency in other languages to restrict words of this nature to the theological context while others are readily used in daily life.

117. "Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān", Pp. 202 - 3.
 118. *ibid*, Pp. 123 - 4. Jeffery says that the Hebrew root means 'to miss', then 'developed the idea of sin, which is the commonest use in Hebrew'.
 119. *ibid*, Pp. 139, 220 and 116 - 7.
 120. *ibid*, Pp. 102 - 3. According to him the Persian origin means guilt.
 121. Six Ancient Poets, P. 34. Poem 2, L. 18.

CHAPTER III

1. Apart from these words, there is another word, namely, mubīn, clear, which may appear relevant. It is an adjectival noun which describes ithm in 4:50, 4: 112 and 33: 58, and describes dalāl in 3: 164, 6: 74, 7: 60, 12: 8 & 30, 19: 38, 21: 84, 26: 97, 28: 85, 31: 11, 34: 24, 36: 24 & 47, 39: 22, 43: 40, 46: 32, 62: 2 and 67: 29. However, describing a sin as clear does not necessarily imply a difference in the degree of gravity.
2. Ṭabarī, Jāmi', Vol. 27, Pp. 193 - 4, states that hīnth here alludes to polytheism. It appears however to be alluding to the general attitude of disobedience and rejection.
3. Ṭabarī, *ibid*, Vol. 10, P.56.
4. This is if we concede to the interpretation of the word ithm in 2: 218 as sin. It seems more likely, however, that the word here is employed in the sense of 'harm'; hence the contrast between ithm and manāfi'. The style becomes smoother in this interpretation. The meaning will be: 'And their harm is greater than their benefits'. Zamakhari's interpretation of this clause in Kash, as: "and the punishment of their sin is greater than their benefits, makes the contrast absurd.
5. ^{Although} Ṭabarī (Jāmi', Vol. 5, P.44), interprets sayyi'ah in the sense of minor sins, in IV: 31.
6. "We may recall that the Prophet used a kin-derivative of Laman, i.e. alamma in addressing 'A'ishah alluding to commission of adultery of which she was accused and this cannot be an allusion to a minor sin. (supra, Ch.II tem lamam). Moreover, Ṭabarī, (Jāmi' XXVII, 66 -7) offers an interpretation here of laman as one of its possible meanings which he puts in the following words: "It is that a man becomes involved in a sin and then repents". In support of this opinion he quotes from an ancient poem:

"in taghrifi'l Lahuamma taghfir jamma"
wa'ayyu 'abdin laka lā alamma"

The second line obviously means; "And who is the slave of Yours who has never committed a sin", which is reminiscent of the famous words of Christ: "Let him who did not commit sins amongst you stone her!" In spite of that however, Tabarī, probably influenced by the current thought at the time preferred to interpret laman as small sins. (Supra Ch. II, term lamam).

7. In the Concordance, only two instances could be traced in early Tradition with the word saghīr describing a sin, (Vol. III.P.315), one attributed to Ibn Mājah and the other to Tirmidhī. Moreover, Art. I. of Fikh Abybar I, reads: "WE do not consider anyone to be an infidel on account of sin", with sin, unqualified by great or grave; thus implying that sins are one category.
8. Muslim Creed, P.39. We should add however that the mysterious connotations attached to the Biblical terms of mortal and venial, i.e., "deprivation or non-deprivation of sanctifying grace" - Oxford Dictionary of Christian Church, (London 1958) Pp. 927 & 1412 - are not applicable to the Muslim terminology.
9. Tradition equates to this, drinking wine by prescribing 80 lashes, (Muwaṭṭa', 'Ashribah', 2).
10. The subject of sin was of interest to a wide range of thinkers; the Traditionists, the jurists, the Mutakallimūn, men of letters, the Ṣūfis and the writers on ethics. A summary of the Islamic literature on the subject in relation to cultural, political and social aspects of life in the world of Islam in the various ages, would make a fascinating thesis. It was felt however that such an attempt would be somehow outside the scope of the present work; and it would fill the pages of an entire work. Our discussion is therefore confined to those whose early contributions were of theoretical importance and whose works determined the trend of thought about the concept.
11. Muslim Creed, P.39
12. The text reads: "walā nukaffiru aḥadan bi-dhanbiḥī walā nanfī

ahadan minā' īmān", K. Sharh al-Fiḥ al-Akbar, attributed to Māturidī, Hyderabad, 1365 AH, P.I, which Muslim Creed, P.103 renders as follows:

"We do not consider anyone to be an infidel on account of sin; nor do we deny his faith". It is interesting to note that although the author employs the general word dhanb his interpreter speaks only of kabā'ir and fāsiq. Similarly, al-Ashāri's statement in his Ibanah, P.7, runs thus: "And we maintain that no one who is one of the people of the Qūblah can be held as kāfir on account of commission of a sin.

13. Maqālāt, Vol.I.P. 163
14. Abū'l-Laith al-Samarqandī, K. Tanbīh al-Ghāfilīn, Halabī, Cairo, 1333 AH, P.134.
15. Ibn Abu'l-Hadīd, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Vol.I.Pp.499-755.
16. Maq., Vol. Pp. 212 - 213 Cf.P.207.
17. Ibid, P.306.
18. Ibid, Pp. 115-116
19. Ibid, P.272.
20. Ibid, P.213.
21. Al-Fakhr al-Rāzī, K.al-Arba'īn fī-'Uṣūl al-Dīn, Heyderabad, 1353 AH., p.330
22. Adam is stated to have disobeyed his Lord in 20: 121, and Muḥammad is commanded to seek forgiveness for his sin in XL, 55 and XLVII, 19
23. Ibid, Vol. II.P.150.
24. Maq., I, 212 - 213, and II P.150.
25. Ibid, Vol. II, Pp. 147 - 148.
26. Maq. II, P.148
27. Maq., II, 148 - 149 cf. I, L.140.
28. Qūt al Qulūb, IV, 17 Sq., (Egyptian Press, 1932).
29. Ibid, I, P,128.
30. Iḥyā', Vol. 4, Pp. 15 - 16, Cairo, 1958.
31. Ibid, P.16.
32. Muslim & Bukhārī, and quoted in Qūt al Qulūb, IV, 20.
33. Iḥyā' IV, PP.16 - 20.
34. The Tradition, related by Muslim, 'Tahārah', 14 - 16, on the authority of Abū Hurayrah, reads: "Five Daily prayers and the Friday cong-

regations expiate what is between them as long as the heavy sins are avoided".

35. Jāmi', Vol. 5, Pp. 37-38. An interesting statement by Tabarī in connexion with 4, 29 is the following: "And in this verse there is an evidence from God against the ignorant Sufis who denounce seeking provision through commerce and industry", (ibid, 32). It is further interesting that it comes from such an early author!
36. Küpr., 1603, 78^a/101^a.
37. Infra, App., H.
38. An interesting feature of this small work is that it attempts to enumerate the sins regarded as ṣaghā'ir; other works devoted to the subject, of which we know, attempt to enumerate the categories of the other class only.
39. Cairo, 1356 AH.
40. There has been numerous other works on sin or on Kabā'ir, but they are repetitive and follow the style of al-Dhahabi. One of them is a treatise by Muhammad 'Abdal-Wahhāb, Founder of Wahhābism, which appears in BM MS No. OR4529, Pp. 133a - 196b. The author enumerates 93 heavy sins; and it is interesting to note that among them are to be found: pedantic talking, to be over-joyed, and extortion of land! He quotes from the Qur'an and Ḥadīth; but many of his quotations do not seem related to the item for which they are brought for support!
41. Figures in brackets indicate the volume and page references in al-Zawājir. It should not be understood however that all these items did not appear in the earlier lists.
42. It is interesting that in his "Al-Fatawā", Cairo, 1959., Pp. 302-305, the present Shaikh al-Azhar, Shaikh Maḥmūd Shaltūt argues against the validity of circumcising girls. It is now illegal in Egypt.

CHAPTER IV

- (1) In this category is included all verbal derivatives, past present and imperative. But the verbs in these instances are not attached to relative pronouns.
- (2) In this is included the other forms of number and gender, but the participle is undefined by جَل .
- (3) The participle here is defined by جَل .
- (4) By this we mean phrases made up of a relative pronoun defined by a positive verb.
- (5) By this we mean phrases consisting of a relative pronoun defined by a negative verb.
- (6) The infinitive is never used in the Qur'an.
- (7) This includes LXXIV, 31 which is obviously Madīnan, and LII, 21 which R. Bell, (Vol.II, P.535) doubts that it could be so early.
- (8) This also includes LXXIV, 31 which has just been stated to be Madīnan. Three of the other instances, LI, 35, LXXXV, 7 & 10, speaks of early nations, i.e., ^{Lot} and the People of the Ditch. Moreover, it is doubtful that LXI, 13 was so early.
- (9) This instance, in LXXVIII, 40, is prefixed by جَل ; but the context shows that the reference is to the category and not to a defined person.
- (10) Only in two of these instances, namely, XXXI, 13 and XXXV, 14, the term is used in the technical sense. In the remaining cases it is used simply in the sense of sharing or having share in the creation.

11. The ratio increases further if we add phrases, like: alladhīna la-yu'minūna
12. James Barr, The Semantics of Biblical Language, Oxford University Press, 1962, P.188.
13. In the earlier footnotes it was shown that some of the derivatives of īmān which appear in early Meccan chapters belong in fact to later revelation. Many of the derivatives of the four terms could similarly be removed from the early lists.
14. The verbal noun of the first word, tasdīq, occurs only twice, namely in X, 37 and XII, III, but it is not used in the sense of holding to be true, but in the sense of corroborating.
15. XXXIII 34 is a reference to Haaron, and LXXVI 12 is a reference to Mary, and XXXIX, 33 is apparently general.
16. XII, 46 describes Joseph, and XIX: 41, XIX: 56 and V: 75 describe Mary; IV: 69 and LVII 19 are evidently general.
17. Namely, XXXVII 52 and LVII 18.
18. This is contrary to the conclusion of Professor James Robson who in his art. 'Islam as a Term'; Muslim World, 1954, P.103, implies that Muslim was more a Madīnan term, claiming that after the Hijrah to Madīnah, "Muḥammad at last realised that Jews and Christians were not waiting to receive him with open arms, and that what he taught differed in some respects from their teachings, so that Islam became a separate religion. The members of the new faith required a name to distinguish them, and thus the word Muslim was used for this purpose", This statement implies that Muḥammad in Mecca was calling on the people to be Jews or Christians, which is not so. It also implies that the need for a designating term of Muḥammad's party only arose in Madīnah, but the need was there in Mecca, hence the term of al-Mu'minūn, and also al-Muslimūn were employed in Mecca. Al-Muslimīn, far from being a Madīnan term, is certainly one that belongs to Meccan revelations. That Islam

is more employed in Madīnah agrees with our earlier remark that the use of abstract terms has to await the process of internal conceptual development.

19. Apart from these quotations, reference may also be made to X 90, XXVII 91, XXXIX 12 and XXIX 46 which have similar implications. Again Muslim and Mushrik are frequently put in contrast to each other in early Tradition; e.g., al-Walīd b. al-Walīd when the Prophet advised him to go back to Mecca retorted: Shall I be returned to the Mushrikīn whereas I have come as a Muslim? A. B. H., IV, 1331, and Bukh., Shurūt., 15.
20. Bell, I, P.115, translates it as: "those who resign themselves".
21. According to Ṭabṛī, (Jāmi', Vol. III, 211 - 214), the reference is to the Christians of Najrān who argued about the godship of Christ.
22. R. Bell, I.P. 46, renders this as: "I have surrendered myself".
23. This agrees with the context and it is how Ṭabarī, Jāmi', VI, 214, interprets the word. Bell, I.P.76, renders it as "the common folk".
24. This however does not deprive the word entirely of the connotations of peace, tranquillity and feeling of security. A difficulty with this conclusion about the basic meaning of the term however may arise from XLIX 14 which reads: "The Beduoin say: We amannā, say: lam tu'minu; but say rather: aslamnā; for īmān has not yet entered your hearts." But aslamnā here can easily be rendered as: "You just have outwardly accepted the faith of monotheism thereby seeking your own safety. This may be corroborated by the Ḥadīth: "aslama al-Nāsu wa - 'amna 'Amr", (Tirmidhi, 'Manāqib', Vol. XIII, Pp. 231 - 2) which may be interpreted as: "People pretend to have accepted the monotheistic faith, but 'Amr is sincere in his claim".
25. Lisān, Vol. XIII, P.289.
26. Qur'an, XXVI, 89 (Cf XXXVII, 84)

27. Lisān, XII 293, offers on the authority of Tahdhīb an interpretation of islām as "devoting worship to Allah", which corroborates our definition.
28. It is suggested by the lexicographers, theologians and Qur'anic commentators, (e.g. Lisān, XII, 293, and Ṭabṛri, Jāmi' III, 212) that islām means: "al - inqiyād", i.e. surrendering; and the aim of Professor James Robson in his article, 'Islam as a Term' Muslim World, 1959, PP. 101 - 109, is to expound that the Qur'anic use of the term is devoted to this sense. It is also the definition given by al-Bāqillānī in his Tamhīd, Pp. 347 - 8, where he says: Islam is the inqiyād and istislām. He added, "and every ta'ah whereby the slave surrenders to his Lord is Islam; and īmān is one element of the elements of Islam, and every īmān is Islam but it is not that every Islam is īmān". Probably this is what al-Ash'arī means when he said in his Ibānah, (P. 7, of 1948 ed.): "And we maintain that Islam is wider than īmān and that it is not that every Islam is īmān".
- Al-Bāqillānī bases his definition of Islam on Ch. XLIX, 14 which reads: "The Beduoin said, We amanna; say, you did not embrace īmān, (lam tu'minū), but you may say we have embraced Islam (aslamna)". He adds: "Thus, the Qur'an denied their īmān and asserted their Islam; and it meant surrendering", (ibid, 248). But this conflicts with his earlier assertion that Islam incorporated īmān; which means that when Islām is ascribed to someone, īmān must therefore be there! In addition this interpretation is vague, and is far removed from the primary sense of the term. Moreover, the sense of 'surrendering', in spite of the skilful presentation of Professor Robson is not applicable to many ^{instances} of the term, unless we allow ourselves to read too much into the words.
29. This simple interpretation of Islam as belief in monotheism is not to be impaired by Traditions where the Prophet is quoted defining Islam as comprising the utterance of shahādah, prayers, zakāt and

fasting of Ramadān (Muslim, Imān, 5), or by those which declare that Islam is built on five, those just mentioned, and pilgrimage. The Prophet was not in fact concerned with giving logical definitions, but this tradition, if authentic, may be regarded as an attempt to define the constituents of one's belief in monotheism.

30. Bāra'ah here does not mean a state of this, which is denoted by the term islam: but it means an active declaration of disassociating oneself from.
31. The original physical meaning may perhaps be sought in the following expression in reference to a strong she-camel; quoted by Lane, V. I. Pt. I, P. 100, from M and al-Ṣiḥāḥ: (أَمِنَتْ أَنْ تَكُونَ ضَعِيفَةً (أَمِنَتْ الْعَمَارُ وَالْأَعْيَاءُ)). It is noteworthy that in a copy of Ṣiḥāḥ أَمِنَتْ reads أُمِنَتْ in the passive form. If this is so, the tri-lateral verb, First Form, may be intransitive or transitive. When it is transitive, it will be equivalent to the Fourth Form.

It is interesting to see that the sense of "to be secure" is given as one of the underlying ideas of the corresponding Jewish term, according to Dictionary of the Bible, Vol. IV, P. 827 Col.1.

32. Translation of Bell, (Vol. 1, P. 27 Verse 192b in his numeration).
33. The word amanah is normally rendered as trust; but the connotation of being a pledged or guaranteed thing is implied. Failing to realise the evidence of this connotation, Bell (Vol. II, P.419) - misjudged as quite obscure the metaphorical use in verse XXXIII, 72 which reads: "verily We have offered al-amanah to the Heavens and the Earth - etc."
34. A Grammar of the Arabic Language, I, 34.
35. The interpretation of imān simply as tasdiq or believing is the common approach of the lexicographers, the commentators of the Qur'an, and the theologians. In his Asas, P.10, Zamakhshari asserts that tasdiq is the meaning of imān and apparently implies that it is the original sense of the word. Qarūṣ, IV, P. 199, gives tasdiq as the primary meaning, while the commentary, IX, P.135, refers to it as a matter of agreement between all the linguists and others of knowledge. Qarūṣ however adds another possible meaning, i.e., "Trusting and outward submission and acceptance of shari'ah", (ibid).
Ṭabarī, Jami' I, 100 - 1, interprets imān, in connexion with yu'minūna in II, 3, as tasdiq, and attributes this to a number of authorities. He concludes by asserting that imān with the Arabs is tasdiq: therefore who so believes in something by acknowledgement of the tongue is described as mu'min bihī, and the one whose heart agrees with his tongue is also described as mu'min; and an instance of this (use) is God's saying (and you are not mu'min to us, even though we are truthful, ch. XII V.17). Ṭabarī adds khashiah, fear, as a possible interpretation, (ibid), but it does not seem suitable although it would fit the context in II, 3. Fear is not clearly

implied in the majority of the textual instances of īmān, and, moreover, it appears to be the opposite meaning of īmān. In al-Kashshaf, I, 961, Zamkhsharī, elaborating further his interpretation of īmān, ^{whereas he} defines it as tasdiq but implies that it is a metaphorical meaning derived from the idea of 'rendering someone secure or free from being held untrue. This was criticised by Tāj, IX, 135 as being inconsistent with Zamkhshari's position in Asās. where he appears to imply that tafdiq is the original meaning. Zamkhsharī further explains, (ibid, 67), that the use of the verb āmāna with the preposition bi, (by), is because the meaning of recognition or i'tirāf which is used with the same preposition is implicit in its connotation. On the other hand, Tāj, (P.135), says the same word āmāna, is used with the preposition li, (to), on account of the fact that it implies the idea of idh'ān or submission. However, the explanation of Tāj is difficult to apply to the phrase: "Wayu'minu li'l-mu'minīn" in IX, 61, since it would mean that the Prophet submits to the mu'minīn. Zamakhsharī in Kashshaf (I, 97) adds another possible meaning, i.e., trusting, which is also given by Qamūs, as mentioned above, and which is close to the meaning of tasdiq. In support of this possibility, Zamkhsharī quotes that an Arab used to say when he cancelled a journey for fear of not having company: mā'amuntu an ajida sahabatan, which means: I was not sure I would find companion. Al-Baidāwī in his Anwār, I, 12, just quotes the words of the Kashshaf without acknowledgment, or rephrases them. Al-Ash'arī also defines īmān in his Luma', clause 180, P.75, as tasdiq; and McCarthy interprets the word as (belief) (p.105). The author followed by his admirer, al-Bāqillānī, Tamhīd, P. 346, bases his definition on the authorities of the language. Al-Bāqillānī adds that they agree that this was the meaning of the term prior to the revelation of the Qur'an and the mission of the Prophet.

This is apparently presumptuous, and the definition does not take into account, as ours does, the semantic consideration and the importance of the contexts where the word and its derivatives occur. Both authors quote Ch. XII. 17 in support of the interpretation of tasdiq, implying, as Ṭabarī and other commentators did, that Joseph's brothers meant by saying to their father after the loss of Joseph, you are not believing us even though we are truthful. In my view, this is a mistaken interpretation, because it implies that the brothers anticipated that their father was not to believe their story, but why then did they smear Joseph's garment with false blood as evidence of their truth, which is described in the following verse, if they dispaired of their father's believing them. Moreover, the sentence would be of no avail. It seems to me that the brothers were referring to their early argument with their father when they tried hard to persuade him to let Yūsuf accompany them and he hesitated to trust him to them; and the meaning of mu'min lana in this case would be you were not willing to trust him to us.

36. Kashshaf. III, 216.
37. In this discussion, the relative pronoun complemented by the verb is counted with the part. act. defined by the definite article, because it conveys equivalent idea.
38. The idea of quitting is supported by the phraseology of the following verses: (1) "That, (their punishment), is because when Allah alone was called upon, kafartum, you withdrew; but if the partners were ascribed to Him tu'minū, you took part". XL, 12. Interpreting kafartum in the sense of disbelieving and tu'minū in the sense of believing would not suit the context. (2) "For when it was said to them: There is no god but Allah", they used to react in a manner of conceitedness; (or to adopt a proud attitude), and say: Shall we abandon our

our gods on account of a crazy poet!" XXXVII, 35 - 36. The interpretation of kafartum and tu'minū given in the first instance is the obvious rendering rather than that of disbelieving and believing; and this, together with the style of the second instance, show that the important implication in the terms is the idea of associating or disassociating.

39. Baidāwī, Anwār, I. 12.
- * 40. XXVI, 89 and XXXVII, 84 where it is praised to come to God ^{with} a "qalbin salīm"
41. L, 33 where it is praised to come to the Merciful with a "qalbin munīb"
- * 40. It may be significant that this verse does not put kufr as an immediate result of the coming of the signs, but apparently as a result of the rejection of the signs and the adoption of an attitude of self-conceitedness.
43. This is even reflected in a Tradition related by Ibn Ḥanbal in his Musnad, iii, 134 sq., and is rendered by Wensinck, Muslim Creed, P.23, as follows: "Islam is external, faith belongs to the heart".
44. This verse may appear to be against the simple interpretation of īmān as, taṣḍīq or believing, since Abraham's belief at the time was unquestionable. Moreover, to render the statement as: Have you not believed; and Abraham replies: Yes, I have believed but I wish to free my heart from doubt or instability, will be inconsistent. It would ^{amount} ~~amount~~ to: I have believed but wish to believe. It seems that Abraham intended to allude to some of those who earned the title of mu'min on account of fulfilling the outward elements of the concept.
45. It is noteworthy that the preposition bi is earlier than the use of the preposition li. The earliest of the latter are: XLIV, 21 and XXVI, 111 which belong to the 2nd Meccan period,

whereas the use of the former occurs in verses which are normally believed to belong to the 1st Meccan period; namely, LXXVII, 50, which reads: (fa bi-ayyi ḥadīthin ba'dahū yu'minūn), LXIX, 33, which reads: (innahū kāna lā yu'minu bi'llāhi'l - 'A'zīm), and LXXXV 8 which reads: (wamā naqamū minhum illā an yu'minū bi'llāhi'l 'azīzi'l-Hamīd). The verb, without a preposition however frequently occurs during the early revelations: e.g. LXXXIX 20 & 25, LII 33 and XC 17. Whereas the Fourth Form, amana which reaches its object by means of the preposition bi (by), appears to be the passive or the reflexive meaning or the mutāwi' of the transitive of the same form, the intransitive Fourth Form which reaches its object by means of the proposition li, to, appears to be the passive meaning or mutāwi' of the 10th Form, ista'mana, i.e., sought to be trusted. In this case, it means, 'to give trust to', hence the proposition li. (to). It is noteworthy that in all the Qur'anic occurrences of the fourth Form, reaching the object by means of li, the object governed by the preposition is someone apart from God. It is Joseph's brother in XII, 17, Abraham in XXIX 26, Moses in X 83, II, 55; VII, 195; XX 71, XXVI 49 and XXXIV 21; the Mu'minūn in IX, 61, co-religionists in III, 73, a Messenger in III 183; those who declined to join in battle but in a negative sense, in IX 94; Muhammad in XVII, 90 - 93; Moses and Haaron in XXIII, 47; Noah in XXVI, III; and Muhammad's party in II, 75.

46. Cf. III 91

47. Cf. XLVII, 28, 32 and 33

48. Cf. IX, 124, XVI, 97; XVII, 19; XX, 112, XXI, 94.

49. Cf. V, 45 and 47

50. It will be interesting to read this verse in the back-ground of the preceding two verses which may be rendered as follows: "Those

who have embraced īmān and emigrated and striven with their wealth and person in the cause of Allah, and those who have offered shelter and help, are friends one to the other (i.e. probably, with mutual obligations regarding the duty of blood revenge, Cf. Constitution of Madīna); but towards those who have embraced īmān and have not emigrated, you have no duties of relationship whatever until they emigrate, (i.e. probably, there is no claim for them on you regarding blood duties for indemnity they may have to make); if however they seek your help in matters of religion, it is incumbent on you to help them, unless it be against a people with whom you have a compact; Allah of what you do is observant. And those of Kufr are friends one to the other."

These verses strengthen our conviction of the importance in the concept of īmān of the element of the idea of belonging to a party united round a religious nucleus providing shelter and protection. Thus who have declared their loyalty to the party but failed to emigrate and be with their fellows in the association forfeited their right to the claim of help in secular - though they preserve their religious - rights. It is also relevant to observe the phraseology of an early Tradition related by Abū Dāwūd, Vol. I, P. 126, which can be rendered as follows: "The Prophet sent an expedition to Khath'am but some (Muslim) people (amongst the enemy) sought refuge in prostrating, (thereby showing their faith), but they were killed unrelently. This reached the ears of the Prophet and he ordered half the blood-wit for them and said: (I disassociate myself from every Muslim who lives among the Mushriks)".

51. Cf. II, 271; VIII, 29; XLVIII, 5.

52. Cf. XL, 55; XLVIII, 2: XXXIII, 70 - 71; LXI 11 - 12

53. The promise of good reward without mention of good acts in IX, 72 which reads: "Allah has promised all mu'minīn and al Mu'mināt Gardens under which the rivers flow", is apparently because the reference here is to a defined group who do good work, i.e., Muhammad and his Companions, who are contrasted in the context to the Hypocrites mentioned and spoken of in the previous passage.
54. E.g., in XXXVI, 25 only īmān in God is mentioned; in v.12 only īmān in Messengers is given; in V, 69 īmān in God and the Last Day is mentioned; in IV, 136 īmān in God, His Apostle and His Books are mentioned; and in II, 285 īmān in God, His Angels, His Books and His Messengers are given. The five articles are mentioned only in II, 177.
55. The five articles of kufr are enumerated only in IV, 136; but one article only or a combination of two or more below five can be found.
56. ^{supra,} ~~infra,~~ p.301.
57. M.C., p. 131.
58. Ibid, p. 37.
59. Muslim, 'īmān', vol. II, pp. 93-4.
60. Ibid, p.p. 41 - 42.
61. Maq., I, 157. Al-Baghdādī, however, (Farq, 55-6), relates that according to al-Ka'bi all the Khawārij, including the Majādah, are unanimous on the thesis that every grave sin is kufr, Al-Baghdādī supports al-Ash'ari's version and interprets kufr as used by the Najādah in the sense of ingratitude. We feel, however, that Baghdādī's argument is unconvincing. It assumes a relatively high degree of speculation. Moreover, ingratitude still implies the idea of denial and revolt.
62. Muslim Creed, p. 47.
63. Ibid, 40.
64. Ibid.
65. M.C., p. 38.
66. Maq., pp. 197-207. Cf. Baghdādī, Farq. pp. 21-2.

67. M.C., 132.
68. ^{supra} infra, p. 328.
69. M.C., p.38.
70. Baghdādī, Farq, p.24.
71. Luma', clause 180, p.75.
72. Tamhīd, clause 583, p.348.
73. Usūl, 248.
74. M.C., p.125.
75. Tamhīd, clause 584, p.249.
76. Ibid, clause 585 on pp. 349 - 350.
77. Elder, Commentary on the Creed of Islam, p. 114.
78. Third Chapter of Appendix H, infra.

CHAPTER V

- (1) In 99 passages out of 113 in which the term or its derivatives occur, it denotes this idea of divine sanction.
- (2) Qāmūs, e.g., -vol. I, p. 43 - says, "waththawābu al-'asalu wa al-naḥlu wa al-jazā'u".
- (3) Altogether 9 instances in 6 verses.
- (4) Qāmūs, I, 376, defines it: al-ajru al-jazā'u āla al-'amal.
- (5) The term denotes this idea of divine reward in 78 instances out of 108 Qur'anic occurrences.
- (6) It is clear that not all souls are to be punished, or to be given good rewards.
- (7) This is the definition given by Qāmūs, vol. IV, p. 212.
- (8) See Ibn Hazm, Fisal, IV, 81-3; Ash'arī, Maq, II, 149.
- (9) In this sense the term is used in 119 instances; other occurrences which convey other meanings are 28 altogether.
- (10) Qāmūs says: (al-na'īmu) wanḥu'mā al-khafdu wa al-da'atu, (IV, 183)
- (11) There are 17 Qur'anic instances of na'īm; in one it denotes wealth, and the rest allude to Jannah or to its pleasures. It is annexed to it in 12 cases.
- (12) Qāmūs, I, 110, defines it: 'wa al-'uqbā jazā'u al-amri".
- (13) R. Bell interprets the word in XCI 15 as 'consequence' which ~~is~~ appears to be a plausible interpretation in all instances; but elsewhere he renders it as 'reversion'. He is apparently reverting to the root meaning of the word.
- (14) According to Qāmūs, I, 110, "al-'aqibu wa al-'āqibatu al-waladu wa ākhiru kulli shā' ".
- (15) Of the 32 occurrences of the term 'āqibah, 23 allude to the end of early nations. With the exception of 4 instances, the verses in which it is used appear to be Madīnan.
- (16) Lane, Lexicon, Bk. I, pt. v, p. 2099, states, "You say: عاقبه بنه... inf. n. عاقب and معاقبه... He punished him for his crime, sin, fault, or offence"
- (17) Tāj, XV, 370.
- (18) 'Āmir b. al-Tufail is related to have said:
 نقول ابنة العمري مالك بعدما ابراك صبيحا كاسلبيو المعذب
 (from Zahr al-Ādāb, I, 85). And Umru'ul-Qais says:
 خيلق مزاى على ام جنذب نقض لبيانات الفواد المعذب
 (Six Ancient Poets, 116, 1, 1). The word salīm in the first line means, bitten by a viper; and mu'adhhab pass. part. in both lines means 'tormented', in one physically, and in the other mentally.
- (19) Misbāh, II, 22, (under عذب.)

- (21) Tahdhīb al-Asmā' The term 'adhab and its kin-derivatives in their Qur'anic usage denote punishment in the Hereafter in 257 instances out of 358 occurrences. They allude to the punishment which visited early nations in another 89 cases.
- (22) Tahdhīb al-Asmā', I, 59.
- (23) Al-Rāghib al-Asfahānī, Mufradāt, VII, p. 101.
- (24) Tāj, VII, 235.
- (25) Dictionary of the Bible, II, 119-120, art. 'Gehenna'. According to the author the word suffered some changes from its original topographical meaning through its evil associations. One of its uses in the OT denotes a 'place of punishment for rebellious or apostate Jews in the presence of the righteous; but in the NT it has become to mean 'the final place of punishment into which the wicked are cast after the last judgment.'
- (26) Qāmūs, IV, 88.
- (28) In this meaning the term occurs 94 times out of 149 occurrences. The first meaning given above occurs in 24 passages, and the second in 34 passages.
- (29) Such as the word laḡā in LXX 15. Qāmūs, IV, 388, says that laḡā is another name for Jahannam. Ibn Sīdah in Mukhassas, II, 38, adds on the authority of the author of al-'ain: al-hāwīyah and umm al-hāwīyah.
- (30) Besides the Qur'anic passages in which the above words and terms are employed in the sense of context of reward or punishment as a consequence for human acts, there are many others where rewards are promised or punishment is warned, such as the words raḡmah, maghfirah, khusrān, khizy, shaqāwah and sa'ādah, which mean: mercy, forgiveness, loss, shame, unhappiness and happiness respectively. It is felt, however, that the ten words discussed above, and the analysis of their Qur'anic usage, are sufficient for the purpose of the present discussion.
- (31) Qāmūs, IV, 32. Tāj, VIII, 64, attributes to Ṣāghānī that the term means the production of anything, احداث كل شیء, and is more general than the terms 'amal and 'ṣun'.
- (32) Qāmūs, IV, 54- 32.
- (33) The term refers to human acts in 156 instances of a total of about 180 occurrences.
- (34) Qāmūs, III, 54.
- (35) The term 'ṣun' appears to have a connotation of efforts and deliberate and direct handling of the work. It seems therefore that its application to God is metaphorical. However, out of 24 passages in which the term is used, it refers to human acts in 16 of them.
- (36) Qāmūs says that kasaba, takassaba and iktasaba mean 'talaba al-rizqa, or kasaba asāba and iktasaba taṣarrafā wa ijtahada. (I, 128)

- (37) F. J. MacCarthy, Theology of al-Ash'arī, p. 53, ft. 2, suggests that the use of the term in this sense is a borrowing from the vocabulary of commerce.
- (38) Over 65 passages.
- (39) Qāmūs, IV, 22, defines it as, 'al-mihnah wa al-'amal' Tāj, VII, 34, relates on the authority of Rāghib that the term means deliberate animal movement; and on the authority of some others that the term implies some kind of hardship in producing the act and is therefore inapplicable to God. If this is so, the application of the word in the sense quoted here, namely, XXXVI, 71, is metaphorical.
- (40) The number reaches the figure 359.
- (41) E.g., II, 62; III, 30, XXXIX, 70 & XXIX, 55.
- (42) Tabarī, Jāmi', XXIII, 75, offers both possibilities.
- (43) Luma', clause 82, p. 37. Al-Ash'arī apparently takes it to mean: and Allah has created you and your deeds. McCarthy's rendering of this on p. 53 as: and what you make, disagrees with al-Ash'arī's intention. Al-Ash'arī is at pains to prove that ma in XXXVII 96 is not a relative pronoun but a masdariyyah. He appears to believe that if ma is so interpreted, the Qur'anic statement would be categorical in declaring that man's work is God's creation. He therefore argues that ma in XCVI 14, which is a similar phrase, is masdariyyah referring to man's activities and his movements and cannot be regarded a relative pronoun since it does not refer to what is done; and by analogy, ma in XXXVII 96 cannot be a relative pronoun.
- (44) ibid. Al-Bāqillānī, Tamhīd, pp. 303-66, produces the same argument in a slightly different style, adding further Qur'anic texts which speak of the divine creation. It is interesting to note that while the master heads his argument with the title: 'al-Kalāmu fi al-Qadar', his disciple adopts the title: 'al-Kalāmu fi Khalq al-Af'āl'.
- (45) This paragraph of al-Ash'arī may be summarised as follows; 'Carving is the act of the Meccans, and therefore ma in XXXVII 95 is a relative pronoun referring to the idols or the material, whereas the Meccans cannot make the idols or their material and therefore ma in the following verse cannot be a relative pronoun referring to the idols or their material.' It has to be admitted however that al-Ash'arī's style is sometimes unyielding!
- (46) Jāmi', XXIII, 75.
- (47) B. in ²²⁵265, and d. in ³¹⁰329 AH.
- (48) D. B. Macdonald, Development of Muslim Theology, pp. 188sq.
- (49) Tafsīr, IV, 13.
- (50) Anwār, II, 198-9.
- (51) The rendering of the words of al-Baidāwī here is simplified.
- (52) W. Wright, A Grammar of the Arabic Language, II, 323.
- (53) Sayūṭī, Itqān, II, 36.

- (54) Al-Baidāwī very frequently resorts to metaphorical interpretation. E.g., he interprets the word yamīn in XXXVII 28 in the sense of 'the strong argument', 'the right religion', 'righteousness, all of which, as he acknowledges, are metaphorical. (Anwār, II, 195)
- (55) Kash., II, 505-6. Zamakh. elaborates further substantiating his interpretation, but the above is the substance of his argument.
- (56) Tafsīr, VII, 367.
- (57) Mafāṭih, XXVI, 149-150.
- (58) Zamakh. seems to feel that a statement that God has created man and his deeds would ~~amount to~~ ^{not suit the} context which is here the repudiation of the attitude of the Meccans. However, that God has created the carving and the acts which give the material the shape which makes them of value to the idolators is not foreign to the context.
- (59) Lane, Lexicon, II, 800, defines khalq as attributed to God as 'the originating, or bringing into existence, anything, not after the similitude of anything pre-existing; or bringing into existence from a state of non-existence.
- (60) Of the 252 occurrences of the derivatives of khalq in the Qur'ān none is attributed to any but to God, except in XXIX 17 where it reads: 'wa takhluqūna ifkan'. It is clear that its use here is metaphorical emphasising the falsehood of the adversaries' claim. Baidāwī, Anwār, II, 138, rightly interprets it here as 'takdhībūna'.
- (61) Ft. 39 above.
- (62) Qāmūs defines irādah as mashī'ah. (vol. I, p. 306) This term and its derivatives occur in 82 passages.
- (63) All these instances appear to be early Meccan revelations.
- (64) All these passages are produced below in one numerical series for simplicity, as they are traditionally interpreted. When more than one verse are of the same effect, only one is produced but references of the others may be given in fts.
- (65) These two terms are considered together because they frequently occur together, and for the sake of convenience.

66. idlāl in the sense of seduction and leading astray is also ascribed to Satan in XXXVI 62, to Pharaoh in XX 79, to al-Sāmīrī in XX 85, to evil masters in XXXIII 67, to the idols in XIV 36, and to evil desire in XXXVIII 26.
67. Apart from the verses given where guiding aright is ascribed to God there are some other ~~si~~³⁵ similar verses.
68. Tabarī, I, 181, interprets idlāl here on the authority of Ibn Mas'ūd and others in the sense of 'increasing the erring by adding disbelief'. Nasr al-Dīn Ahmad b. Muhammad, the author of the Commentary on al-Kashshāf, I, 206, wages a violent attack on Zamakh. for interpreting the ascription of idlāl to God here in the sense of ascribing an act to One Who was merely the cause of its existence.
69. Ref. also to XCII 7.
70. Cf. XXVII 50, V 51, 108, VI 144, IX 19, 24, 80 & 109.
71. V 67, IX 37, & XVI 107.
72. Baidāwī, I, 466, interprets tahdū here in the sense of 'to make guided', and Tabarī, V, 196, interprets adalla Allāhu in the sense of khidhlān.
73. Cf. XLII 46.
74. Cf. XIII 33 & 36, XL 33.
75. Cf. VII 30. Baidāwī's interpretation of this amounts to: and from amongst them there is a party which to lead astray is right because of God's decree, (Anwār, I, 386.
76. Cf. XLII 44.
77. Baidāwī, II, 148, interprets faman yahdī here as: Who can guide him whom God has misguided?
78. Tabarī, II, 150, interprets 'alā 'ilmin as 'in His preceding Knowledge'; and Baidāwī as: 'Knowledge of straying and the corruption of the substance of the soul. (Anwār, II, 275)
79. Ibn Hazm, Fiṣal, III, 152, offers on behalf of the Sunnis two different meanings for arāda and shā'a; one is approval or acceptance, and the other is to determine the coming into being. He puts the second meaning in these words: 'arāda wa shā'a, arāda kawnahū wa shā'a wujūdah'. The first meaning could not be traced in al-Ash'ari's or in the Bāqillāni's works.

80. Tabarī, II, 5-6, explains 'yahdī man yashā'u' as: 'He guides whom He wishes from amongst His creatures to the straight path...as God has guided Muslims aright by establishing the qiblah for them, and led astray the Jews, the Hypocrites and the pagans.
81. Baidāwī, I, 130, explains 'mākānū li-yu'minū' as: ...they will never have believed because God decreed disbelief for them. To emphasise this he considers illa as istithnā' munqati'.
82. In VI 112.
83. In VI 137.
84. Baidāwī, II, 182, explains 'inna Allāha yusmi'u man yashā'u' as: ...whom ever He wills to guide by grasping His indications and hearkening to His preaching.
85. Satan's influence and the Jinn's work are also stated to be accomplished with God's permission, in LVIII 10 and XXXIV 12.
86. R. Bell, I, 29, v. 209 in his numbering, puts a comma between the words 'differed' and 'by', apparently connecting the preposition with the word guided; but the long separation may suggest that the preposition is more likely connected with the nearer verb, differed.
87. This root meaning seems to be implied in all the usages attached to its derivatives. It can be easily traced in qudrah when it means power or ability, since they are up to a measure; and predestining is pre-determining things according to a measure.
88. Sihāh, II, 786, & Tāj, II, 481. Both quoted on the authority of al-Akh-fash, the following line attributed to Hudbah b. al-Ashram:
 الإياقومي للنواب والقدر وللأمر يأمر المرء من حيث لا يدرك
89. Tabarī and Baidāwī interpret qadar here in the sense of 'a decree'.
90. R. Bell, II, 650, interprets this verse as: 'Who assigned power and guided'. He indeed interprets the term qadar always in the sense of measure, power or a limit. But, for the sake of argument, passages the term qadar is rendered here at this stage as 'decree', the traditional interpretation.
90. Al-Bāqillāni; s-in Tamhīd, 305, clause 520, thus interprets this verse: 'and al-taqdīr from Him is the creation of everything in accordance with a measure and with His intention and determination'.

92. Sihāh in discussing the word قضا claims that the hamzah at the end is converted from an original yā'.
93. From these are the ideas, to decide, to kill, i.e., to finish a life, to die, hence, qadā nahbahū, and to do or to make according to a plan, (Tāj, X, 296, and Sihāh, VI, 2463-4) The latter relates to ^{this} the employment of this term in the sense of decree.
94. Ibid.
95. The interpretation of wa qadainā here as, decreed in eternity, is one of the interpretations offered by Tabarī, XV, 21.
96. Lane speaks of ṭaba'a as follows: طَبَعَ, aor., inf.n. طَبَع, He sealed, stamped, imprinted, or impressed; synonym حَتَمَ, (lexicon, V, 1823).
97. Tāj, VIII, 266, relates on the authority of al-Zajjāj that the primary meaning of khatama and ṭab' is to cover a thing and secure against a thing entering it.
98. To this idea is probably related the phrase, ghushiya 'alaihi, since consciousness in this case is absent as if it is covered.
99. akanna, 4th Form of this root is used in II 235 in the sense of concealing. The verse reads:
- وَلَا جَاحَ عَلَيْكُمْ فِيمَا عَرَضْتُمْ بِهِ مِنْ خِطْبَةِ النَّسَاءِ أَوْ أَكْتُمْتُمْ أَنْفُسَكُمْ
100. Sihāh, II, 848.
101. II, 7. Cf. XL, 23. Tabarī, I, 112-3, interprets khatama here in a physical sense. He quotes and argues against the interpretation of the word as an allusion to the conceitedness of the unbelievers and their obstinacy in rejecting the faith. He says: "Are the pride and rejection of the unbelievers their own work or the work of God? It cannot be theirs, because the sealing is ascribed to God".
102. Reference here is apparently to the Meccans. R. Bell, II, 435, renders this verse as follows: So they do not clearly see. The adverb 'clearly' does not appear to be necessary.
103. To these verses may be added XXXVII 96 according to al-Ash'ari's interpretation discussed above, and XXXIV 18 according to the interpretation of al-Bāqillānī explained in ft. 90 above.
104. Al-Bāqillānī comments on this verse as follows: "If bondmen (of Allāh) create their speech, their movements and stillness, their wishes and their knowledge, all of which resemble the types of the creation of Allah, ... then there would be creation like His

creation and making like His making;and then for His creatures His and their creation would be confused" Tamhīd,306,clause 523.

105. Bāqillānī,ibid,205-6,cl.522,~~develops~~ compares this statement with verse XXVIII 72 which reads:Is there any @god besides Allah to bring for you a night in which you rest". He apparently means that since the style of both texts is similar,and there is a denial of the existence of any God but Allah,here it should be a denial of the existence of any creator besides Allah.

106. Al-Bāqillānī,ibid,cl.521,develops this verse as follows:"God says How do I not know what you conceal of your saying while it is I Who created it?" He proceeds further and denies the possibility that the assumedaccusative pronoun of created,refers to the word sudūr,breasts, mentioned in the preceding verse,stating;"because the creation of a container does not necessarily imply knowledge of its contents."

107. Cf.Tabarī,Jāmi',IX,203-5.

108. Ibid.

109. Passages quoted above,Nos. 76-80.

110. do do do do 53-60.

111. do do do do 1-19.

112. do do do do 20-45.

112. do do do do 61-75.

114. do do do do 46-47.

115. do do do do 48-52.

116. There is no trace of such a reaction in the Qur'an. Muslim,however,relates on the authority of Abū Hurairah who did not join the Prophet till the time of Khaibar,that a party of Quraish came to argue with the Prophet over the questin of qadar,and verse LIV 77 which reads: We have indeed created everything with qadar,was revealed,(Muslim XVI,205). Anyway,a dispute over the meaning of qadar is not an accusation of inconsistency.

117. This chapter is second in Noldeké's chronological order,and fourth in the traditional order. Vv. 31,37,55 and 56 may seem to the superficial observer as lacking consistency;and this may disagree with D.B.Macdonald's claim in his art. qadar in E.I.,that the Qur'an tended towards the end,be fatalistic. This tendency,if at all real,began early.

118. Tabarī,Jāmi',XVII,96-7.

119. A. Guillaume, The Life of Muhammad, 163.
120. Al-Zarkashī, Burhān, II, 156.
121. In this connexion, al-Zarkashī, ibid, 200, rightly emphasises the importance of the context in determining the meaning of a text and removing any ambiguity about it. He stresses his point by quoting how the context of Q. XLIV 49 which reads: Taste, you are al-'azīz and al-karīm, help us in understanding the meaning of these two words here as 'vile' and 'despised', although they normally denote 'powerful' and 'noble'. It is pertinent to quote also here I.A. Richards where he says in his The Philosophy of Rhetoric, Oxford press, 1950, p.4: " I do once for all desire whoever shall think it worth his while to understand that he would not stick in this or that phrase, or manner of expression, but candidly collect my meaning from the whole sum of my and tenor of my discourse, and laying aside the words as much as possible, consider the notions themselves."
122. Rendered under Nos. 5 & 6 above.
123. Tabarī, Jāmi', V, 192-6.
124. This interpretation may appear to be near that of the Mu'tazilah, in which they render the words ahdā and adalla in the sense of naming or describing someone as guided or misguided. (Samarqandī's Tafsīr where he deals with v. II 26, and Ibn Qutaibah, Mushkil al-Qur'ān, 92-4). The latter refutes this interpretation on the grounds that the Arabs do not use the 4th Form in the sense of attributing something to someone, but the 2nd Form. According to him, the 4th Form means, to find someone involved in a condition or in a special description. E.g., when you say akdhabtuhū, it means you have found him a liar, not that you ascribe to him the vice of telling lies.. However, Ibn Qutaibah's contention appears to be arbitrary; and his argument is not in any way against our own interpretation.
125. Samarqandī, Tafsīr, in discussing II, 26, says that the basic meaning of dalāl is halāk, i. e., destruction. He goes on: 'It is said of water dalla in milk when it is dissolved in it & But Tāj in discussing the word gives the same illustration to show that the word means 'disappearance'. Both meanings however are

akin to the idea of loss, or causing to lose or rendering some efforts in vain.

126. Ta'wīl Mushkil al-Qur'ān, pp.92-98.

127. He quotes the following, attributing it to a Bédouin:

كل شيء حتى أخيك متاع وبقدرة تفرق واجتماع

128. And quotes the following attributing it to Marrār b. Sa'id:

ومن سابق الأقدار اذ دأبت به ومن نائل شيئاً اذ لم يقدر!

129. And attributes the following to Jāmīl:

أقدار امرأته ادرى اناله وما يقدر الانسان فانه قادر

130. And relates the following to Qass:

قد كنت اعدت في السفاهة اهلها فاعجت لما نأني به الأيام!
فاليوم اعدتهم واعلم انما سئل الغواية والهدى اقسام

131. And the following to al-A'shā:

في فنية كسبوا الهدى فعدلوا ان ليس يدفع عن ذي الحيلة الخيل

132. Ta'wīl, p.98.

133. ~~Ibid, 94-5~~ A disciple of al-Hasan al-Basri, d.117. Sv. Ibn Hajar, ~~134~~ Safwat al-Safwah, III, 183.

134. Ta'wīl, 94-5.

135. Ibn Qutaibah, Ma'ārif, 301; Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, III, 248; al-Dhabī, Tadhīrah, I, 110. The last claims that Qatādah held that everything was by decree except sins. Yāqūt, Mu'jam al-Udabā', XVII, 9, says that Qatādah repented from the Qadarite doctrine. A similar claim of repentance is ascribed to his master, al-Hasan by Ibn Qutaibah, Ma'ārif, 225. It may be that these claims aimed at exonerating such venerating authorities, as shall be discussed later.

136. It is interesting to note that the Sanscrit word kāla, lit., time, denotes fate as held in Hindism, according to E.R.E, V, 990.

137. M.W.WATT, Free Will, p.30, ft.15.

138. Art. 'Ancient Arab', in E.R.E.

139. Ibid, I, 661.

140. Ta'rīkh al'Arab qabla al-Islām, Baghdād, 1956, V, 413.

141. Ibid, 418. It is surprising that Dr. Jawād 'Alī, ibid, 416, should after all claim that the views of Labīd, the poet, on predestination were influenced by Islam!

142. Ibid, 418 & 428. Tabarī, Jami', XXV, 152-3, also relates traditions

which speak of God as al-Dahr.

143. Contrary to R. Bell's claim, II, 131, that this verse is early Madīnan, we believe it to be Meccan on textual and contextual grounds. The use of the word ashrakū, the mention of the adversaries' fathers, the absence of arguing on Scriptural grounds by the opponents, and the mention that the adversaries assign certain categories of cattle to Allah and others to the idles indicate that the text was Meccan.
144. Here again, R. Bell, I, 252, ft. 1, says that this was probably a reference to Jewish food restrictions, implying that the verse was Madīnan; but we oppose this on grounds similar to those ^{just} given.
145. Tamhīd, ~~283~~ 284, cl. 483. R. Bell, I, 131, seems to have fallen in the same error, and believes that the words were meant for mocking argument. This view however does not seem to be held by al-Tabarī.

Some Remarks on

146. J. R. A. S., 1924, p. 43, art. 'Free Will and Predestination in Islam'.
147. One would wonder how this Qur'anic retort fit in with the statement of Professor Guillaume. If the claimed difficulty of self-contradictory revelations and the intellectual problem were not apparent to Muhammad, as claimed, how could such a flagrant inconsistency have escaped the wits of his critics! It is our conviction that an interpretation of the Qur'ān, free from the influence of mistaken doctrines and pre-conceived ideas which takes into account, as it should, all contextual and circumstantial considerations will not only assert the freedom of the Qur'ān from any conflict, but also reveal the strength, vividity and effectiveness of the Qur'ānic style.
148. We thereby mean the employment of a word or an expression in a meaning different ^{from} but related to the original, when the context allows it.
149. Ibn Qutaibah, Ta'wīl, 99; Zarkashī, Burhān, II, 255; & Sayūṭī, Itqān, II, 36.
150. Ibid.
151. I'jāz al-Qur'ān, 402-6; al-Jāhiz, Hayāt al-Hayawān, V, 25-32; Ibn Qutaibah, Ta'wīl, 15-6. It is interesting to quote the following
152. A similar attitude was adopted by the Jews, II, 28 & IV, 155.

words from a modern author: 'Metaphors are not merely artificial devices for making discourse more vivid and poetical, but are also necessary for the appreciation and communication of new ideas'. (Morris R. Cohen, A preface to Logic, 96) He adds: 'The fact that metaphors express the primal perception of things with something of its undifferentiated atmosphere gives these metaphors an emotional power which more elaborate and accurate statements do not have. This is perhaps best seen in the profoundly simple metaphors of the New Testament.' Pp. 98-9. We may add here, 'and the metaphors of the Qur'ān'.

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153. Such a rhetorical expression appears to be of frequent use with the Arabs, as has just been indicated by the Sharīf al-Radī. In this connection Tabarī, Jāmi', I, 114, relates the following line where the author, al-Hārith b. Khālīd b. al-'ās uses the word

غشاوة
تبعثك اذعيني عليها غشاوة
فما لجلت قطعت نفسي الوحيا

Here the poet laments that he was deceived in his friend and followed him ~~blindly~~ in his metaphorical blindness. Continuing the metaphor, he says: When the cover was removed from his eye, he was cut into pieces, blaming himself!

154. Tabarī, Jāmi', I, 112-3, apparently assumes that this ascription to God is real, and therefore rejects a metaphorical interpretation of sealing to the effect that the text means to criticize the unbelievers for their pride and conceitedness, on the grounds that God is the subject of the verb. He sticks to the following interpretation which he attributes to Mujāhid and Abū Hurairah: 'Repeated sins cause a black layer on the heart, and then God seals on this layer so that there can be no way for belief to enter the heart or a way for deliverance from disbelief! In this literal interpretation, he is followed by the traditionalist Qur'anic interpreters; e.g., Baidāwī, Anwār, I, 15-6. Al-Zamakh., Kash., I, 121-2, struggles to show that the ascription is not real; and his best attempt is to the effect that this ascription to God is only to indicate that the sense conveyed is as firm as if it was thus created by God.

155. Tafsīr, 7, where he says: ⁸The meaning of khatm is not that He takes away their hearts, but they do not think and reflect on the signs of the prophethood in order that they might believe.
156. Tafsīr, p. 45. The words attributed to Qatādah may be rendered as follows: 'Satan has prevailed on them because they have followed him; therefore God has sealed on their hearts and on their hearing. And on their eyes there is a cover. Therefore they cannot see the guidance and do not hear and do not reflect.'
157. Ibid.
158. Anwār, I, 15.
159. C.a. 373 A.H. (983 A.D.), Brockelmann, GAL, vol. 1, p. 210.
160. As he does in explaining the phrase: ⁹وعَلَىٰ أَيْضًا مِنْ غَشَاوَةٍ
as rendered above, footnote 60, p. 44.
161. Morris R. Cohen, A Preface to Logic, New York, 1958, p. 9.
Having failed to recognise this fact, the Qur'anic interpreters, seeing that some of those who opposed Muhammad at the time, became believers later, such as happened on the day of the Conquest of Mecca, and having failed to realise the metaphorical satiric style of the Qur'ān here, tried to reconcile these statements by claiming that the reference here is restricted to those who died as unbelievers such as those who died on the Day of Badr, (Ṭabarī, Jāmi', vol. 1, p. 115). They even inferred that God may command man to do things beyond man's power (Ibid., p. 113, and Baidawi, Anwār, vol. 1, p. 115.)
162. Ibid. Baidawi's (Ibid., 129) words are: ¹⁰تعليل للكلمة السابق
He thereby justifies the absence of a conjunction between the two statements. Accordingly, the relation between them, in the rhetorical terminology is: ¹¹شبه كالالاتصال
i.e., they are nearly identical, (Sakākī, Miftāḥ, p. 121) In our view, the meaning according to this interpretation is inadmissible since it would give an obvious excuse to sinners for their failures if the Qur'an asserts that their failures were due to God's own acts of sealing the hearts, etc. The second sentence, as far as we see, stands not as a reason to the previous one, but as an emphasis. The relationship between them, therefore should be: ¹²كالالاتصال i.e., complete identification.

163. Talkhīs, p.114.
164. Ibid., p.272.
165. Ibid., p.113.
166. Tafsir al-Qur'ān, p.7. He claims that in the case of the believers, God has declared in Sura, 2, verse 5, that He has rewarded them by guiding them aright in this world, and by making them successful in the Next, and here, 2/7, He declares that He has punished the unbelievers by sealing their hearts, etc. in this world, and will punish them in the Next by a painful chastisement which reaches the hearts.
167. T. Noldeké has the following to say: "Muhammad's idea of God is essentially that of the Old Testament, only he gives greater prominence to the divine holiness". Cf. Sketches from Eastern History (trans. J.S. Black, 1892), p.62. Noldeké, of the Qur'an, says, "... teaches a rather crass determinism. According to the Qur'an, God is the author of everything, including the dispositions of men; He guides whom He wills, and leads into error whom He wills." Cf: Ibid p.90. De Boer describes Allah in the following words: "In His vengeance He is arbitrary; in His love and mercy capricious." Cf. Art. Ethics and Morality, (Muslim), Ency. of Religion and Ethics, vol.5, p.504, col.2. A.J. Wensinck, Muslim Creed, p.49, says, "As the Israelites at Mount Sinai entered upon the service of a deity who was a powerful personality as compared with the bounteous but impersonal el's who had appeared to the patriarchs, so the people of Arabia were led by Muhammad into the presence of a terrible personality, superhuman, yet with human qualities—the God of Past, Present and Future, side by side with whom none of the faint-hearted and powerless gods of Arabia could any longer exist." A.S. Martin says: "Muhammadanism teaches absolute pre-destination, to both good and evil, happiness and misery. God is conceived of as absolute will, operating by rigid law, moulding the material by whose instrumentality it works, after the manner of Oriental despotism." Cf. Art. Predestination, Ency. of Religion and Ethics, vol.10, p.213, col.2.

168. As is known, the problem of God's Attributes was hotly debated, especially between the Mu'tazilites and the Sunnites; and the concept of the divine irādah was of a special interest since it impinges on the question of the human acts أفعال العباد. The Mu'tazilites on the whole denied the concept of irādah as 'pre-determinism' and maintained that human acts are not subject to a divine decree. Cf. al-Ash'ari, Maqālāt, vol.1, pp.244-5, and his Luma', pp.24-31; Bāqillānī, Tamhīd, pp.281-5; 'Abd al-Qāhir, Farq, pp.166-7; Shahrastānī, Nihāyat al-Iqdam, pp.245-251; and Ghazālī, Iqtisād, pp.34-46.
169. Zamakhsharī, Kashshāf, vol.1, p.290.
170. Ghazālī, Iqtisād, p.43.
171. Abū Hanīfah holds that the term irādah implies a sense of demand or command, whereas mashī'ah means determination. Therefore, according to him, it is not considered a divorce if one says 'aradtu' أردت the divorce of my wife, but it is a divorce if he says 'shi'tu' to divorce my wife. Cf. Kamal al-Humām, Musā-yarah, Cairo 1317 A.H. p.125.
172. Supra p. 59f.
173. d.415 A.H.
174. The translation is that of R. Bell (The Qur'an Translated, vol.1, p.275, vs. 27 in his numbering). His translating as: But to follow, is not justifiable; it should be: And follows etc. Again, his rendering of أعقبنا قلته is different from the interpretation of ash-Sharif given above.
175. Talkhīs, pp.211-2. Cf. Ibn Qutaybah, Ta'wīl Mushkil al-Qur'ān, pp.72-74.
176. Talkhīs, pp.212-3. The implication is that it is man's attitude which is the determining factor.

177. Anwār, vol.1, pp.326-7
178. Ibid.
179. Kashshāf, vol.2, pp.97-7.
180. This meaning of the word لَيَسُوْكُمْ is also offered by both Zamakhshari and Baidawi, but they insist on their grammatical analysis of the text.
181. Jāmi', vol.12, p.32.
182. W. Wright, Grammar, vol.1, p.284, C. (k).
183. Cf. Q. 2/6 & 36/10.
184. Dalā'il al-I'jāz, Cairo, 1351 A.H., pp.101-102. Cf. Sayūṭī, 'Uqūd al-Jumān, vol.1, Cairo 1314 A.H. p.126.
185. The Qur'ān Translated, vol.1, vs.23, p.276.
186. Ibid, v.76, p.224. The phrase 'he was not one to take', in our view, should be: he was not to take.
187. Ibid, v.111, p.128. Here again, the rendering agrees with all the Tafsirs; though Zamakhshari interprets the will here, as well as in the following two instances as a compelling will. Cf. Kashshāf, vol.1, p.523, vol.3, p.291 & pp. 300-1.
188. Ibid., vol.2, v. 55, p.625.
189. Ibid, vol.2, v.30, p.625.
190. W. Wright, A Grammar, vol.2, para(a), p.25.
191. Ibid, Rem. a, p.26
192. This is contrary to what W. Wright implies in his Rem. c, on p.339, vol.2.
193. W. Wright, A Grammar, vol.2, last eight lines of (B) on p.377.
- 194A. Anwār, e.g., vol.2, p.130.

194. Zamakhsharī assumes that the verbal noun derived from the following verb is the accusative; but this makes the style clumsy. In order to avoid contradictions, Zam. had to resort to his arbitrary interpretation by assuming the meaning of a compulsory will.
195. V. 107-108. Cf. Samarqandi in connection with v.109.
196. Tafsir al-Qur'ān, in connexion with the verse under discussion.
197. The infinitive following ^{الآ} appears to be governed by an assumed preposition, ^{بـ}. Thus the effect of the statement is something like this: and they were not to belief at all except with God's will.
198. R. Bell, The Qur'ān Translated, vol.1.v.70,p.224.
199. This was categorically stated earlier in v. 62 of the same chapter.
200. Kashshāf, vol.2, p.256.
201. Ibid.
202. Jāmi', vol.15, p.229.
203. Anwār, I.232. In the case of expansion of the heart, he explains the allusion by the words of the Prophet: "It is a light which God throws into the heart whereby it expands and enlarges." In our view, the word ^{الشرح} here means to feel at ease with.
204. Jāmi', Vol.8, p.30.
205. Kashshāf, Vol.1, p.526.
206. E.G. the verse, two verses before the one under discussion, namely 6/122, where the Qur'ān speaks of the believers as having been given life after having had been dead, and described the others as being sunk in darknesses.

207. R. Bell, The Qur'an Translated, Vol.1, p.129, vs.126.
208. Tabrī, Jāmi', Vol.8, p.32.
209. Kashshāf, Vol.1, p.526.
210. Anwār, Vol.1, p.233.
211. Jāmi', Vol.6, p.238.
212. Ibid.
213. Ibid.
214. Ibid.
215. Anwār, Vol.1, page 194.
216. Kashshāf, Vol.1. p.461.
217. Tāj, Vol.9, p.298.
218. Ibid, ~~(XXX) X~~
219. Ibid., P.297-8.
220. R. Bell, Vol.1, p.152, vs.154.
221. Ibid.
222. Jāmi', Vol.9, p.76-77.
223. Kashshāf, Vol.1, p.580.
224. R. Bell, Vol.1, p.151.
225. Jāmi', Vol.9, p.77.
226. Zamakhsharī relates a story which was earlier given by Tabrī, to the effect that Moses went into a white cloud together with his men who heard him talking to God. When the cloud cleared, they asked to see God. Zamakhshari then interprets this sentence as a craving ^{لَمَّا} by Moses that he and they had perished before this outrageous request. (Kashshāf, Vol.1, p.580).

226. /cont....

- . This is not only artificial and far-fetched, but would also cause the Qur'anic style to be disconnected and clumsy.

227. R. Bell, the Qur'ān Translated, vol.1, pp.222-3 (vs.56), and p.227 (vs.110).

228. Q. 21/9. Bell's translation of the first part of the verse as: "But We spoke the promise true to them", (Vol.1, p.205, vs.9), is a bit clumsy.

229. The Qur'an Translated, vol.1, pp.238-9 vs.33.

230. Taj, vol.1. p.533.

231. Zamakhsharī, (Kashshāf, vol.2, p.159), followed by Baydāwī, (Anwār, vol.1, p.639), offers a similar interpretation. Tabarī also chooses it, though they all agreed that the Hereafter here be interpreted as the questioning in the grave.

232. Vol.2, p.489, vs.52.

233. Kashshāf, vol.3, p.88.

234. Anwār, vol.2, p.242.

235. Jāmi', vol.25, p.46.

236. This is also given by Baydawi as a possibility.

237. R. Bell, Ibid, vs.52.

238. Tabarī found it difficult to determine the reference of the pronoun, having found the pronoun preceded by two words: the book and the faith; but claims that it refers to the book, though it is farther from it than the faith. He attempted some unpersuasive answers. In our view, the pronoun is connected with the initial part of the verse, Refer Jāmi', Ibid, p.47.

239. R. Bell, *ibid.*, vol.2, p.493 vs. 30.
240. R. Bell, *ibid.*, vol.1, p.15, vs.99.
241. R. Bell, *The Qur'an Translated*, vol.2, p.469, vs.15.
242. *Ibid.*, vol.1, p.249, vs.2.
243. *Ibid.*, vol.2, p.379, vs.56.
244. W. Wright, *A Grammar*, vol.1, p.270.
245. R. Bell, *The Qur'an Translated*, vol.1, p.277, vs. 28.
246. *Ibid.*, vol.2, p.618, vss.38-40.
247. *Ibid.*, p.625, vs.29.
248. *Ibid.*, p.631, vs.39.
249. *Ibid.*, p.636, vss.11-12.
250. *Ibid.*, vol.1, p.232, vs.27.
251. In his attempt to "harmonize" the Qur'anic texts with the divine mashī'a, Daud Rahbar, in his work "God of Justice", Leiden 1960, pp.69-71, claims that a solution can be sought in finding where the emphasis lies in these expressions. According to him, the emphasis is on the subject pronoun of بَشَا, i.e., He or the auxiliary verb, does. In this way, he thinks that the implication of the idea of caprice can be removed. As for Qur'anic statements which we described here as 'conditional', he explains them away by asserting that the real subject of these passages is not God's will but His power, (pp.75-77), since they are to the effect that: Had God willed, He could have done such and such.

We disagree with Daud Rahbar's "Harmonization", on the following grounds:-

251. cont...

- I. That in the Arabic texts, the subject pronoun of the verb دُنِيَ is assumed and is not pronounced, and it is difficult to see how, and emphasis is laid on something that is not pronounced or is unspoken. Again there is no auxiliary verb, does, in Arabic, and it can only be brought in the translation. It is therefore difficult to see how the emphasis is on that verb which does not in fact exist.

- II. That a statement does not lose its basic meaning however the emphasis may be shifted. Therefore the implication of the idea of compulsion or arbitrariness will remain even when the emphasis shifts from a place to another. All that this exaggeration of the importance of emphasis will do, is merely to affirm the will of God against the will of someone else.

- III. That the claim that the real subject of the passages which we described as 'conditional' is God's power does not at all solve the problem; because the denial of God's will to do such and such or let such and such happen, is still there. Therefore the problem that God's will appears to have been an obstruction to the occurrence of certain events or acts, still remains.

252.

252. Jāmi', vol.1.p.463.

253. Ibid., p.464.

254. Kashshāf, vol.1.p.231.

255. Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'Azīm, p.29a.

256. Kashshāf, vol.1, p.271.

257. Jāmi', vol.2, p.339.

258. Kashshāf, vol.1, p.274.
259. Jāmi', vol.2, p.380.
260. Jāmi', vol.5, p.156 & vol.8, pp.211-2, & vol.13, p.203, respectively.
261. Kashshāf, vol.1, p.405; vol.1, p.558 & vol.2, pp.178-9 respectively.
262. E.g., vol.1, p.238, vs.30.
263. Ṣihāh, vol.5, p.2068; Lisān, vol.13, p.9 and Qāmūs, vol.4, p.197.
264. Qāmūs, vol.4, p.197.
265. Arabic English Lexicon, Bk.1, part 1, p.41, column3.
266. Vol.4, p.197.
267. Supra, p. 209.
268. D. Rahbar, God of Justice, ch.10.
269. B.D. McDonald, Development of Muslim Jurisprudence and Theology, p.291. It is disputed which of the two terms denotes the idea of decree and the other the idea of executing the decrees. Cf. A. De Vlieger, Kitāb Al-Qadar, Leyde, 1903, PR.31 and 32.
270. Supra, Pp.220ff.
271. Take for example his interpretation of the statement ^{الارادة في الخطاب النارية} ~~فَقَضِيَ اللَّهُ أَمْرًا فَاتَّخَذَ مِنْهَا سَبْعًا مِائَةً أَلْفًا نِسَاءً~~ as "God estimated her to be of those who deserved to remain behind." (p.115) In his footnote (10) on the same page he rejects the correct interpretation as "those who lingered" to suit his convenience but he does not give any sound grounds. His interpretation does not agree with the context as Lot's wife was destroyed and did not remain with Lot and with those who followed him who survived the disaster. In our

271. cont...

view **قَدَرْنَا** here means decreed, conveying the idea that God was aware and knowing her attitude and therefore she was to be included among those to be destroyed. Rahbar's interpretation renders the text rather unintelligible, and does not account for the addition of the word **قَدَرْنَا** in Suras 15 & 28, vs. 60 and 57 respectively, which is omitted from such statements as Sura 29, vs. 33, since the meaning of estimated to be among those who deserved etc. is inapplicable to statements where the word is omitted. Another example of his delusion is his denial of interpreting the word **قَضَيْنَا** in the statement

وَقَضَيْنَا إِلَىٰ نَبِيِّهِمْ مَا فِي الْكِتَابِ
means: decreed, on the grounds that the verb in that sense should govern the preposition in order that the meaning becomes: to decree against, p.99. In fact **قَضَىٰ عَلَىٰ** does not mean: to decree against, but to decree for. Moreover, it is well-known that prepositions may replace each other.

We do not mean of course that all the instances should be interpreted in the sense of decreeing. Some of them are better interpreted in other ways, though not necessarily in the way given by Rahbar. E.G., the context of Q: 87/3 is God's works, and the phrase **وَقَدَرْنَا فِيهَا السَّيْرَ** may be better interpreted in the sense of: assigned power or enabled. But we did not deem it important, however, to pursue such a process.

272. Supra, p. 212.

273. Thus, it is unnecessary to try, as the Mu'tazilites did, to infer from the Qur'an that man can be described as creator, Ref., Bāqillāni's Tamhīd, pp.309-321. In fact the Sunnites appear to have the better of the Mu'tazilites in this respect. On the other hand, the fact that God creates everything does not mean that man is not the 'doer' of his own acts. It is unnecessary,

273. cong....

moreover, to resort to the obscure concept of 'qudrah hādithah' which ineffectively accompanies the acts, and which was invented by al-Ash'arī as a justification of rewards and punishments. (Al-Ash'arī, Luma', cl.90, p.490 & cl.123, p.54.

274. Supra, p. ~~284~~ 212.

275. Jāmi', vol.9. pp.203-204.

276. Kashshāf, vol.2, p.9.

277. Ibid.

278. Al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr, vol.15, Cairo 1938, p.139.

279. Anwār, vol.1. p.273.

280. Imām Ibn al-Qayyim, al-Tafsīr al-Qayyim, Sunnah Muhammadiyya Press, 1949, pp.287-288.

281. This is in view of the fact that, as we maintain, the Qur'ān was completely revealed, as it is read to-day, before the death of the Prophet. The process of collecting the materials on which it had been written, and then copying and duplicating it did not interfere in any way with the authentic words the readers had heard from the mouth of the Prophet. The memories and the verbal tradition were and are the means which have preserved the Qur'ān, and not the written documents.

282. supra, p.223.

CHAPTER VI

1. Bukh., vol.1, p.121; Mus. vol.5, p.170; A.b.H., vol. 2, p.590.
2. Bukh., vol.1, p.237; Mus. vol.2, p.118; Nasā'ī vol.7, pp.5 - 6.
3. Mus. vol.11, p.85, Abū Dawūd, vol.3 H. No.2880, p.159; Ibn Mājah, vol.1, H. No.241, p.88.
4. Abū Dawūd, vol.2, H. No.1778, p.208.
5. Abu Dawūd, vol.4, H. No.4606, p.280.
6. Muslim, vol.16, p.207. This tradition is often quoted for opposite views; but this interpretation entails internal conflict.
7. Bukhārī, vol.1, p.276.
8. Ibid., p.117; Tirmidhī, vol.1, p.300.
9. Muslim, vol.8, p.84.
10. Bukhārī, vol.1, p.340; Muwatta', vol.1, Hs. Nos.33, 34, p.299.
11. This obviously defeats the claim of A.J. Wensinck, (Muslim Creed, p.51) that Tradition has not preserved a single Hadīth in which librium arbitrum is advocated.
12. These Hadiths are normally produced as evidence of compulsion. For example, al-Ashūrī in his work, al-Ibānah, pp.70-4, makes use of Hadīths Nos.2, 3, 5 and 8 in proving his fatalistic interpretation of Qadar. The other Tradition *in our list* are produced by the canonical collections in the chapter of Qadar.
13. Translation is confined to the relevant parts of the original.
14. Muslim, vol.1, pp.150-157; Ibn Mājah, vol.1, H. No. 63, p.24; Abū Dawūd, vol.4, H. No.4695, pp.308-9.
15. I.e., Abdullāh b. Mas'ūd, as can be taken from the following version of the same Hadīth in Muslim.

16. Muslim, vol.16, Qadar, pp.189-192; Ibn Mājah, vol.1, H. No.76, p.29.
17. Muslik, vol.16, p.199 (Qadar).
18. Muslim, vol.16, Qadar, pp.199-200.
19. Bukhārī, vol.4, Qadar, p.145.
20. The original word is ^{مُنِيرٌ}, but the word guided is Wensinck's translation, Muslim Creed, p.56. We follow this translation just for the sake of argument.
21. Muslim, vol.16, Qadar, pp.195-196; Abū Dāwūd, vol.4, H.No.4694. The Qur'anic quotation is 92:5-10.
22. Muslim, vol.16, Qadar, pp.198-199. The Qur'anic quotation is: 91:7-8.
23. Muslim vol.16, Qadar, p.212.
24. Ibid, pp.200-201; Abū Dāwūd vol.4, H.No.4702, p.312.
25. Muslim vol.16, Qadar, p.211.
26. Ibid, pp.205-206; Bukhārī, vol.4, Qadar, p.146.
27. Muslim, vol.16, Qadar, p.215.
28. Muslim, vol.16, Qadar, pp.203-204.
29. Muslim, vol.6, Jum'ah, p.152. Nawawī in his Commentary interprets طبع in the sense of sealing, and then brings in the dispute among the theologians over this, whether the meaning is to create disbelief in the hearts, or deprivation of grace or marking people with a sign indicating where they belong!
30. Bukh., vol.4, Tawhīd, p.294.
31. Abū Dāwūd, vol.4, H. No.5075, pp.435-346.
32. Abū Bakr Ahmad, al-Baihaqī, (d.458 A.H.), Kitāb al-Asmā' waṣ-Ṣifāt, Sa'ādah Press, Cairo, 1358, p.162. Cf. Musnad Ahmad b. Hanbal, vol.5, p.191.
33. Muslim, vol.16, Qadar, p.205. The Qur'anic quotation is 54:48-49

34. Ibn Mājah, vol.1, H.No.85, p.33.
35. Bukh., vol.4, Tawhīd, Bab 14, p.294.
36. Q. 4/4, e.g.,
37. Cf. Dhahabī, Ta'rikh al-Islām, vol.3, p.30; Sam'ānī, Ansāb, p.146a; Maqrizi, Khitāṭ, vol.4, p.181.
38. E.G., II,177 & 285; IV, 136.
39. Bukh., vol., pp.18-19.
40. Mu'jam al-Udabā', vol.20, pp.41-42.
41. Ibid.
42. E.G., A.J. Wensinck, Muslim Creed, p.55. It is the first tradition quoted by Ash'arī in his Ibānah in the context of affirming his doctrine of Qadar (Haydarabad, 2nd Ed., pp.70-71)
43. Ibid. p.55.
44. Lexicon, Bk.1, pt.2, p.702, col.2.
45. Ibid., cols. 2-3.
46. Bukhārī, vol.4, Qadar, p.145.
47. W.M. Watt, in his work, Free Will and Predestination, p.18, follows the misleading interpretation of the word, and on page 26 concludes that this probably is 'a fusion of Muslim and pre-Islamic ideas'. If he means the idea of depriving man from free choice as a pre-Islamic idea is mingled with the Islamic concept of an after-life, we may agree with him; but we do not understand his following statement: "What is pre-determined is primarily the final acts of his life; the rest follows from that." It is not clear how this can be derived from the Hadith.
48. Muslim Creed, p.56.
49. Free Will and Predestination in Early Islam, p.26.
50. Tāj, vol. 3, p.626.

51. Muslim, vol.16, Qadar, p.197.
52. Muslim, vol.16, Qadar, pp.198-9.
53. Namely SCI, 7-8 فَأَمَّا جُرُومُهُمْ فَتَوَاتَرًا
54. Supra, p. 23.
55. E.G., Kanz al-'Ummāl, vol.1, pp.104-5, 120-4, & 325-7, brings together no less than 88 Hadīths in which the Qadarites and the Murji'ites are condemned. The Kharijites are not spared!
56. He is reported to have put in the mouth of the Prophet: Had ten learned Jews أحب اليهود believed me, every Jew on earth would have followed me. (Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā', vol.2, p.446.).
57. Muslim, vol.16, Qadar, p.202.
58. Risālah, No.6, p.88.
59. Ibid., p.100.
60. Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā', vol.2, p.432.
61. Ibid., p.436.
62. Q. XVIII/80. / 62^a. Lexicon, Bk.I, pt. 5, p.1823, col. 2.
63. Tāj, vol.1, p.444.
64. In this work the Qur'ān is treated in its own right; Little regard is given to later theological arguments or interpretations.
65. Siyar 'A'lām al-Nubalā', vol.2, p.423.
66. According to Noldeke's chronological order of the Qur'ān, the chapter to which these verses belong, belongs to the second Meccan period.
67. Ency. of Islam, art. Abū Harairah.
68. It may be even claimed that this Hadīth stands for the rejection of a sense of compulsion, as the unbelievers of Quraish who are claimed here to have disputed with the Prophet, were, as explained earlier, the exponents of this concept.

CHAPTER VII.

1. These divisions should not be regarded as strictly mutually exclusive.
2. Ibn Murtadā, al-Munyah wa al-Amal, p.8.
3. Nahj al-Balāghah, with the Commentary of Abū al-Hadīd, vol.4, pp.375-6. Cf. al-Munyah wa al-Amal, p.7.
4. Ibid., p.507.
5. Al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj al-Dhahab, vol.3, p.5.
6. Muslim, vol.18, pp.14-15.
7. Ibid., pp.13-14.
8. Viz., Thabit Quṭnah, one of the men of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab.
9. Quoted from Aghāni, by Aḥmad Amīn, Fajr al-Islām, vol. 1, p.282.
10. al-Ma'ārif, p.225.
11. Ibn Qutaibah, al-Imām^{ah} wa al-Siyāsah, vol.1, p.192.
12. Ibid., vol.2, p.28.
13. Ta'rikh, vol.6, p.100.
14. Ṭabarī, Ta'rikh, vol.6, Pp.158-199, in the course of relating the events of the year 51 A.H. The author, 'Abd Allah b. Khalīfah of Banū Ṭayyi', according to Ṭabari, was forced out of Kūfah by Ziyād b. Abīhi on account of his support of Hījr b. 'Adiyy, a renowned victim of Ziyād and his master, Mu'āwiyah.
15. Al-Tawfīṣ Commentary on the Tā'iyyah of Ibn Taimiyah, quoted by Aḥmad al-Saffārīnī, Lawā'ih al-Anwār al-Bahiyyah, Commentary on the creed of 'al-Firqah al-Mardiyyah, al-Manār Press, Cairo 1323 A.H. p.251.
16. Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah, Sa'ādah Press, Cairo, n.d., vol.8 p.251. Cf. Engy. of Islam, Art. 'Ka'ba'.

17. al-Ma'ārif, p.225.
18. Ibid., p.301. Al-Hasan's name is not given in the list probably because he is supposed to have recanted the Qadrite views.
19. According to Ibn al-'Ibarī, Mukhtasar al-Duwal, p.191, 'Umar al-Maḡṣūṣ, one of the holders of the liberal interpretation of Qadar was put to death in 80 A.H. on the pretext that he was corrupting the mind of the crown prince. Ghaylān al-Dimashqī received a similar fate in the beginning of the second century.
20. Muslim Creed, p.51.
21. The claim that al-Hasan al-Baṣrī was influenced by Ma'bad al-Juhanī, Muslim Creed, pp.51-52, and that the latter was the first to speak of Qadar according to tradition No.1, Ch.2 above, does not seem to be sound. It seems that the movement was a common reaction which rose at about the same time.
22. Der Islam, vol.21, 1933, pp.67-82.
23. Ibid., p.68.
24. Ibid., 69. The last Qur'anic quotation in this paragraph is from XXVII 23.
25. Ibid., 74.
26. Ibid., 81.
27. Ibid., 77.
28. Vol.1, p.59.
29. Art. "Political Theology in Early Islam" in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol.55, 1935, p.155.
30. Ency. of Islam, Art. Waṣīl b. 'Atā'.
31. Ta'riḡh, Vol. 13, p.75.
32. Dhahabī, Tadhkirah, Vol.1, p.61, e.g. calls him the Shaikh of Islam.

33. Ibn Qutaihab, Ma'ārif, P.301.
34. Ibid., P.255.
35. Al-Dhahabī, Tadhkirah, Vol.1. p.117.
36. This Ayyūb died in 131 A.H. at the age of 63, according to Tadhkirah, Vol.II, p.118. Thus, he was born about the year 70 A.H. We would not expect him to argue so vehemently against his master and to threaten him, until he was of mature age, say about 25 years. This indicates that until nearly the end of the first century al-Ḥasan continued to hold fast to the Qadarite interpretation.
37. Tārīkh Vol.13 p.74.
38. Ibid. It is very likely that the tension was caused by al-Ḥasan's views of Qadar and his condemnation of the immoral attitude of the ~~vulgar~~ ^{vulgar} who pointed to Qadar.
39. ^{al-}Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah, Vol.9 p.135.
40. Tabarī, Tārīkh, Vol.13, p.94.
41. Ibn ^{Kathū}~~Khallikān~~, al-Bidāyah, vol.9, p.135.
42. Ibid., p.286, H.No.4622.
43. Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, Vol.1.p.p.354-5, Cairo, 1948. It is to be borne in mind that this conversation took place in the year 103 A.H., after the relaxation of the political atmosphere since the Caliphate of 'Umar b. 'Abd. al-ʿAzīz.
44. Abū Dāwūd, Sunan Vol.4, p.287, H.No.4625.
45. Ibid., H. No.4622, p.286.
46. Ibid., p.287, H. No.4621.
47. Ibid., H. No.4624.
48. Ma'ārif, P.225. Dr. Watt feels that this was an attempt to whitewash al-Ḥasan, (Free Will, p.54)

49. Sunan, IV, Ibid., p.285-6 H.No.4618.
50. Ibid., P.285.
51. Tadhkirah, Vol. 1., p.134.
52. Tabarī, Ta'rikh al-Umam wa al-Mulūk, Vol.13, p.94.
53. Tadhkirah, Vol.1, p.32.
54. Abū Dāwūd, Sunan Vol.4, Hs. Nos. 4612 - 3. Cf. Sarḥ al-'Uyūn, pp.157-9.
55. Ibid., H. No.4613.
56. Supra, pp.292f.
57. Tahdhīb al-Asmā', Vol.1, p.181. Cf. Abū Ja'far Muhammad b. Ḥabīb, (d.245 A.H.), Kitāb al-Muḥabbar, Heydarabad, 1942, p.24.
 It is in fact disputed whether 'Abd Allah b. 'Umar died in 73 or early in 74 A.H. Al-Dhahabī, Tadhkirah, Vol.1., p.33 and Ibn Kathīr, Bidayah, Vol.9, p.5, prefer the latter opinion. But the statement of Tahdhīb that his death was three months after the death of Ibn Zubayr, seems to be more precise, and it is corroborated by such early authors as the author of al-Muḥabbar and Tabarī. However, if we agree that Ibn 'Umar died early in 74, the argument given above can still stand. The atmosphere in Mecca after the destruction of Ibn Zubayr, and under al-Ḥajjāj, was tense. The appalling behaviour of al-Ḥajjāj strained the relationship between al-Ḥajjāj and Ibn 'Umar, (Tadhkirah, Vol.1, p.32). It seems that possibly Ibn 'Umar began to reconsider his views about Qadar at that time; and he apparently preferred to adopt a neutral policy by advocating abstention from discussing the problem. This may be inferred from the Tradition number 18 related above, where the Prophet is reported to have reproached his Companions when he found them discussing the subject of Qadar.
58. Ibn Qutaybah, Imāh, Vol.2, p.32.
59. Al-Muḥabbar, p.24, cf. Ibn Kathīr, Vol.8, p.325.
60. Muslim Creed, p.53.

61. This is claimed by al-Dhahabi, Mizān al-I'tidāl, Vol. 3, p.181.
62. Al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj, Vol.3, pp.200-202, (Cairo, 1958).
63. Mizān al-I'tidāl, vol.3, p.198.
64. Supra, p. 307.
65. As indicated above, Ibn 'Umar died in 73 or 74 A.H; but Sahl, according to Tahdhīb al-Asmā' vol.1, p.238, was **the** last of the Companions to die in Madīnah in 88 or in 91 A.H.
66. Mu'jam al-Udabā', vol.17, p.9. Qatādah died in 117 A.H., seven years after al-Ḥasan had died. It is possible that Qatādah modified his views about the same time his master so did.
67. Wensinck, Muslim Creed, p.52, attributes this to much likeness between the views of both sects; but this - as will appear later - is an exaggeration.
68. Quoted by Wensinck, Muslim Creed, p.53, ft.3.
69. Ma'ārif, p.301.
70. This is also reflected in the following Tradition:
Fear Qadar, (i.e. avoid speaking about Qadar?) It is a branch of Christianity.
Kanz al-'Ummāl,
(Mu'jam al-Udabā', Vol.1. H. No.567)
71. Ency. of Islam. Art. 'Kadar'.
72. Free Will, p.58 ft. 27.
73. Muslim Creed, p.52.
74. Quoted by Wensinck, Muslim Creed, p.52.
75. Ma'ārif, pp.166 and 207.
76. Maqālat, Vol.1, p.200.
77. p.127. Cf. Munyaḥ, p.15.

78. Al-Ash'arī, Maqālāt, Vol.1, p.273.
79. p.51.
80. p.52.
81. Free Will, p.54
82. Ibid., p.40.
83. Muslim Creed, p.37.
84. Ibid., p.52.
85. Ibid., p.52.
86. The Maqālāt's reference is to the Maimūniyyah and the Hamziyyah, (Maq., Vol.1, pp.165-5, of our ed.), two sub-divisions of the Kharijite branch founded by 'Abd al-Karīm b. 'Ajjād who appears to have flourished in the third decade of the second century. Ash'ri's words in this context: "according to Mu'tazila Madhhab", suggest a late date.
87. A.J. Wensinck, Muslim Creed, p.52.
88. Free Will p.38.
89. Muslim Creed, p.53.
90. As is well known, the dispute was over the position of sinners, (Shahrastānī, Milal, Vol.1, p.60), though 'Abd al-Qāhir, Farq, p.15, adds Qadar as one of the topics on which al-Ḥasan and Wāsil differed; but this may be out of sheer imagination on the part of 'Abd al-Qāhir.
Another example of the lack of precision on the part of 'Abd al-Qāhir, is his claim that Wāsil was one of those who frequented al-Ḥasan's majlis during the 'Fitnah' of the 'Azāriqah', (p.97): but we know that Wāsil was born in 80 A.H., while that 'Fitna' was brought to an end in 64 or 65; (Ency. of Islam, art. Nāfi' b. al-Azraq.)
91. Muslim Creed, p.52.
92. K. al-Ansāb, Leyden, 1912, p.146a.

93. Supra, p.328.
94. Article 'Murdji'a,' Ency. of Islam.
95. The verse reads:
 وَأَخْرُوجُكُمْ مِنْهَا وَمِنْهَا يُخْرِجُكُمْ وَأَمَّا يَتُوبُ عَلَيْهِمْ
96. Q. Sura 9, verse 118. CF. Muslim, Tradition of Ka'b's repentance, vol.17, pp.87-100.
97. In verse 94, it is stated: "They will tender their apologies to you when you return to them."
98. E.G., Tabarī, Jami', vol.11. pp.21-22.
99. Q., Sura 4, vs. 48.
100. The development of the doctrine of faith and work by Nafi' b. al-Azraq, occurred in 64 A.H. after the Kharijites broke away with Ibn al-Zubair. Nafi' then wrote to 'Abd Allāh b. Šufrah and 'Abd Allāh b. Ibād inviting them to adopt his views on faith and work but they declined, (Tabarī, Ta'rīkh, vol.7, pp.57-58). Prior to this date, it is clear the Kharijite doctrine about sin as invalidating faith did not develop. This can be inferred from the absence of this doctrine from the discussions and speeches by the Kharijite leaders up to this date. E.G., when Ḥayyān b. Zabiān urged his men to go out and fight - Tabarī Ta'rīkh, vol.6, pp.172-173 - there was no mention of this doctrine in his speech. Moreover, in their famous argument with Ibn Zubair after the battle of Mecca with the Umayyads during which the Ka'bah was burned and in which the Kharijites took an active part on his side, again there was no mention of this doctrine. The point on which the Kharijites separated from Ibn al-Zubair was whether 'Uthmān, the third Caliph was to be condemned, (Tabarī, Ta'rīkh, vol.7, pp.55-56).

Al-'Ash'ari's statement that all the Kharijites are unanimous that the commission of a great sin amounts to disbelief, (Maq, vol.1, p.157), is certainly too general. It may give the impression that this doctrine also belonged to the early Kharijites, i.e., prior to 64 A.H. 'Abd al-Qāhir, Farq, p.55,

100. cont...

relates on the authority of his shaikh that the only common thing between the Kharijites is the claim that 'Ali, 'Uthmān, the people of the battle of the Camel, the two Arbitrators and those who agreed to their judgement, are unbelievers, and that the holy war against unjust rulers was obligatory. His shaikh denied that a doctrine that a grave sin amounts to disbelief was a common doctrine among them. G. Levi Della Vida appears to be of this opinion, as he declares in his article, Kharijite, Ency. of Islam: "One article is common to all; it is that which treats of the question of the Caliphate."

10b. Maq., vol.1, p.197. In our view, Murji'ism consisted of a combination of fatalism and minimisation of the significance of work, ~~and that~~ the fatalism of Jahm which was described by the Orthodox as 'jabr', i.e. compulsion and reckoned by them as a heresy was no more than the fatalism held by the earlier Murji'ites and by the Sunnites given a clear exposition in his style quoted by Al-Ash'rī, (Maq., vol.1, p.312), in which he says: "No one acts in reality except God alone. It is He Who acts; and men have the acts ascribed to them merely metaphorically, in the same way as it is said the stone moves, the sphere revolves and the sun sets. But it is God Who does all this with the stone, the sphere and the sun. God only created in man a power, and with this power action is produced; and a will and choice for the specific action, as He created in him height whereby he is described as tall, and a colour whereby he is also described." It is no wonder therefore that the Sunnites are described by the Mu'tazilites as Jabrites. (Shahrastānī, Milal, vol.1, p.108).

Jah's exposition, however, appears to have awakened the Sunnites to their inconsistencies; and henceforth they appear to have been seeking compromises by introducing such concepts as that of 'Kasb', i.e., acquisition.

Al-Ash'ari's statement of the position of Jahm, in which he declares that God creates in man a power and will and choice for a specific act - i.e., not for its opposite - agrees with the description of the Jabrites given by al-Intiṣār which is a Mu'tazilite work. It seems that Jahm was the first to give this exposition, though he was not the first to hold its contents.

102. This year, 64 A.H., appears to be vital in the history of the Muslim theological speculation. In it, the Ka'ba was burned, and this seems to have given rise to the discussion of the concept of Qadar. Again it was in this year that Nāfi' b. al-Azraq declared his doctrine of sin, thereby starting a long series of chain-reactions.
103. Bukh., vol.1., p.18.
104. Dhahabī, Tadhkirah, vol.1., pp.51-52. Ibn al-Jawzī, Safwat al-Safwah, states that he died after the battle of Jamājim which also occurred in the year 82 A.H.
105. E.G., Kanz al-'Ummāl, vol.1., Ḥadīths Nos.560, 638 and 645. The last of these defines the Murji'ites as those who claim that 'Imān' is a word without work. Cf. H.s. Nos. 639 and 640.
106. 'Abd al-Qāhir, Farq, p.190. 'Abd al-Qāhir in fact gives a division of Qadarite-cum-Murji'ites of which Ghailān is an example, another division of Babrite-cum-Murji'ite, and a group of divisions which he describes as pure Murji'ites. This division into pure and impure Murji'ites by 'Abd al-Qāhir seems to be a mistaken summarization by him of the treatment of the Murji'ites by al-Ash'arī, (Maq., vol.1, pp.197ff.) Shahrastānī, possibly influenced by 'Abd al-Qāhir assumes this division of pure and impure Murji'ites and devotes his treatment to the pure sub-divisions, (Milal, vol.1.pp.192ff). The pure sub-divisions' views given by these authors are confined to the relationship between Iman and work, but nothing is given about their views of fatalism, Al-Ash'arī was silent on that, being naturally influenced by the fact, ^{that} the Murji'ites whom we reckon proper Muji'ites - were earlier condemned only on the ground of their minimisation of the importance of work, and he was not aware that the absence of condemnation on the grounds of fatalism was due to the fact that the Orthodox ^{had} shared this belief with the Murji'ites. He therefore enumerated the various divisions which in his view misinterpreted the concept of Imān, as related to work - disregarding whether they held other views such as fatalism or not. We

106. cont...

therefore confirm our conviction that the ORIGINAL heretical Murji'ites believed both in fatalism and in a definition of Iman as independent from work; and declare our disagreement with 'Abd al-Qāhir in his implication that Murji'ism-cum-Jabrism was not the original Murji'ism, but an adulterated division of Murji'ism. It was in fact the original doctrine of Murji'ism, but the old fatalism was simply given a clarity of expression by those whom he regarded as an adulterated division. That there came later divisions which adopted the idea about Iman as divorced from work in one form or another, but opposed fatalism they can be regarded as partial Murji'ites rather than pure Murji'ites as 'Abd al-Qāhir and al-Shahrastānī believe.

APPENDIX A

The Qur'anic Statements bearing on human conduct in the Revelations assigned by Noldake to the early period of Mecca. Chapters and verses of no ethical importance are excluded

No. of Item	Chron: order	Trad. Order	Orders of verses	Statements
1	1	96	6	Describing the human inclinations as violent, when man is in easy circumstances.
2			8	Stating that all will return unto God and be brought to account.
3			9 -10	Condemnation of obstructing the way to God's worship.
4	II	74	3	Command to observe God's greatness.
5			4	Command to avoid abominations.
6			5	Command to keep one's clothes clean.
7			6	Codemnation of recalling favours.
8			7	Command to be patient.
9			8-10	Warning the unbelievers of the Day of Resurrection.
10			38	Stating that every soul will be rewarded for what it earns.
11			39-40	Promise of Paradise for believers.
12			43	Failure to observe prayers is given as a reason for being in Hell.
13			44-46	a. Failure to feed the poor is given as another reason for being in Hell

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statements
				b. Failure to control the tongue, and c. Disbelief in Resurrection are also stated to be as such, d. Command of praising God, (The whole of this passage is held by R. Bell - II, 683 - as Madīnan).
	III	III	-	The whole chapter is a warning to Abū Lahab and his wife.
14	IV	106	3	Command that the Lord of the House House should be worshipped
15	V	108	2	Command of Prayers.
16	VI	104	1	Condemnation of maligning and scoffing.
17			2	Condemnation of accumulation of wealth.
18	VII	107	2	Condemnation of hrūting the orphans.
19			3	Condemnation of not feeding the poor,
20			4 -5	Condemnation of lack of enthusiasm for prayers,
21			6	Condemnation of ostentatiousness,
22			7	Condemnation of failure of to cooperate with others.
23	VIII	102	1	Condemnation of priding oneself because of wealth,
	IX	105	-	Story of the Elephant.

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statements
24	X	92	4 - 11	Statement that man's endeavour is of two kinds, giving and believing which is to be rewarded, and meanness and rejection which will be punished,
25	X	92	19-20	Praising giving for the sake of God,
26	XI	90	10	Statement that man is guided to choose either way,
27			13	Encouraging emancipation of slaves,
28			14-16	Praising the feeding of the orphans and the poor,
29			17	Praising mutual sympathy, and patience and faith,
30			18-20	Division of men on the Day of Resurrection into ^a blessed right-hand party and a condemned left-hand party,
	XII	94	-	- - - - -
31	XIII	93	8-11	Good treatment of the orphans and the poor ^{given} as a manifestation of graittude for God's favours,
	XIV	97	-	- - - - -
32	XV	86	8-17	Warning the unbelievers of punishment of the Day of Resurrection.

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statements
33	XVI	91	8-10	Statement that the soul is inspired with discriminating ability between right and wrong, and that success is for those who purify it and condemnation for those who pollute it,
34			11-15	Story of Thamūd and their punishment, giving as an example,
35	XVII	80	1-10	Condemnation of discrimination on account of prestige,
36			17	Man is ungrateful,
37			33-42	Warning of the Day of Resurrection,
38	XVIII	68	11-13	Condemnation of swearing, jeering, going with calumny, malevolent report of talks, abstention from doing good, pride and aggression. (R. Bell's claim that these two verses are Madinan-Vol. I, P. 373- is more of the nature of a guess-work).
39	XIX	¹⁶ 87	14-15	Praise of giving and of reflection,
40	XX	95	6	Praise of believers and of good doers,
41	XXI	103	3	Praise of believers, good doers, and those who encourage one another to be patient, and to hold fast to the truth.
42	XXII	85	10	Condemnation of injuring the believers, and implication of demanding repentance,

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statements
43			11	Promise of Paradise for the believers and good-doers,
44	XXIII	73	10	Command of endurance,
45			11-18	Condemnation of those who reject the faith, and the story of Pharaoh's disobedience in the context,
46			20	Reading of the Qur'an, seeking provision through travelling, fighting in the cause of God, prayers, giving the poor and praying for forgiveness, are mentioned as good acts. (R. Bell, Vol. II, P. 613 - hold this verse to be Madīnan)
47	XXIV	101	1-11	Speaking of the Day of Resurrection and the Balance.
48	XXV	99	7-8	Promise of reward and punishment for good and evil acts, even the weight of an atom.
49	XXVI	82	10-13	Stating that there are Writers of acts who are aware of what man does.
50	XXVII	81	14-19	Speaking of reward and punishment,
51	XXVII	53	8-9	Female infanticide condemned,
52			32	Praising avoidance of grave sins, (but this verse is apparently Madīnan).
53			36-39	Quoting with approval, early Scripture's statement that no soul bears the consequences of

No. of Item	Chron. Order.	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statements
				the acts of others, and that man only gets the rewards for his own achievements,
54	XXIX	84	7-12	Mention of taking the Book (of record, on the Day of Resurrection), by the right hand or by the left hand; and the rewards of the former and the punishment of the latter.
55			24-25	Warning of painful punishment for unbelievers, and promise of rewards for believers who do well. (R. Bell's assumption that these two verses are Madinan-Vol. II, P. 644, disagrees with the context).
56	XXX	100	6	Man described as ungrateful.
57			8	Man described as wealth-lover and seeker.
58 59	XXXI	79	9 13-14 & 34-36	<i>Reminding of Resurrection.</i> Mention of the Day of Resurrection and warning of punishment in Hell.
60			37-41	Warning of Hell for those who prefer this world, and good tidings for those who restrain themselves from evil desire.
61	XXXII	77		The whole chapter speaks of the Day of Resurrection and punishment for those who reject the faith and the reward for those who fear God.
62	XXXIII	78		Like the previous chapter exactly except that it begins with reminding of God's favours.

No. of Item	Chrono Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statements
63	XXXIV	88		This chapter also speaks of the Day of Resurrection, the rewards in Paradise for some, and punishment for unbelievers,
64	XXXV	89	15-16	Mention of man's inclination to anxiety when he is in strained conditions, and to take undue pride when he is favoured by God; in all he forgets the source of all what he enjoys in the world.
65			17-18	Blame for failure to look after the orphan and to help the needy.
66			19-20	Man's inclination to ^{chase} cheese wealth from whatever source because of excessive love for wealth
67			21-30	Warning of the Day of Resurrection and promise of reward.
68	XXXVI	75		This chapter is again chiefly devoted to the Day of Resurrection.
69	XXXVII	83	1-3	Condemnation of unjust measures.
70			4-36	Day of Resurrection and condemnation of the unbelievers.
71	XXXVIII	69	1-37	Speaks of the Day of Resurrection and quotes the stories of Thamūd and Pharaoh.
72	XXXIX	51		This chapter of 60 verses, is devoted to the Day of Resurrection, quoting the stories of Abraham, Lot, Moses, and Thamūd, and speaks of the attitude of the adversaries of the Prophet.
73	XL	52		The Chapter consisting of 49 verses, is also devoted to the ^{same} theme of the previous one chapter.

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statements
74	XLI	56		The Chapter consisting of 96 verses, is also decoted to the theme of Resurrection and how people will be divided on the Day into superior right-hand and left-hand categories; and eloquently speaks of the rewards and punishment. It also reminds of God's favours.
75	XLII	70	1-18	Warning of the Day of Resurrection to the adversaries of the Prophet.
76			18	Condemnation of accumulation of wealth without spending in good causes.
77			19-21	Description of man's greed and his anxiety in misfortune and meanness with wealth.
78			22-23 and 34	Praise of observing prayers, (R. Bell does not give grounds for his claim that vv. 34-41 are Madinan-Vol.II, P.932)
79	2		24-25	Praise of alma-giving.
80			26-27	Praise of Believing in Resurrection and of praising God.
81			29-31	Praise of Chastity. (R. Bell's claim - Vol.II, P.604 - that from 28 the verses are Madinan disagrees with the style being brief and rymed)
82			32	Praise of keeping trust.
83	XLIII	55		The Chapter consisting of 973 verses, is devoted to ^{reminding of} God's favours and the Day or Resurrection

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No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statements
84	XLIV	112		Decoted to monotheism
85	XLV	109		Argument with adversaries.
86	XLVI	113		A Prayer formula.
87	XLVII	114		A Prayer formula.
88	XLVIII	1		A Prayer formula.

APPENDIX B

A Table of the Qur'anic Statements bearing on human conduct in the Revelations assigned by Noldake' to the 5th and 6th years of the Meccan period.

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trade Order	Order of verses	Statements
1	XLIX	54	1-8	Blaming and warning of the Unbelievers,
2			9-42	Stories of Noah, 'Ad, Thamūd, Lot and Pharaoh,
3			17,22, 32,40	Invitation of reflect on the Qurān,
4			43-55	Condemnation ^{to} of the unbelievers, and promise of reward in Paradise for those who fear God,
5	L	37	1-74	Argument with unbelievers, and description of their doom in Hell and the rewards of the believers in Paradise,
6			75-148	Stories of Noah, Abraham, Ilyās and Lot,
7			149-183	Argument with unbelievers,
8	LI	71	1-28	Story of Noah,
9	LII	76	2-3 and 29	Man is created capable of choosing either way,
10			4-22 and 31	Describing the reward for believers and good-doers, and warning of painful punishment for the unbelievers,
11			24-25	Endurance and seeking refuge in God,
12	LII	44	21-59	Argument with unbelievers, reminding of the fate of Pharaoh and what is stored in Hell, and describing the rewards in of Paradise,

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statement
13	LIV	50	1-45	Argument with unbelievers, reminding of God's favours and of the Last Day,
14			39-40	Endurance, and seeking refuge in God's praise and worship,
15	LV	20	9-98	Story of Moses and the Israelites,
16			19-114	Reminding of God's favours, and reminding of the Last Day,
17			115-123	Story of Adam, drawing attention to the danger of Satan's seduction,
18			124-129 -and 133-135	Argument with unbelievers and warning them,
19			133-135	Argument with unbelievers and warning them,
20			130-132	Commanding endurance and seeking refuge in God's worship and in prayers,
21	LVI	26	1-191	Assuring the Prophet by relating the stories of the destruction of those who has assumed towards their Prophets, attitudes similar to those of the unbelieving Meccans; the story of Pharaoh and Moses, they story of the adversaries of Abraham, the story of the People of Noah, those of Hūd, those of Ṣāliḥ, those of Lot and the people of the Grove. Each of these stories is concluded with a statement calling for reflection.

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad: of Orderes	of verses	Statement
22			192-227	Assurance to the Prophet, in which he is required to rely on God.
23	LVII	15	1-50	Argument with unbelievers, reminding of God's favours, warning of the punishment and describing the rewards in Paradise stored for those who are God fearing, and quoting Satan's pride which caused him to be rebelled as the unbelievers have replied rebelled,
24			5135-77	Story of the people of Lot and their punishment as related to Abraham, as a reminder,
25			78-84	Stories of the punishment of the people of the Grove and the people of al-Hijr, (Thamūd), on account of rejecting their Prophets,
26			85-99	Assurance to the Prophet, requiring him to seek consolation in the praise and worship of God,
27	LVIII	19	1-34	Stories of Zachariah, John, Mary and Christ,
28			35-40	Rejecting the claim of the unbelievers who falsely attribute parenthood to God, and warning of their punishment,
29			41-63	Stories of Abraham, Moses and Haaron, Ishmael and Idrīs, concluding by regretting how these noble sons of Adam and Noah were succeeded by disobedient generat-

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statement
				tons who bring upon themselves the wrath of God, except those who xxx restrain themselves and who will enjoy wonderful Paradise.
30			64-98	Arguing with, and warning of the adversaries of the Prophet. In the course of the discussion of the above themse, reference is made to the following:
31			14	Praise of obdeience to God and good treatment of parents.
32			14	Condemnation of haughtiness and disobedience,
33			28	Condemnation of sexual immorality, (by implication).
34			31	Prayers and alms-giving
35			41 & 56	Praise for telling the truth.
36			44-45	Warning against Satan's seduction.
37			54	Praise for fulfilling promises,
38			59	Blame for neglecting prayers and for following one's desires,
39			62	Praise for God-fearing.
40	LIX	38	1-11	Argument with the unbelievers
41			12-16	Warning to unbelievers of an end similar to that of the people of Noah, Lot, Pharaoh and Thamud .
42			17	Command of endurance,
43			17-48	Stories of David, Solomon and John; and mention of Abraham, Issac, Jacob, Ishmael, Ilyās and <u>Dhul-Kifl</u> .

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statement
44			49-64	Eloquent description of Paradise and Hell.
45			65-70 & 86-88	Argument with the unbelievers,
46			71-85	Story of Iblīs, (Satan).
47	LX	36	1-83	All the chapter is devoted to argument with the unbelievers, condemning them eloquently, reminding of the story of the Messengers of Christ to Antioch, the story of Habāb the Carpenter, reminding of God's favours on earth and in Heaven, condemning the meanness of the unbelievers, warning them of punishment on the Last Day, describing the Paradise of the believers, and arguing against the denial of the Last Day,
48	LXI	43	1-89	All the Chapter is devoted to argument with the unbelievers, reminding of God's favours, consoling the Prophet by the fact that earlier Prophets received a similar reception, quoting in the course of the argument Abraham, Moses and Christ, and referring here and there to punishment and rewards on the Last Day,
49	LXII	72	1-15	Story of the Jinn who believed, concluding by the mention of reward and punishment.

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statements
50			16-29	Reference to the attitude of the unbelievers and warning sinners.
51	LXIII	67	1-30	The whole chapter is devoted to recounting God's favours and describing the conditions of the unbelievers in Hell.
52	LXIV	23	1-8	Praise of the following:
53			1	a - Believing,
54			2	b - Concentration on prayers,
55			3	c - Avoidance of harmful or useless words.
56			4	d - Payment of alms.
57			5-6	e - Chastity,
58			8	f - Keeping trusts,
59			7	g - Regular observance of Prayers,
60			9-118	Argument about Resurrection, reminding of God's favours, and quoting the stories of Abraham, Moses and Pharaoh, and arguing with the unbelievers,
61	LXV	21	1-12	The whole chapter is devoted to warning of the Divine punishment, reminding of God's favours, and quoting stories of earlier Prophets, i.e., Moses, Abraham, Lot, Solomon, David, Job, Ishmael, Idrīs, Yūnus, Zacharia and John and Mary,
62	LXVI	25	1-77	The whole chapter is again devoted to argument with the unbelievers and warning them of the punishment, quoting the fate of the

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statements
				people of Noah, of 'Ad and Thamūd, and praising the following virtues of the believers:-
63			63	Modesty in walking,
64			63	Clemency and endurance,
65			67	To be moderate, not extravagant or mean,
66			68	Not to ascribe partners to God,
67			68	Not to shed innocent blood,
68			68	To abstain from <u>zina</u> ,
69			70-71	To repent,
70			72	To avoid giving false evidence
71			72	To ignore aggressive remarks, and
72			73	To harken to reminders.
73	LXVII	17	1-111	The chapter is again devoted to the general theme of argument with the unbelievers, and reminding of God's favours. In the course of the discussion the following are brought out:-
74			11	a - Description of man as being haughty, asking for evil when he means good,
75			15	b - Stating that each soul bears the result of its own work, not that of others,
76			17 & 25	c - Stating that God is well-aware of the sins of His creatures,
77			22	d - Prohibition of atheism,
78			23-24	e - Commanding good treatment of parents,

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statements
79			26	f- Commandment concerning giving relatives, the poor and those stranded on the road,
80			26-27	g - Prohibition of extravagance,
81			29	h - Teaching of moderation,
82			31	i - Prohibition of infanticide,
83			33	j - Prohibition of <u>Zinā</u> ,
84			33	k - Prohibition of shedding blood,
85			34	l - " of encroachment on the property of the orphans,
86			36	m - Commandment to give full measure and justice, in balance,
87			36	n - Guarding the senses from being used in sinful acts,
88			37	o - Condemnation of haughtiness,
89			78	p - Commanding prayers and the reading of the Qur'an, and
90			83	q - Stating that man tends to be ungrateful and unmindful of God's favours, while the he becomes anxious when he is deprived,
91	LXVIII	27	1-93	Again this Chapter argues with the unbelievers and warns them of the punishment which awaits them, and reminds of God's favours, and quotes stories of previous Prophets, i.e., Moses, David, Solomon and Lot. In the course of the discussion, the following ethical subjects are brought out,
92			3	a - Praying and alms giving,

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statements
93			55	b - Prohibition of <i>homo</i> - sexuality.
94			74	c - Stating that God knows what is done publicly and what is hidden.
95			91	d - Commanding worship of Allah and surrender to Him, and
96			92	e - Commanding the reading of the Qur'ān.
97	LXIX	18	1-110	All this chapter is devoted to the theme of consoling the Prophet, quoting the stories of the people of the Cave, a parable of two men, one of them takes pride in the favours bestowed upon him by God, and loses his wealth in the end; and the stories of Moses and his associate, and the story of the Man with Two Horns. In this course, the following ethical topics are brought out:
98			2,30,89, 107,110	a - Promise of good reward for righteousness.
99			23-24	b - Commanding the mention of the name of God when a promise is undertaken.
100			27	c - Commanding the reading of the Qur'ān, and
101			28	d - Commanding endurance and respect towards humble people who sincerely serve God.

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statements
102			32-43	A parable warning of loss of wealth by those who are ungrateful for God's favours.
103	LXIX	18	45-46	Stating that the material world is transitory, and wealth and children are merely deceptive favours, but good work is more rewarding.

APPENDIX C

Tables of Qur'anic Statements bearing on the human conduct which occur in the Revelations assigned to the last period of Mecca.

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statements
1.	LXX	32	1-32	This chapter is devoted to argument with the unbelievers, reminding them of God's favours and making a brief reference to Moses and the Israelis and to earlier nations. In the course of the discussion the following acts, are praised:
2.			15-16	a. Reflection in the manifestations of God's gestures is praised. b. Propitiation in humility to God, c. God's fearing, and d. Giving away from what one earns of God's favours.
3.			18-20	Here a distinction is made between those who surrender by believing and those who rebel and are described as <u>fasiq</u> , i.e., splitting out as rebellious. The former are praised rewards in Paradise, and the latter are warned about the humiliating punishment in Hell.
4	LXXI	41	1-54	This chapter is again devoted to argument with unbelievers in the same way as the previous one, reminding of God's favours, warning

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statements
				of punishment, stating that the limbs and skins will testify against the culprits and promising the believers of God's rewards and making brief reference to 'Ad, Thamūd and Moses. The following points are made in the course of discussion:
5			34-35	Praise of endurance and clemency, and of repelling aggression by obligation.
6			46	Stating ^{that} the consequences of the individual's attitude, good or otherwise, will be confined to him. It is interesting to note that the word ^{عمل} , (did), is used here, though what is meant is obviously the assumed attitude, and not necessarily physical acts
7			49-51	Describing Man's nature as: a - Being very concerned to be in good condition and to fulfill his ambitions, but he despairs when he is touched by misfortune. b - Being forgetful to God's favours and ungrateful as soon as he is recovered from misfortune in answer to his appeals, thinking that he attains fortune by his own ability!

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statements
8	LXXII	45	1-37	<p>c. Concluding by summarising that man is unmindful and haughty when he is covered by God's favours, and weak and propitiating when he is touched by misfortune.</p> <p>This chapter again is another sharp argument with the unbelievers, condemning their haughtiness and their ill-treatment of the Prophet and carelessness towards the Divine signs, warning them of severe punishment with a brief reference to Moses and the Israelis. In this course, the following points are made:</p>
9			14	<p>a - Commanding forgiveness of the aggressors who disbelieve in Resurrection, and</p> <p>b - Stating that good and evil consequences of human acts are confined to the individual responsible for the production of the acts. (Again the word <i>فعل</i>, (doing), is here employed, though what is meant here is clearly the attitude assumed).</p>
10	LXXIII	16	1-128	<p>The theme of this long chapter is argument with the unbelievers, condemning their attitude of rejecting monotheism and the doctrine of resurrection, and reminding them of God's favours and threatening them</p>

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statements
				of fearful punishment. It cannot be easily supposed that the whole chapter belongs to Mecca. Verse 41 e.g., speaks of the Emigrants, and the reference is more likely to the Emigrants to Madīnah rather than the emigrants to Abyssinia. However, the following ethical points are made:
11			22-23	Condemnation of haughtiness.
12			25	Stating that causing others to err results in bearing the punishment of erring.
13			42	Praising of patience and of seeking refuge in God.
14			49	Praising humility to God.
15			53-54	Condemning the attitude of anxiety in misfortune, and ingratitude for God's favours.
16			58-59	Condemning the attitude of resenting female children.
17			90	Commanding justice.
18			90	Commanding helpfulness.
19			90	Commanding giving relatives.
20			90	Condemnation of indecency.
21			90	Condemnation of aggression.
22			91	Commanding fulfilment of promise, especially when emphasised by oaths.
23	LXXIII	16	96	Condemnation of Despises the material world, and praises storing rewards with God.

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statements
24			100	Warning of Satan's seduction, and commanding seeking protection from it by relying on God.
25			115	Prohibition of consuming the flesh of unslaughtered animals, blood and Pork.
26			125-128	Commanding: a - That tactfulness be exercised in inviting to the way of God, b - That in retaliation, the punishment should not exceed the original offence, and c - To endure, and fear God.
27	LXXIV	30	1-60	This chapter is also made up of argument with the unbelievers, warning them and assuring the Prophet. The following points are made:-
28			33-34	Condemnation of the attitude of appealing in misfortune, and ingratitude for God's favours.
29			36	Condemnation of the attitude of being merry with fortune and desperate with with misfortune, which might be caused by one's own fault.
30			38	Command to give relatives, the poor and those stranded on the way.
31			39	Condemnation of taking interest on loans, <u>ribā</u> .
32			40	Promise of multiple rewards for almsgiving.
33			60	Command of endurance.

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statements
34	LXXV	11	1-123	This chapter deals with the condemnation of the unbelievers, reminding of God's favours and warning of His punishment, quoting the stories of Noah, 'Ād, Ṭhamūd, Abraham, Lot, Mary, and Moses with Pharaoh. The following ethical points are made:-
35			9-10	Condemnation of the attitude of despair on deprivation, and behaving recklessly towards God's favours.
36			46 & 81	Implications that a father's righteousness does not benefit an evil son; and a high rank of a husband does not save a disobedient wife.
37			84	Prohibition of injustice in measure or in weight.
38			113	Prohibition of siding with the wrong party.
39			114	Command of Prayers.
40			115	Command of endurance.
41	LXXVI	14	1-52	This chapter is again a condemnation of Muhammad's adversaries, and a consolation to Muhammad, quoting stories of Noah and Abraham and others. The following points are made:
42			31	Command of being regular with prayers.

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statement
43			31	Command to expend of God's bounty in helping the needy.
44	LXXVII	12	1-111	This whole chapter is devoted to praise ^{-ing} the truthfulness of Muhammad's mission. Although it chiefly deals with the story of Joseph, the story is brought as evidence of this as can be taken from the initial and concluding verses, especially vv.3 and 102. The last 10 verses are an assurance to the Prophet.
45	LXXVIII	40	1-75	This chapter again argues with the unbelievers, and warns them, quoting the story of Moses with Pharaoh. The following points are made:
46			60	Condemnation of haughtiness which prevents from surrendering to God and from worshipping Him.
47			77	Commandment of Patience.
48	LXXIX	28	1-88	This chapter is again a hot argument with the unbelievers, beginning with the story of Man beginning from his early life. The following points are made:
49			15	Condemnation of Satan's work of seduction.
50			3	Condemnation of haughtiness which blinded Pharaoh to the truth.
51			54	Praise of Patience.
52			55	Praise of ignoring insults.
53			78	Condemnation of <u>gharār</u> deception by wealth or fortune.

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statement
54			84	Promise of rewards greater than the acts.
55	LXXX	39	1-75	This chapter also argues with the adversaries of Muḥammad, warns them and reminds them of God's favours. The following points are made:
56			7	States that no one bears the responsibility of the acts of the others.
57			8 & 49	Condemns the attitude of appealing in misfortune and ingratitude and disbelief when one is covered with God's favours.
58			11	Commanding to worship God solely and with sincerity.
59			37	Praising truthfulness.
60			38	Praise for seeking refuge in God.
61			53	Assurances of forgiveness on repentance however great are one's faults, (However, this verse seems to be Maḍinan).
62	LXXXI	29	1-69	The whole chapter is devoted to argument with the unbelievers reminding of God's favours and warning of similar punishment to that suffered by those who disobeyed Noah, Abraham, Lot, Shū'ayb and Moses. In the course of the chapter, the following interesting points are made:
63			8	Importance of obedience and good treatment to parents unless it entails disbelief. Their endeavour to cause their child to disbelieve should be disregarded.

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statement
64			12	<p>Implication that disbelief is the foundation of all faults. In other words, the sins are the accompaniment of disbelief; therefore the unbelievers dared to invite the believers to follow their way and guaranteed to bear the consequences of their sins, namely, the acts which accompany disbelief and are described by Muhammed as sins. The issue between the two groups at the time was belief and disbelief, and it was apparently regarded that one can be either a believer free from sins or unbeliever with con-commitment sins. This notion is confirmed by v. 40 of the same chapter which concludes the stories of the fate of those who rejected their Prophets. It begins: "And thus, each, (of the mentioned categories of unbelievers), We have taken by their <u>dhanb</u>," So that acts including disbelief are described as a dhanb. It was the disbelief of the Lot's people which made them commit sodomy and commit highway robbery, vv. 28-29. It was the disbelief of the people of <u>Madian</u> which caused them to corrupt the earth, v.36.</p>
65.			45	<p>To counteract the persecution, the believers are encouraged to seek fortitude in reciting the verses of the Qur'an and keeping up their prayers</p>

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statements
				which, being incompatible with indecency and disapproved acts, forbids these.
66			59	Here again, endeavours and seeking refuge in God are praised.
67	LXXXII	31	1-34	This chapter is devoted to argument with those who reject the faith, reminding of God's favours and impressive creations, and quote, in full the story of <u>Luqmān</u> . The following ethical points are made directly or implicitly:
68			4 & 17	Praise for keeping prayers.
69			4	Praise for giving alms.
70			14	Command of respect to parents.
71			15	Command to disobey endeavours to make others disbelieve even if they are made by parents; at the sametime, cordial relations with them should be maintained maintained.
72			17	Command for guiding to the right course and guarding against evils.
73			17	Command to be patient.
74			18	Prohibition of obtruding (ولا تصغر حذاء الناس) (ostentatiousness).
75			18	Prohibition of haughtiness.
76			19	Praise of moderation in gait and in vice.
77	LXXXIII	42	1-53	This chapter is devoted to consoling the Prophet and condemning the unbelievers and their sins. It is stated that Muhammad's faith is identical

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statements
				with those of Noah, Abraham, Moses and Christ, but changes occurred through the mischief of the subsequent generations. The following ethical points are made:
78			25	That repentance is accepted and God thereby absolves faults.
79			30	That misfortunes are caused by man's own mistake, though God forgives generously.
80			37	Avoidance of abominable mistakes and indecencies is praised.
81			37, 40 & 43	Forgiveness is praised.
82	LXXXIII	42	38	Keeping prayers is praised.
83			38	Mutual consultation is praised.
84			38	Giving or spending from God's provision is praised.
85			39	Vindicating oneself against ^p oppressive _x treatment (over one's faith) is praised.
86			40-41	Authorising retaliation with justice.
87	LXXXIV	10	1-109	xxxxx The whole of this chapter is devoted to arguing with the unbelievers and consoling the Prophet, quoting again the stories of Noah and Moses and Asron, and making reference to other Prophets and to the doom which befell their adversaries. The following points are made:
88			3	Command of worshipping God.

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statements
89			12	Condemnation of the attitude of anxiety and propitiation when one suffers misfortune, and forgetting God's favours when misfortune is removed.
90			41	The use of the word ' <u>amal</u> ^{عمل} in the sense of the attitude of surrender and faith or rejection and disbelief.
91			105	Command of endurance.
92	LXXXV	34	1-54	This chapter is devoted to argument with the unbelievers, condemning and warning them and blaming them for obstructing their subordinates from following the right path, quoting David, Solomon and the downfall of the Sabaeans after their glory.
93	LXXXVI	35	1-45	This chapter again is devoted to consoling the Prophet, condemning and warning the unbelievers and inviting to reflect on God's favours and creations. The following points are made:
94			6	Warning to safeguard against Satan's seduction.
95			18	Stating that no soul bears the consequences of the faults of the others.
96			18 & 29	Keeping prayer is praised.
97			18	Self-purification is praised.
98			29	Recitation of the Qur'an is praised.
99			29	Spending from the provision given by God is praised.

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statements
100	LXXXVIII	7	1-206	This is one of the longest chapters, but it is all devoted to consoling the Prophet and condemning the unbelievers. The story of the Fall of Adam from Paradise as a result of Satan's seduction is given; and some of the argument between the dwellers of Paradise and the dwellers of Hell is related. Then the stories of Noah, 'Ād, Thamūd, Lot, Madian, Moses and Pharaoh and the Israelis are quoted. The following ethical points are made:
101			28 & 32	Prohibition of indecency, open or hidden,
102			29	Command for devoting whorship to God.
103			31- 32	Command for moderation, permissibility of good dress, and consumption of food and drink and maintaining a reasonable appearance.
104			33	Prohibition of all kinds of aggression and injustice.
105			100	Description of the attitude of the adversaries as <u>dhuhūb</u> in the plural, thus implying that the attitude of rejection or rebellion entails all acts of sins.
106			152	Stating that repentance cancels faults. Here again joining believing to repenting "والذين عملوا السيئات ثم تابوا من بعدها وآمنوا" and contracting them together with commission of faults,

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statements
				<u>sayyāṭat</u> , as their counterpart, em- phasise that <u>sayyī'ah</u> ^{may denote} as the attitude of rebellion, i.e., disbelief and sins.
107			204	Command to listen and concentrate when the Qur'an is recited.
108			205	Command to be mindful of God always.
109			206	Praise of worship, and humility to God.
110	LXXXVIII	46	1-35	This chapter is devoted to argument with the adversaries, referring to Moses and to the fate of 'Ad when they rejected their Prophet. Warning of a similar end. The following ethical point is made:
111			35	Command for patience and endurance.
112	LXXXIX		1-65	Another one of the longest chapters, and it is also devoted to argument with Muhammad's adversaries, reminding of God's favours, condemning the material life, consoling the Prophet Prophet, warning of the Divine punishment, reminding of God's favours and creations, quoting Abraham and another 17 Prophets. The following points are made:
113	LXXXIX	6	52	Prohibition of turning the back to the poor strata of society who have believed, in response to the inducement of the unbelieving aristocrats who demanded Muhammad to dismiss them so that they could consider believing

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statements
				him if he did so, and thus they would not have to associate with those lowly people (Tabri, Vol.7, P. 200)
114			72	Command for keeping up prayers.
115			137	Codemnation of infanticide.
116			138-139	Controversy over arbitrary prohibition of certain categories of cattle by the unbelievers,
117			142	Permissibility of consuming all that is provided by God.
118			145	Stating that the prohibited food is: unslaughtered dead animals, the bold which is shed and pork.
119			151-152	Prohibitions of: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Disbelief in God, ii. Infanticide, iii. Indecencies, iv. Murder, and v. Encroachment on the property of the orphans.
120			151-152	Command of: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Good treatment and respect of parents, and ii. Giving full weight and full measure, and iii. To speak with justice, (to say the truth). <p>(These do not appear to be lists of commands and prohibitions initiated by the Qurān. - From the context - "قل لا أجد فيما أوحى إليّ محرماً... and قل تعالوا أنزل ما حرم منكم عليكم...")</p>

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statements
				it is clear that the moral admonitions came as a response to arbitrary avoidances by the adversaries. It seems that what the Qur'an says is just confirmation of what is morally regarded as good or bad behaviour; and the Qur'an merely refutes the artificial and arbitrary discrimination of the unbelievers)
121	XC	13	1-43	This chapter is again devoted to argument with Muhammad's adversaries and concoling him, reminding of God's creation and warning of His punishment, and promises rewards for the right-out. The following points are made:
122			20	Fulfilment of promises and undertakings is praised.
123			20	Failure to observe covenants is condemned.
124			21	Fear of God and the Day of Resurrection is praised.
125			22	Endurance for the sake of God is commanded.

APPENDIX D

Summary of the Particular Qur'anic Ethical Teachings
throughout the Meccan Age

A. Injunctions

<u>During the First Four Years</u>	<u>During the 5th and 6th Years</u>	<u>From the 7th Year of the Hijrah</u>
1. Observance of God's greatness and Praising Him.	1. Endurance, clemency and seeking refuge in God.	1. Reflexion on the creation of God.
2. Avoidance of Abominations.	2. Believing.	2. Fearing Allah.
3. Cleanliness.	3. Kind treatment to parents,	3. Humility to God.
4. Endurance.	4. Prayers.	4. Spending, (giving alms) for God's sake.
5. Worship of God.	5. Alms-giving	5. Forgiveness and returning aggression by kindness.
6. Prayers.	6. Telling the Truth	6. Endurance and seeking refuge in God.
7. Giving for the sake of God.	7. Fulfilling Promises.	7. Justice.
8. Emancipation of slaves.	8. God-Fearing.	8. Giving Assistance
9. Feeding orphans and the poor.	9. Avoidance of useless and harmful words.	9. Fulfilment of Promises and oaths.
10. Mutual sympathy.	10. Chastity.	10. Assuming an attitude of understanding and tact in inviting to the right path.

During the First
Four Years

During the 5th and 6th
Years

From the 7th Year
of the Hijrah

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| 11. Reflection in God's creation. | 11. Modesty and humbleness. | 11. Giving relatives, the poor, the neighbours and those stranded on the way. |
| 12. Believing and righteousness. | 12. Moderation. | 12. Keeping up prayers. |
| 13. Reading the Scripture, and some other rituals. | 13. Repentance. | 13. Worshipping God with a sincere and devoted heart. |
| 14. | 14. Avoidance of unjust (untrue), testimony | 14. Truthfulness. |
| 15. Keeping trust. | 15. Harkening to Revelation. | 15. Respect and obedience to parents, unless they require going the wrong way. |
| | 16. Giving relatives, the poor and those stranded on the way. | 16. Recitation of the Qur'an. |
| | 17. Giving full measure and weight. | 17. Endeavouring to guide aright and restrain others from doing wrong. |
| | 18. Keeping the senses clear from sinful acts. | 18. Moderation, (politeness), in walking and in talking. |

During the First
Four Years

During the 5th and
6th Years

From the 7th Year of
of the Hijrah

- | | |
|--|---|
| 19. Recitation of the Qur'an. | 19. Repentance. |
| 20. Worship of God and seeking refuge in Him. | 20. Avoidance of, (abstention from), abominable mistakes. |
| 21. Mention of God's name when an undertaking is made. | 21. Mutual consultation. |
| 22. Respect for the underprivileged. | 22. Self-purification. |
| 23. Keeping trusts. | 23. Reasonableness in spending and in life generally. |
| | 24. Listening to the recitation of the Qur'an and reflecting on it. |
| | 25. Giving full weight and full measure. |

B. Prohibitions.

<u>During the First Four Years</u>	<u>During the 5th and 6th years</u>	<u>From 7th year up to Hijrah</u>
1. Obstruction of God's worship.	2. Polytheism.	1. Haughtiness.
2. Recalling favours.	2. Negligence of prayers.	2. Resentment of female birth.
3. Failing to observe prayers.	3. Hastiness (meanness when covered by God's favours, and despairing when touched by misfor- tune.	3. Indecencies, (obsene acts).
4. Failing to feed the poor.		4. Injustice to others, especially to weaker strata of society.
5. Failing to control the tongue.		5. Consumption of carcass of dead animals, of blood and of pork.
6. Disbelief.	4. Extravagance.	6. Taking interest on loans.
7. Maligning and scoffing and jeering.	5. Infanticide.	7. Unjust measure or weight.
8. Greedy accumulation of wealth.	6. Illicit cohabi- tation.	8. Siding with the enemy of Islam.
9. Ostentatiousness.	7. Murder.	9. Self-deception.
10. Failing to cooperate.	8. Encroachment on the property of the orphans.	10. Shamelessness.
11. Discriminating on account of prestige.	9. Haughtiness.	11. Looking low on others on account of worldly advantages.
12. Female infanticide.	10. Homo-sexuality.	12. Infanticide.
13. Unjust measure.	11. Deception by wealth.	13. Associating partners to God.
	12. Taking under pride in favours granted by God and failure to pay its duty.	14. Murder.
	13. Surrender to the temptation of the transitory world.	

APPENDIX E

Table of Qur'anic Statements bearing on the human conduct which occur in the Revelations assigned to the Madinese period.

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statements
1	XCI	2	1-150	This is the longest chapter in the Qurān, consisting of 286 verses. The first 150 verses reveal a bitter struggle between the Prophet on the one hand, and the People of the Book, the Jews, on the other. It is beyond our scope scope to give the details of the argument; but in the course of the argument certain teachings of ethical significance are inserted. The latter part of the chapter, 151 - 286, is predominantly concerned with ethical and ritual teachings, though reference to the adversaries and to the earlier Prophets such as Abraham and David are made. From here onwards, the teaching appears to be given deliberately, not as a response to challenges. Even when it appears to be a response, such as in verse 177, ⁺ (an asterix is enough), there is great elaboration. Here are the particular teachings made:
2.			2	Praise for those who fear God.
3			2 & 4	Praise for believing.

+ The verse begins: It is not righteous to face the East or the West, but righteousness is to believe in Allah, the Last Day, the angels, ...etc.

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Chron.	Order of verses	Statements
4			3	Praise for keeping prayers.
5			3	Praise for spending from God's provision.
6			21	Command to worship God.
7			30	Gratitude to God and praising Him given as a counterpart to corrupting the earth and shedding blood. In other words, (ritual teaching) is implicitly regarded as a safeguard against, and as incompatible with, immoral acts.
8			36	The story of Adam's fall having been caused by Satan.
9			43	Keeping Prayers and giving alms given as articles in the Jewish faith.
10			44	Behaving contrary to what one teaches is blamed.
11			45-153	Command to seek for—attitude in endurance and prayers.
12			83-84	Again, here is stated that monotheism, respect for parents, helping the relatives; the orphans, the poor, maintaining a sweet tongue, (unoffensive tongue), keeping up prayers and giving alms; and also the prohibition concerning shedding of blood, were parts of the Jewish teaching. The implication here is that it is not only the moral conscience which is the

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statements
				source of ethical teaching, but also the Revelation which confirms the judgement of the moral conscience.
13			109	Command to forgive the adversaries.
14			110	<i>Command for keeping prayers and giving alms.</i>
15			134-141	Concluding statements, stating that the previous nations were responsible for what they earned, as you are responsible for what you earn; and you are not to be questioned about what the they used to do. Thus, sins are not inherited.
16			152	Commanding to praise God, and to be grateful to Him.
17			154-156	Command regarding patience, even though the number of believers was going to be reduced in the course of the struggle, together with bodily suffering and loss of wealth.
18.			158	Some rituals of pilgrimage.
19.			160	Assurance about accepting, and repentance.
20.			168-172	Command to eat good and permissible food.
21			168 & 208	Command to guard against Satan's seduction.
22			172	Prohibition of dead animals, pork, and blood and animals slaughtered in the name of idols.
23			173	Permissibility of prohibited foods in case of emergencies.
24			177, 214-215, 219-220	Definition of <u>birr</u> , (righteousness), as comprising:

No.of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statements
				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Belief in God, Resurrection, the Angels, the Books and the Prophets, ii. Giving wealth to relatives, the orphans, the poor and those stranded in the way and those who seek charity, and in freeing slaves, iii. Keeping up prayers, iv. Giving alms, v. Fulfilment of covenants, vi. Endurance in misfortune, in war and in all difficulties.
25			178-179	Teaching of retaliation, an eye for an eye, and a soul for a soul, etc.
26			180	Bequeathing.
27			183-185 & 187	Fasting.
28			188	Prohibition about consuming others' property illegally.
29			189	Command to approach houses from the normal doors.
30			190-194 (216-218) (244-245)	Command about fighting without being aggressive, and avoiding the fighting near the Sacred Mosque and during the Sacred Months, unless forced to do so.
31			195	Spending in the cause of God.
32			195	Guarding against exposing oneself to danger.
33			196-203	Some rituals of Pilgrimage.

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statements
34			204-205	Condemnation of revealing opposite to what lies in the heart, and the implication in the fact that the physical acts reveal the inside of the mind.
35			206	Condemnation of concieted haughtiness.
36			207	Praise of self-sacrifice for God's sake.
37			208	Command of being peaceful.
38.			219	Prohibition of wine.
39			219	Prohibition of gambling.
40			221-242	Some teachings regarding marraige, marital relations, about cohabitation with wives, divorce, wet-nursing, waiting periods on separation of spouses, proposing to a separated wife, and gift and bride-wealth due to a divorcee.
41			261-266	Spending without an intention of ostentatiousness, hurting or behaving haughtily towards those asking for alms.
42			267-270	Spending of the best.
43			271-274	Spending generally.
44			275-280	Prohibition of <u>Ribā</u> , (usury)
45			282	Matters related to writing, (recording), of Loan.
46			283	Mort ^g age in the absence of writing as a security measure.

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statements
47			286	Statement that God commands only what is within man's ability.
48	XCII	98	1-8	This is a small chapter devoted to condemning the unbelievers, the pagans and the People of the Book, for rejecting Muhammad's message. They are warned of punishment, while rewards are promised for the believers who are righteous.
49	XCIII	64	1-18	This chapter is devoted to condemning the unbelievers, warning of their punishment, and promising rewards for the believers, guiding the latter to seek fortune in endurance and reliance on God.
50			14	Commanding forgiveness.
51			16	Commanding fear of God.
52			16-17	Commanding spending.
53	XCIV	62	1-8	This part of the chapter condemns and argues with the Jews.
54			9	Command of about leaving business when Friday congregation is due.
55			10	Command about resuming business after the congregation.
56			11	Condemning negligence of religious duties in ^{preparing} preparing to material benefit.
57	XCV	8	1-75	This chapter, although it reflects disputes with the unbelievers and the wars with them, deliberately gives ethical teachings; and begins

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statements
				with the famous opening: "They ask you....." The following are the particular ethics of the chapter:
58			1,2,29	i. Command about fearing God.
59			1	ii. Command about making peace and removing disputes.
60			1,20,24, 46.	iii. Command about obedience to God and to the Prophet.
61			3	iv. Keeping prayers.
62			3	v. Spending of God's provision.
63			15-16,20	Prohibition of defection during military operations.
64			27	Prohibition of cheating and dishonesty,(hypocrisy).
65			28	Command to guard against seduction by wealth and children.
66			38	Assurance of absolving all on conversion.
67			39	Command to fight the unbelievers till peace and faith prevail.
68			41,69	Distribution of loot, and permissibility of consuming it.
69.			45-46	Command about endurance and persistence in military operations against the infidels.
70.			46	Prohibition of discard,(dispute, disunity),
71			53	Implication that the change of human attitude is responsible for misfortune.
72			56	Condemnation of disregard to covenants.

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statements
73			60	Command to prepare for eventualities.
74			61-75	Matters related to military techniques, war-prisoners, and command to fight in the way of God.
75	XCVI	47	1-38	This chapter is concerned with fighting and condemnation of the enemies, and it is thrrefore sometimes called "Chapter of al-Qitāl". Therefore we find the following points made:
76			4,31	Calling for persistence and endurance in fighting the unbelievers.
77			4	Command not to release war prisoners till the war is over; and whether they are to be released freely or against ransom.
78			4-6	Promise of Paradise for those who fall in war as martyrs.
79			33	Call for obeying Allah and His Messenger.
80	XCVII	3	1-200	This ^s is one of the longest chapters; the first part of it, (up to v.120), is covered with argument and condemnation of the adversaries, especially the People of the Book who mixed the truth with falsehood. Therefore the stories are quoted of Zachariah, the birth of Mary and of Christ, and a reference is made to Abraham. The

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statements.
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assumption is that the Qur'an is rectifying the truth about their dignities, purifying it from the accumulation of the generations. It declares ^{that} Abraham was neither a Jew nor a Christian; and that it is Muhammad, and the mu'minun and also those who really followed the true message of Abraham, have a right to claim Abraham, (v.67-68). It also state that what the Muslims believed was that which had descended on Abraham, Ishmael, Issac and Jacob and the Patriachs, and what was given to Mary and Jesus and to the Prophet^s from their Lord (v.84). The latter part of the chapter deals mainly with the fighting with the unbelievers. The following particulars are made, however:

81

14

Man's susceptibility to seduction by desire, and to distraction from duty by women, children and large quantity of wealth: gold, silver, houses, cattle and land produce, all of which are deceptive privileges of the transitory world,

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statements.
82.			17	Praise of truthfulness, patience, obedience, spending and asking for forgiveness.
83			31	Following the Prophet Muhammad is given as an indication of love of God.
84			31 & 39	Declaring that repentance by following the Prophet absolves sins.
85			32,132	Command to obey God and the Messenger.
86			75-77	Praise of respect of trust and condemnation of failing to do so.
87			91,116,117	Declares that <u>Kufr</u> cancels all good works, including spending as much gold as could fill the earth.
88			92	Declaring that righteousness is to spend away from the most-beloved property.
89			93	Implication that a dispute had arisen with the Jews over prohibited articles. It seems that some articles permitted for consumption by Muhammad were not so according to the Jewish practice at the time, and this encouraged the Jews to deny that Muhammad's faith corresponded with that of the earlier Prophets. However, the significance is that Muhammad's mind was that he did not bring new

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of services	Statements.
				prohibitions or laws. Therefore, he changes ^{en} the Jew to bring forward and read the <u>Tawrah</u> ^(Torah) , and in the following verses, (94-95) he warns them and commands commands that the system of Abraham should be followed.
90			96-97	Here is a statement that the Ka'abah was the first house of God, and having some relationship with Abraham. In the the middle of the statement, pilgrimage is declared as an obligation. If the order of the verses here is chronological, the pilgrimage ritual might have been one of the disputed points. Therefore the following verses, 98 - 99 reproach the People of the Book.
91			100-102 105,149	Warning the believers against harkening to the misguidance of some of the People of the Book.
92			103	Command of Unity, and prohibition of disputing.
93			104,110, 114	Command to invite for the <u>ma'rūf</u> , i.e., what is recognised as approved mode of behaviour; and to warn against its antonym, <u>munkar</u> , i.e., what is a disapproved mode of behaviour. This again ^{may imply} is an evidence that Muhammad regards his ethical message

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statements
				as a confirmation of the judgement of the general conscience of good and evil.
94			118	Warning against taking confidants outside the circle of Muslims.
95			122	Command to rely on God.
96			130	Prohibition of multiple interest on loan.
97			134	Praise ^{for} spending.
98			134	Praise for forgiveness and clemency.
99			135	Praise for asking forgiveness.
100			155	Condemning defection in military operations.
101			161	Condemning injustice in distributing the booty.
102			175	Warning against Satan's seduction.
103			180	Condemning misery and failure to spend in the cause of Allah.
104			186	Stating that man is put on trial by misfortune in wealth and in his life and by the enemies.
105			191	Praise for remembering God in all conditions and reflection in His creations.
106			200	Command about endurance and co-operation in encouraging persistence and preparing for eventualities.
107	XCVIII	61	2-3	Condemnation of failure to fulfil one's words.
108			4 & 11	Praise and command for fighting in the way of God, both physically and by wealth.

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statements
109	XCIX	57	7,8,19,28 47	Command to believe in God, and in His Apostel.
110			7,9,10,18	Command to spend,(in the cause of God).
111			20	Condemnation of the transitory world.
112			22-33	Stating that misfortunes are trials,
113			25	Condemnation of meanness.
114	C	4	1-176	This is another one of the longest chapters; and it is nearly entirely devoted to commands and prohibitions concerned with personel law. The following particulars are made:
115			1	Command about fear of God.
116			2-3,5-6	Command to observe the right of the orpahns.
117			8-10	Command to observe the right of the women.
118			11-12	Rules for shares in inheritance,
119			12-14	Stating that the above rules are laid down by God, and He is to be obeyed in them. Obedience results in rewards and disobedience leads to punishment. Thus, it is implied that even in such rules which appear to be murdane, God is to be obeyed, and disobedience is a sin;
120			15-16	Temporal punishment of women committ- ing indecency.
121			16	Temporal Punishment of a couple co- mmitting indencency.
122			16-18	Matters of repentance.
123			19-21	Matters related to women&s rights.

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statements
124			22-23	Matters about regulating marriage.
125			26	Statement that God wishes to guide you into tradition of those who came before you: " <i>يريد الله ليبن لكم ويهديكم سنن الذين من قبلكم</i> "
126			29-30	Prohibition of consuming others' property except through approved transactions of business.
127			29	Prohibition about killing.
128			31	Statement that avoidance of grave prohibitions cancels others.
129			32,54	Prohibition of craving for the favours in the hands of others.
130			34-35	Disputes between married couples and settling them.
131			36	Command to worship God alone.
132			36	Command to be good to parents.
133			36	Command to be good to relatives, the poor the relative who are neighbours, the neighbour who is noa relative, to the acquaintances, to those stranded on the way, and to the slaves.
134			36	Haughtiness and ostentatiousness blamed.
135			37	Meanness is blamed along with disbelief.
136			38	Seeking a name through spending is blamed along with disbelief.
137			43	Prohibition of prayers during intoxications.
138			44	Ritual ablution.
139			48,116	Statement that disbelief is unpardonable, while other sins are.

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statements
140			58	Command to return trusts.
141			58	Command to rule with justice.
142			59,69,81	Command to obey God and the Apostle and those shouldering the responsibilities.
143			71	Command to safeguard against eventualities.
144			74-76,84, 95-96	Command to fight in the way of God.
145			86	Command to return greetings in equal or greater terms.
146			92	Expiation for murder.
147			93	Prohibition of murder.
148			94	Prohibition of rushing to accuse without adequate investigation.
149			100	Encouragement to seek God's favours on earth by emigration, (if necessary).
150			101-103	Matters to do with prayers' rituals.
151			105-109	Blaming defending traitors.
152			110	Encouraging asking for absolving sins.
153			111	Stating that sin's punishment is confined to culprits.
154			112	Stating that false accusation is a grave sin.
155			114	Praise for encouraging giving alms and making peace.
156			119-120	Blaming giving in to Satan's seduction.
157			127	Recommending good treatment with women and the orphans.
158			128-130	Settling disputes between married couples.
159			131	Command to fear God.

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statements
160			135	Command to give testimony with justice, even if it is against the interest of the nearest relatives.
161			136	Command to believe in God, His Apostle, and the Books.
162			138-139 144	Condemnation of siding with the enemies of Islam.
163			148	Condemnation of raising the voice with insulting words.
164			150	Praise for forgiveness.
165			160	Condemnation of oppression, injustice.
166			161	Condemnation of <u>riba</u> , and encroachment on other's property.
167			162	Praise of prayers and alms-giving.
168			176	Matters of inheritance.
169	CI	65		This chapter is concerned with: Timing of Divorce; right of divorcee for accommodation; the waiting period; and the right of maintenance.
170	CII			This chapter reflects the struggle with the People of the Book, (Jews), and the Hypocrites. The following particulars are made:
171			7-10	Distribution of the Loot.
172			9	Praise of self-sacrificing.
173			18	Command about fearing God and storing for the future.
174	CIII	33	1-73	This chapter reflects disputes with the unbelievers and the hypocrites; and the following particulars are made:

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statements
175			1,70	Command about fearing God.
176			3,48	" to rely on God.
177			177 4	Reproachment of <u>Zihar</u> (i.e., to say to a wife: 'You are for me like the back of my mother').
178			4-5	Reproachment about adopting other people's children.
179			13-18	Reproachment of withdrawing from the battle field field with improper excuses.
180			21	Requiring to follow the personal example of the Prophet.
181			23-24	Praise for fulfilling assurances.
182			30	Condemnation of indencency.
183			31	Praise for obedience and righteousness.
184			33,55,59	Prohibition about women's exposing their fascinating parts in the pre-Islamic fashion, except in front of close relatives.
185			33	Command for keeping prayers.
186			33	Command for paying alms.
187			34,37	Command about obedience to God and His Apostle.
188			35	Praise of those who surrender, believe, who are obedient, truthful, enduring, submissive, giving charity, those who fast, who are continent and who remember God.
189			36	Forbidding disobedience to God and His Apostle.
190			41-42	Command to remember God and praise Him.
191			49,52	Matters of marriage.

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statements
192			53	Manners about how to behave in private houses.
193			70	Command to use straight speech.
194	CIV	63	1-11	This chapter argues against the Hypocrites; and the following points are made:
195			9	Warning against the distraction from remembering God by wealth and number of children, (offspring),
196			10	Command to spend from God's provision.
197	CV	24	1-64	This chapter deals with specific moral teachings and reminds of God's creation. The following particulars are made:
198			2-3	The temporal punishment of illicit cohabitation.
199			4-9	Punishment for accusation of illicit cohabitation by less than four witnesses, and relief thereof.
200			11-25	Condemnation of those who were involved in the fabricated scandal of the Prophet's wife.
201			20	Condemnation of publicising obscene acts claimed to have been committed by believers.
202			21	Warning against Satan's seduction.
203			22	Command to forgive and even help those who commit aggression against us.
204			27-29	Manners for visiting private houses.
205			30-31	Command to preserve one's eye from falling on modest parts, and to preserve one's modest parts from sins.

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statements
206			31	Command that believing women should cover their fascinating parts except in front of close relatives.
207			32-33	Matters related to marriage.
208			37	Praise for preference for serving God, praying and alms-giving to business dealings, (not to be distracted from religious duties by business).
209			51, 52,	Praise for obeying God and the Apostle.
210			⁵⁴ 58-63	Manners for for seeking permission to enter on others, and manners of address.
211	CVI	58	1-22	This chapter gives the following particulars: xx
212			2	Condemnation of annoying a wife by declaring that she stands in the position of the back of the mother, " <u>Zihar</u> ".
213			3-4	Expiation of <u>Zihar</u> is explained.
214			8-10	Condemnation of conversing privately as in conspiracy or forming conclaves.
215			11-12	Manners of assembling and of address.
216			22	Prohibition of making friends with the enemies of God, even though they are relatives.
217	CVII	22	1-78	It is clear that the verses of this chapter do not belong to one date; but even if it is submitted that the whole chapter is Madinan, many of the references are to the adversaries in Mecca. We read Reminders of God's greatness and condemnation of the pagans and argument about Resurrection: However, the following particulars are made:
218			1	Command to fear God, to avoid the great punishment on the day of Resurrection.
219			11	Condemnation of instability in worship.

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statements.
220			25	Condemnation of repelling from the way of Allah and denying access to the Secred Mosque.
221			27-29	Matters about Pilgrimage rituals.
222			30	Prohibition of making false statements.
223			35-36, 41, 78	Praise of fearing God, patience, keeping prayers and giving alms.
224			42	Praise of guiding to the right path and warning against evils.
225			60	Permissibility of retaliation within the degree of the offence.
226			77	Command for Prayers and worship.
227			77	Command for doing good in general.
228			78	Command to endeavour in the way of God.
229			78	Command to unite.
230	CVII	48	1-29	This chapter argues against adversaries; and the following particulars are made:
231			15-17	Condemnation of failure to join military operation without a legitimate excuse.
232	CIX	65	17	Praise of obedience to God and His Messenger.
233	CIX	66	1	Condemnation of abstention from permissible things to please others.
234			6	Command to safeguard against fearful punishment in Fire.
235			8	Command to repeat.
236			9	Command to fight the unbelievers and the Hypocrites.

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statements
237			10	Prohibition of conspiracy.
238			12	Praise of charity.
239	CX	60	1-6,9, 13	Prohibition of taking friends from amongst the enemies of Islam, even though they are relatives.
240			8	Permissibility of associating with unbelievers who are not aggressive against Muslims.
241			10-11	Matters about marrying emigrant wives who have deserted their unbelieving husbands.
242			12	Prohibition of: 1 - Disbelief, 2 - Theft, 3 - Illicit cohabitation, 4 - Infanticide, 5 - Devising scandals, 6 - Disobedience in what is regarded as approved, (desirable), acts.
243	CXI	110	3	Command of Praising God.
244			3	Command of seeking absolving of sins.
245	CXII	49	1-5	Manners of addressing and calling the Prophet.
246	CX		6	Command to seek confirmation of information received before acting on the information.
247			9-10	Command to make peace between the disputing parties; and in case of unwilling party, it has to be overpowered.
248			11	Prohibition of mocking and scoffing and of reviling with nicknames.

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statements
249			12	Warning against suspicion, (to base on suspicion).
250			12	Prohibition of spying on each other.
251			12	Prohibition of going behind the back of one another, (back-biting).
252			13	Statement of equality of man, and the preference is to be based on acts.
253			15	Endeavour in the way of God by offering oneself and by wealth is praised.
254	CXIII	9	1-129	This chapter reflects a bitter struggle with the various categories of adversaries; and the whole atmosphere is a military one. The following points are made:-
255			1-11	Commitments of military covenant are discussed.
256			12-15	Command to fight those who violate the terms of covenants.
257			16,19-22 29,36,41, 73,111, 123	Urging for fighting for the sake of God
258			18	Praise of care for mosques.
259			23-24	Prohibition of associating closely with relations who are unbelievers.
260			34	Prohibition of consuming others' property through corrupt means.
261			34	Condemnation of obstructing the way of God.
262			34	Condemnation of storing wealth without spending for the sake of God.
263			37	Condemnation of postponing the ^{industrious} sacred months to suit/military ends.

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statements
264			38-40, 42-47, 81, 86-82	Condemnation of reluctance of answer the call to fight in the way of God.
265				
265			60	Categories of those entitled to alms are fixed.
266			81,112	Guiding to what is recognised as good, and warning against what is regarded as evil, is praised.
267			71	Keeping up prayers and giving alms are praised.
268			71	Obedience to God and His Apostle is praised.
269			84	Prohibition of praying over dead unbelievers.
270			90-92	Causes of relief from the obligation of fighting.
271			107	Condemnation for causing discord among Muslims,
272			119	Command to fear God.
273			119	Command to be truthful.
274			121	Praise for spending, and endeavouring in the way of God.
275	CXIV	5	1-120	This is another one of the longest chapters, and it apparently contains very late verses. R. Bell assigns it to three periods, namely, late 2nd or early 3rd year of Hijrah, round the time of <u>Hudaibiyah</u> and post-Meccan conquest. A large proportion of the chapter reflects sharp dispute with the People of the Book. The following particulars can

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statements
				be gathered.
276			1	Command to observe the fulfilment of undertakings.
277			1-2	Prohibitions of certain acts during the pilgrimage ritual and during the sacred months and at the Sacred Mosque.
278			2	Command to cooperate in righteousness, and abstain from seducing the evil.
279			2,7	Command to fear God.
280			3	Prohibition of certain categories of food except in emergencies.
281			4-5,88, 93	Permissibility of consuming good food, the catch of hunting dogs, the food of the People of the Books, and of marrying believing Muslim women and women of the People of the Book.
282			6	Deals with the ablution ritual.
283			8	Command to observe justice, in giving witness even when danger is threatening.
284			13-14	Condemnation for failure to observe the terms of covenants.
285			30,32	Condemnation of murder.
286			33,34	Temporal Punishment of highway robbery. (This is as the verse is normally interpreted, but it apparently refers to those who dare to "fight God" - against God's religion and cause corruption on earth).

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of verses	Statements
287			35	Command to seek God's reward through the means of endeavour in the way of Allah.
288			38-39	Temporal punishment for stealing.
289			45	Quoting with approval the system of retaliation in the Torah, an eye for an eye, etc.
290			46-48	^{Here} How it is stated that the Evangel of Christ confirms what was in the Torah, and the Qur'an confirms, what was in the earlier Books, apparently the Torah and the Evangel. This confirms the theory that the Qur'an and Muhammad do not claim a new system. The dispute is about the details, namely the temporal punishment of a murderer or of adulterers, (Tabarī), Jāmi', Vol.6, PP. 231-236). The statement in v.48, "And we We have made a way for each of you " لكل جعلنا منكم شريعة " does not necessarily different ways.
291			48-49	Command to be guided in decisions by God's Revelation.
292			54	Condemnation of defection, (apostasy)
293			54	Praise of endeavour in the way of God without fear of blame.
294			57, 80-81	Prohibition of befriending unbelievers who despise or insult the faith.
295			64	Condemnation of corruption on earth (kindling discord),

No. of Item	Chron. Order	Trad. Order	Order of Verses	Statements
296			78	Condemnation of sin in general.
297			79	Condemnation of failure to warn others against sin.
298			87	Prohibition of abstaining from consuming good, permissible food.
299			89	Expiation for breaking an oath.
300			89	Command to respect oaths, (to fulfil them).
301			90	Prohibition of: Wine, Cambling, stone altars, and Divining arrows.
302			91	Warning against the seduction of Satan.
303			92	Command to obey God and the Apostle.
304			95-96	Prohibition of hunting game, and permissibility of fishing during the rate of pilgrimage.
305			101	Warning against unnecessary enquiries.
306			105	Command to care for oneself, and not to meddle in the affairs of others.
307			106-108	Matters related to witnessing on making of wills.
308			119	Praise of truthfulness.

A P P E N D I X F

Comparative Tables summarising the particular Qur'anic commands and prohibitions during the ages of Mecca, and Madīnah, based on the summaries of these teachings appearing in Chapter I

No.	The Particulars	Their numerical orders in the Appendices <i>early tables</i>			
		A	B	C	D ⁺
<u>A. POSITIVE TEACHINGS</u>					
<u>i. Common</u>					
1.	Avoidance of Abominations and harmful speeches.	2	9	20	44
2.	Believing in God and the mission of Muhammad.	12	2		2
3.	Cleanliness and Chastity and self-purification.	3	10	22	43
4.	Emancipation of slaves, voluntarily or in expiation for oath.	8			36
5.	Endurance and patience in misfortunes of all kinds.	4	1	6	7, 10
6.	Forgiving and rewarding aggression by obligations.			5	8
7.	Fulfilling promises, undertakings and oaths.		7	9	13,55
8.	Full measure and weight.		17	24	
9.	Giving charity or alms, especially to relatives and the needy, and from the best quality.	7	5,17	4,11	18,31
10.	Guiding aright and warning against evil.			17	26
11.	Justice, in business, in judging a and in ruling and in giving witness.			17	32,40

+A stands for the summaries of the 1st. Meccan period, B and C for the 2nd and 3rd Meccan periods, and D for the Madinan period.

No.	The Particulars	Their numerical orders in the Appendices <i>early tables</i>			
		A	B	C	D
12.	Keeping the senses clear from ^{sinful} acts, including false testimony.		18		
13.	Keeping Trust.	14	23		23
14.	Kind treatment to parents.		3	15	30
15.	Mentioning God's name when an undertaking is made.		21		
16.	Moderation in spending, in walking and in talking.		12	18,23	
17.	Modesty and humbleness.		11	3	
18.	Mutual sympathy and cooperation, and to be united.	10		8, 21	25,51
19.	Observance of God's greatness, or being God-fearing,(piety)	1	8	2	1,27
20.	Prayers	6	4	12	3
21.	Reading,(Reciting the text), or listening to it with reflection and concentration.	13	19	16,24	
22.	Reflection and harkening to reminders.	11	15	1	
23.	Repentance.		13	19	12
24.	Respect for the under-privileged.		22		
25.	Tactfulness and patience in inviting to the right path.			10	
26.	Telling the truth.		6	14	22,44
27.	Worship of God and seeking refuge in Him, not giving to despair.	5	1,20	13	5,38,41

APPENDIX ^F~~E~~ (CONT.)

No.	The Particulars	The numerical orders in the Appendices <i>early tables</i>			
		A	B	C	D
	<u>ii. Madīnan Only</u>				
1.	Approaching dwelling fōm normal entrances.				58
2.	Being peaceful.				17
3.	Casting down one's eyes, and guarding one's private parts.				45
4.	Confirming news before acting seriously.				72
5.	Covering by women of the attractive parts of their body in the presence of strangers.				46
6.	Emigrating if safety of the faith is threatened.				37
7.	Emulating the example of the Prophet.				42
8.	Endeavour in seeking God's favour.				52
9.	Expiation on breaking oath or repeating Jahiliyya words disruptive to conjugal relations such as <u>zihār</u> and <u>'ilā'</u> .				48
10.	Fasting				14
11.	Fighting in the defence of the faith.				15
12.	Giving priority to ritual duties over mundane activities.				47
13.	Gratitude to God and praising Him.				9
14.	Guarding against Satan's seduction.				6
15.	Leaving business at the time of Friday prayers, and resuming normal life thereafter.				19, 62
16.	Maintenance of Mosques.				50
17.	Making peace and settling disputes.				20, 67

No.	The Particulars	The numerical orders in the Appendices <small>early tables</small>			
		A	B	C	D
18.	Making wills, (bequeathing).				57
19.	Obdeience to God and His Apostle.				53
20.	Observing pilgrimage.				11,24
21.	Observing proper manners when visiting private dwellings, and in assembling and in addressing.				70,71
22.	Observing the principle of retaliation a soul for a soul				56
23.	Observing the Qur'anic guidance in concluding military agreements.				74
24.	Observing the Qur'anic rules of inheritance.				65
25.	Observing the Qur'anic rules governing distribution of war spoils, and treatment of war prisoners.				63,64
26.	Observing the Qur'anic rules of marriage and related matters.				59
27.	Observing the rights of women in accordance with the Qur'anic guidance.				66
28.	Preparing for eventualities or emergencies, by taking adequate precautions.				21,68
29.	Recording loans and the advisability of mortgaging for security.				60,61
30.	Regarding all men equal, with no discrimination except on the basis of piety.				73
31.	Respecting the orphans' rights.				28
32.	Righteousness and good work in general.				49,54,69
33.	Returning greeting in equal or better terms.				35
34.	Seeking guidance from the Revelation when making decisions ^{or} giving judgements.				53
35.	Self-denial for God's sake.				16
36.	Spending on defence.				4

APPENDIX F (CONT.)

No.	The Particulars	Numerical order in B, D, F, H the early tables			
<u>B. PROHIBITIONS</u>					
<u>i. Common between Mecca and Madinah</u>					
		A	B	C	D
1.	Consumption of carcas, pork or blood.			5	2
2.	Disbelief, or polytheism.	6	1	13	23
3.	Discrimination on account of prestige, and disrespect of the poor.	11		11	22
4.	Encroachment on the property of others, especially the orphans.		8		3
5.	Failure to observe ordinances and obligations.	3,4,5,10	2		10,14,42
6.	Hastings, (to be in haste).		3		
7.	Haughtiness (pride by self-deception),		9	1,9	5
8.	Homosexuality.		10		
9.	Immoderation, (extravagance),		4		
10.	Indecencies, (obsene acts).			3,10	31
11.	Infanticide, (connected with this is the resentment of female births).	12	5	2,12	40
12.	Injustice, oppression and aggression, especially against the weak.			4	16,29
13.	Maligning, scoffing and jeering, reviling, nicknaming.	7			43
14.	Meanness, and failure to pay one's duties.		11		17
15.	Murder.		7	14	21
16.	Obstructing God's worship.	1			36
17.	Ostentatiousness.	9			
18.	Recalling favours.	2			
19.	<u>Ribā</u> , (interest on loans).			6	9
20.	Running after wealth.	8			
21.	Rushing after wealth and prestige in the transitory world, and not paying commitments		12		49
22.	Siding with the party inimical to Islam.			8	15
23.	Unjust measure or weight.	13		7	
24.	<u>Zinā</u> , (illicit cohabitation).		6		39

No.	The Particulars	Numerical order in B, D, F, H the early tables			
		A	B	C	D
	<u>ii. Madinan</u>				
1.	Abetting Sins.				55
2.	Abstention without a good reason from acts or ^{from} consuming things otherwise permissible.				37
3.	Accusing or suspecting without foundations.				25
4.	Acting on suspicion.				44
5.	Adopting children as one's own.				30
6.	Back-biting.				46
7.	Behaving contrary to what one teaches (or contrary to one's own teaching), or making a show of charity.				1,2,4
8.	Changing the order to suit self-interest, such as postponing the sacred months to suit military or other interests.				50
9.	Cheating and dishonesty.				12
10.	Conspiring and conversing privately.				34,54
11.	Defection from battle.				11
12.	Devising scandals.				41
13.	Disobedience.				33
14.	Disuniting.				13
15.	Envy, (craving the favours in the hands of others).				21
16.	Exposition by women of ordinarily-covered parts.				32
17.	False Accusations.				27
18.	Cambling.				7
19.	Giving way to Satan's temptation.				28
20.	Hypocrisy.				4
21.	Insulting or hurting the poor on giving him alms, (behaving haughtily to one asking alms).				8
22.	Irregularity in carrying out religious ordinances.				35

APPENDIX F (CONT.)

No.	The Particulars	Numerical order in B, D, F, H the early tables			
		A	B	C	D
23.	Meddling in the affairs of others or posing as unwanted preachers.				58
24.	Obtruding by raising unnecessary questions.				57
25.	Praying over dead unbelievers.				52
26.	Publicising human failures.				48
27.	Reluctance to answer the call for defending the faith.				51
28.	Risking, or exposing oneself to, danger.				59
29.	Spreading the seeds of discord among Muslims.				53
30.	Spying on others and intruding on their privacy.				45
31.	Stealing.				38
32.	Succumbing to the distractions of the material world.				19
33.	Unfulfilling promises or undertakings.				18, 47
34.	Use of stone alters and of divining arrows.				56
35.	Vindicating the party on the wrong.				26
36.	Wine.				6

REFERENCES TO VERSES OF THE REVELATIONS ASSIGNED BY NOLDEKE TO THE EARLY PERIOD OF MECCA WHICH CONTAIN WORDS USED IN THE SENSE OF CRIME OR MISTAKE.

I

Chapters	Words	Verses	Chapters	Words	Verses
XCVI	طغيان	6	LXXXIX	طغيان	11
	خاطئة	16		فساد	12
LXXIV	رجز	5	LXXV	فجور	6
	ضلال	31	LXXXIII	فجور	7
	اجرام	41		ضلال	32
XCIV	وزر	2		اثم	12
XCIII	ضلال	7		عدوان	12
XC1	فجور	8	LXIX	خاطئة	9,37
	طغوى	11		عصيان	10
	ذنب	14	LI	عتو	44
LXXX	فجور	41		اجرام	32
LXVIII	ضلال	7,26	LI	اسراف	39
	عدوان	12		فسق	46
	اثم	12		ظلم	59
	طغيان	31		طغيان	53
	اجرام	35	LII	اثم	23
LXXIII	عصيان	16		ظلم	47
XCIX	شر	8	LVI	اثم	25
LXXXII	فجور	14		محنه	46
LXXXI	ذنب	9		تلال	51,92
LIII	اساءة	31	LXX	اجرام	42
	ضلال	2,30		عدوان	31
	اثم	32	LV	ذنب	39
	فحش	32		اجرام	41,43
	لم	32	I	ضلال	7
	وزر	38			
	ظلم	52			
	طغيان	52			
LXXIX	طغيان	17,37			
	عصيان	21			
LXXVII	اجرام	18,46			
LXXVIII	طغيان	22			

VERSES ASSIGNED TO THE 5TH AND 6TH YEARS OF MECCA

Chapters	Words	Verses	Chapters	Words	Verses
LIV	مجرمين	47		اسراف	127
	ضلال	24,47	XXVI	ظلم	10,227
XXXVII	ظلم	22,63,113		ضلال	24,30, 47,86, 97,99.
	طغيان	30		زنب	14
	ضلال	69,71		خطيئة	51,82
	غى ، اغواء	32		عدوان	166
	اجرام	34		غى	91,95, 224.
LXXI	عصيان	24		اجرام	99,200
	ضلال	24,27		افساد	152,183
	ظلم	24,28		اسراف	151
	فجور	27		عصيان	216
LXXVI	اثم	24		اثم	222
	ظلم	31		اجرام	12,58
L	ضلال	27	XV	ضلال	56
	عدوان	25		اباء	31
XX	خطيئة	73		غى	41
	ضلال	52,79,85, 92		ظلم	71
	وزر	100		عصيان	14,44
	طغيان	24,33,45, 81.	XIX	ضلال	38,75
	اجرام	102,74		بغى	20,28
	عصيان	93,121		ظلم	38
	اباء	56,116			
	ظلم	111			

Chapters	Words	Verses	Chapters	Words	Verses
XIX	عتو	69	XXI	حرام	95
	اجرام	86		ظلم	11,14,59, 64,97.
XXXVIII	فجور	28	XXV	عتو	21
	ضلال	26		ضلال	9,17,29, 34,42,44, 72,97.
	طغيان	55		اجرام	22,31
	شر	62		اباء	50
XXXVI	اسراف	19		ذنب	58
	ضلال	62		اثم	68
	اجرام	59		سيئة	70
XLIII	اسراف	5		ظلم	4,8,19,27, 37.
	فسق	54		فسق	16
	ظلم	65,74	XVII	ضلال	15,48,67, 97.
LXXII	غصيان	23		اساءة	7,38
LXVII	ذنب	11		وزر	15
	ضلال	9,29		ذنب	17
	عتو	21		خط	31
XXIII	طغيان	75		فاحشة	32
	ضلال	106		تحريم	33
	ظلم	27,28,41		طغيان	60,99
	عدوان	7		اباء	89,99
XXI	اسراف	9		ظلم	47,59, 82,99.
	ضلال	54		سوء	11
	سوء	74,77	XXVII		
	فسق	74			

Chapters	Words	Verses
XXVII	ضلال	81,92
	سَيِّئَة	46,90
	فسق	12
	فاحشة	54
	اجرام	69
	افساد	48
	ظلم	11,14,44,52,85.
XXVIII	فسق	49
	ضلال	17,51,104.
	اجرام	53
	عصيان	69
	نكر	74
	طغيان	80
	افساد	94
	ظلم	15,29,33,36,50,58,60,72,49.

VERSES OF THE LAST YEARS OF MECCA

Chapters	Words	Verses	Chapters	Words	Verses
XXXII	ضلال	10	XVI	ضلال	29,52
	اجرام	12,22		اجرام	9,47,55
	فسق	18,20		فساد	41
	ظلم	22		ظلم	9,57
XLI	سيئة	34,46	XI	اجرام	35,52,116
	ضلال	29,48,52		ضلال	21
XLV	اثم	7		طغيان	112
	ضلال	23		اساءة	78
	اساءة	15,21		عصيان	56,63
	بغى	17		فساد	85
	ظلم	19		ظلم	18,31,44, 67,95,82, 101,113, 116,117, 103,137.
	اجرام	31		ذنب	10
XVI	وزر	25	XIV	ضلال	18,27,30, 36,34.
	ضلال	25,36,37, 87,93,125		عصيان	36
	اساءة	28,34,45, 119.		اجرام	49
	حرمة	35		ظلم	22,27,34, 42,44,45
	افساد	88	XII	اساءة	24,51,53
	عدوان	115		ضلال	8,30,95
	فحش	90		فحش	24
	منكر	90		ذنب	29,97
	بغى	90,115		خطا	29,91,97.
	ظلم	28,61,85, 88,113.			
	اساءة	10,36			

Chapters	Words	Verses	Chapters	Words	Verses
	ظلم	23,75,79		ظلم	14
	خبرم	110	XXXI	منكر	17
XL	ذنب	3,11,21,55		ضلال	6,11
	ضلال	25,33,34,50		ظلم	11,13
	اسراف	28,43	XLIII	بغى	14,27,39,42.
	اساءة	37,40,46,58		ضلال	18,44,46
	ظلم	18,52,		اساءة	25,40
XXVIII	فساد	4,77,83		فاحشة	37
	ضلال	15,50,75,85		اتم	37
	خطأ	8		ظلم	42
	تحريم	12	X	اجرام	13,17,50,75,82.
	اجرام	17,78		ضلال	30,32,88,108.
	غى	18,63		اسراف	12,83
	فسق	32		عصيان	15,91
	اساءة	54,84		عدوان	74,90
	عدوان	28		بغى	23
	ذنب	78		فسق	33
	ظلم	21,59,61		فساد	40,81,91.
XXXIX	زند	7		حرمة	59
	ضلال	8,22,23,36,37,41.		ظلم	13
			XXXIV	اجرام	25,32
XXXIX	عصيان	13		ضلال	8,24,50.
	اساءة	35,48,51		ظلم	19,31,42
	ظلم	24,32,51	XXXV	اساءة	8,10,43
	ذنب	53		ضلال	8
	اساءة	4,7		وزر	18
	خطأ	12		ظلم	33,37
	فحش	28,45			
	منكر	29,45			
	فساد	30,36			
	فسق	34			

Chapters	Words	Verses	Chapters	Words	Verses
VII	فحش	28,33,80	xLVI	ضلال	5,28,32
	ضلال	30,38,53, 37,149,155, 178,179,186, 60,61. 31,81.		فسق	20,35
	اسراف			اجرام	25
	حرمة	32,33,157	VI	ذنب	31
	أثم	33		فسق	49,121
	بغى	33		ضلال	24,56,74,77, 94,125,116, 119,140,117, 144,39.
	اجرام	40,84,133		ذنب	6
	افساد	86,103,142		عصيان	15
	اساءة	95,131,153, 168.		وزر	21,164
	عدوان	55		اساءة	54,160
	ذنب	100		اجرام	55,123,147
	فسق	102,146,163, 165.		طغیان	119,139,140, 145,146,148, 150,151.
	غى	146,175,202		حرمة	110
	منكر	157		أثم	121
	خطأ	161		عدوان	108,119,145
	طغیان	186		اسراف	141
	عتو	166		بغى	145,146
	ظلم	22,44,4,8, 19,37,41,47, 102,160,161, 164,148,150, 162,176.		فحش	151
xLVI	اساءة	16.	xIII	ظلم	21,23,47,52, 58,68,82,129, 131,93,45, 157,160.
				اساءة	6,22
				ضلال	14,27,33
				افساد	25
				ظلم	7

MADINAH VERSES

Chapters	Words	Verses	Chapters	Words	Verses
II	فساد	11,30,60, 205,27.	VIII	اجرام	8
	طغيان	15		ذنب	52,54
	ضلال	16,26,108, 175,198.		اساءة	29
	فسق	26,59,99, 197,282.	XLVII	ظلم	25,54,55.
	اباء	34		ضلال	18
	خطأ	58,81,286.		اساءة	2,14
	عدوان	65,85,61, 190,192,178, 173,190,229, 231.	III	ذنب	11,16,31,147, 193,135.
	عصيان	61,93.		عدوان	112.
	جناح	158,198,230, 233,234,236, 246.	III	بغى	19
	ظلم	35,51,54,57, 59,92,95,124, 246,140,114, 145,150,165, 193,229,231, 246,254,258, 270.		اساءة	30,195,193.
	اساءة	81,169,271.		حرمة	50,93.
	اثم	271.		فساد	63
	حورمة بغى	90,173,213.		ضلال	69,90,164.
	فحش	169,268.		فسق	82,110.
	غى	256		منكر	104,110,114.
LXIV	سيئة	9		عصيان	112,152.
LXII	ضلال	2	LXI	فحش	135
				اثم	178
				ظلم	57,86,94,135, 140,128,117, 151,192,198.
				فسق	5.

Chapters	Words	Verses	Chapters	Words	Verses
LXI	ذنب	12	LIX	ظلم	17
	ظلم	7	XXXIII	خطأ	5
LVII	فسق	16,26,27.		ضلال	36,76.
IV	حوب	2		جناح	5,51,55.
	عدوان	14,30,154.		حرج	37,38,50.
	عصيان	14,42,46.		فحش	30
	فحش	15,19,22, 25.		رجس	33
	اساءة	17,18,31, 110,123.		عصيان	36
	اثم	20,48,50, 107,111, 112.		اثم	58
	حرمة	23		ذنب	71
	جناح	23,24,128, 101,102.	LXIII	ظلم	90
	ضلال	44,60,88,113, 116,136,119, 143,176.	XXIV	اساءة	2
	حرج	65.		فسق	6.
	خطأ	92,112.		حرمة	3
	ظلم	7,10,30,110, 74,152,158, 160,168,167, 109,79,97.		فسق	4,55.
	عدوان			فحش	19,21.
				منكر	21.
				جناح	29,58,60
				حرج	61.
				مخالفة	63
LXV	ظلم	1.		ظلم	50
	عدوان	1.		اثم	8,9
	اساءة	5.	LVIII	عدوان	8,9.
	عتو	8		عصيان	8,9.
LIX	فسق	5,19			

Chapters	Words	Verses	Chapters	Words	Verses
LVIII	اساءة	15	IX	حرمة	29,37.
XXII	ضلال	4,9,12		ضلال	37,115.
	رجس	30.		اجرام	66
	منكر	41,72.		منكر	67,71,112.
	ظلم	25,46,48, 52,71.		حرج	91.
XLVIII	ذنب	2		رجس	95,125.
	سيئة	5		ذنب	102.
	حرج	17		ظلم	19,23,36,37, 47,70,71, 109.
IXVI	حرمة	1.			
	عصيان	6.	V	اثم	2,3,29,62, 63,106,107.
	اساءة	8.			
	ظلم	11.		حرمة	3,87,96.
IX	ضلال	1		فسق	3,25,26,47, 48,49,59, 81,108.
	ظلم	9		ضلال	12,77,60, 105.
	جناح	10		حرج	6.
	عصيان	12		اساءة	12,66,65.
xLIX	فسق	6,7,11.		ذنب	18,49.
	عصيان	7.		فساد	32,33,64.
	اثم	12		اسراف	32.
	ظلم	11.		طغيان	64,68.
IX	فسق	8,24,53,67, 80,96,84.		عصيان	78.
	عدوان	10		رجس	90.
				جناح	93.
				ظلم	29,39,42,45, 48,51,72,107.
	اساءة	9.		عدوان	2,62,78,87, 94,107.

APPENDIX H
KITĀB AL-KABĀYIR WA AL-SAGHĀ'IR

BY

ABŪ HASAN 'ALĪ B. AL-HASAN AL-WĀSITĪ

The above manuscript which appears on the following pages, dates 3.11.739 A.H. Its author flourished late in the 7th., and in the early part of the 8th. centuries A.H.⁺ He is described as a devoted Muslim, and is said to have performed pilgrimage 60 times. He was apparently a Shāfi'ite, and an adherent of the Sūfī Rifa'ite order. Apart from the present work, he wrote another on the linealogy of the founder of the said order under the title: 'Khulasat al-Iksir fī Nasab Sayyidina al-Rifā'ī al-Kabīr'. (Brockelman, G.A.L., 5, ~~12~~, 366, and s, II, 213)

The manuscript which best illustrates the trend of writing on sin in the post-al-Ghazālī era, consists of two parts, bābs, and an addenda. In the first part the author enumerates 41 sins regarded as kabā'ir, or great sins; and in the second part he counts an equal number of Saghā'ir, or minor sins. He briefly discusses the controversies over counting some of them as such; but he does not offer textual evidences to his claims as his contemporary Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī did in his work discussed above in chapter III. In the Addenda, the author discusses the definition of fāsiq, a sinner, as a legal term denoting one whose evidence in the court is not to be accepted.

⁺ He was born in 654 (1256), and died in 733 (1333)

كتاب

الكباير والصفاير تأليف الشيخ الامام الزاهد

العارف ابي الحسن علي بن الحسن الواسطي الشرفي

رحمه الله عليه

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الحمد لله حق حمده والصلوة على خير خلقه محمد

رسوله وعبده وعلى آله وصحبه وجنده *

اما بعد فهذا كتاب اذكر فيه الكبائر والصفائر من

الذنوب وهو بابان

الباب الاول في الكبائر

قال الفقهاء من اهل العلم الكبيرة المعصية الموحبة
لحد او ما لحق صاحبها وعيد شديد بنص كتاب او سنة
وجملة ما ذكروا على وجه الضبط فعدوا من الكبائر الشرك
والقتل والزنا واللواط وشرب الخمر ولو قلّ والسرقه والقذف
وشهادة الزور وقول الزور وغصب العال وشرط بعضهم في
المغصوب كونه نصابا ، والفرار من الزحف وأكل الربا واكل
مال اليتيم وعقوق الوالدين والسحر والكذب على رسول
الله صلى الله عليه وسلم

عمدا وكتمان الشهادة دون عذر وذكر بعض العلماء فيما
 حكاه الرافعي عنه افطار في رمضان دون عذر واليمين
 الفاجرة وقطع الرحم والخيانة في كيل او وزن و تقديم
 الصلوة على وقتها وتأخيرها عنه وضرب مسلم بغير حق
 وسب الصحابة رضي الله عنهم واخذ الرشوة على الحكم
 والدياثة والقيادة من الرجل والمرأة والسعاية عند السلط
 ومنع الزكوة وترك الامر بالمعروف والنهي عن المنكر مع القدرة
 ونسيان القرآن واحراق الحيوان وامتناع المرأة من زوجها
 دون سبب والياس من رحمة الله تعالى والامن من مكر الله ؛
 تعالى ؛ ويقال ؛ والوقيعه في اهل العلم وحمله القرآن ؛
 ومما عدوا من الكبائر الظهار واكل الميتة دون عذر قال
 بعض العلماء ؛ وللتوقف مـ جال في بعض

هذه الخصال كقطع الرحم وترك الأمر بالمعروف والنهي
 عن المنكر على إطلاقهما ونسيان القرآن واحراق الحيوان
 وقد اشار الفزالي رحمه الله الى مثل هذا التوقف ؛
 واخرج البخارى فى صحيحه وغيره ما يدل على ان
 النميمة كبيرة وان عدم التنزه من البول كبيرة

الباب الثانى فى الصغائر

قال الفقهاء ومن الصغائر النظر الى ما لا يجوز
 والغيبة والكذب الذى لا حد فيه ولا ضرر والاسراف
 وهجرة المسلم فوق ثلاث وكثرة الخصومات وان كان محقا
 والسكوت على الغيبة عنده والنياح والصياح وشق الجيب
 فى العصية والتبخر فى المشى والجلوس مع الفساق
 والصلاة المنهى عنها فى اوقات النهى ، والبيع

في المسجد وادخال الصبيان والمجانين والنجاسات
 فيه وامامة قوم يكرهونه لعيب فيه والعيب^(*) في الصلوة
 والضحك فيها وتخطى رقاب الناس يوم الجمعة والكلام
 والامام يخطب والتفوط مستقبل القبلة او في طريق
 المسلمين وكشف العورة في الحمام ؛ قال الرافعي رحمه
 الله وتخطى الرقاب معدود من المكروهات لا يحرم وكذا
 الكلام والامام يخطب على الاظهر ؛ ومن الصغائر القبلة
 للصائم تحرك شهوته والوصال في الصوم على وجه ،
 وعلى وجه يكره ، والاستمناء ومباشرة الاجنبية دون جماع
 ووصله الزوجة المظاهر منها قبل التكفير والرجعية قبل
 الرجعة والخلوة بالاجنبية ومسافرة المرأة بغير محرم

العيب (*) Apparently it should read

ولا زوج ولا نسوة ثقات ، والاحتكار والبيع على بيع اخيه
وكذا السوم والخطبة وبيع العبد المسلم من الكافر وكذا
المصحف وسائر كتب العلوم الشرعية واستعمال النجاسة
فى البدن وكشف العورة فى الخلوة على قول ، والله
اعلم .

فصل

قال الفقهاء من الاصحاب : يشترط فى العدالة
- اجتناب الكبائر ، فمن ارتكب كبيرة واحدة فسق وردت
شهادته ؛ وأما الصغائر فلا يفسق لكن يفسق بالاصرار
عليها ويكون اصراره كارتكاب الكبيرة ، وقول تان عن
- الجمهور ان من غلبت طاعته معاصيه كان عدلا ، ومن غلبت
معاصيه على طاعته كان فاسقا ؛ ولفظ الشافعى رضى

الله عنه في المختصر يوافقه والله اعلم .

هذا جملة ما ذكره الاصحاب في الكباير والصفاير
وهو الذي اشرنا اليه والله اعلم .

تم الكتاب والحمد لله على نعمه .

علقه العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى يوسف بن
عبد الصمد البكري البغدادي عفا الله عنهما ، في
يوم الخميس الثالث من القعدة من سنة تسع و ثلاثين
وسبعمائة حامدا ومصليا على نبيه محمد واله وصحبه ومسلما

HADITHS CLAIMED TO BIMPY A SENSE OF COMPULSION

١ - حدثني ابو خيثمة زهير بن حرب حدثنا وكيع عن كهمس عن عبد الله بن بريدة عن يحيى بن يعمرج وحدثنا عبيد الله بن معاذ العنبري وهذا حديثه حدثنا ابي حدثنا كهمس عن ابن بريدة عن يحيى بن يعمر قال كان اول من قال في القدر بالبصرة معبد الجهني فانطلقت انا وحميد بن عبد الرحمن الحميري حاجين او معتمرين فقلنا لو لقينا احدا من اصحاب رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فسألناه عما يقول هؤلاء في القدر فوقف لنا عبد الله بن عمر بن الخطاب راخلا المسجد فاكتنفته انا وصاحبي احدا عن يمينه والآخر عن شماله فظننت ان صاحبي سيكل الكلام اليّ فقلت ابا عبد الرحمن انه قد ظهر قبلنا ناس يقرؤون القرآن ويتقفرون العلم وذكر من شأنهم وانهم يزعمون ان لا قدر وان الامر ان قال فاذا لقيت اولئك فأخبرهم اني برئ منهم وانهم برآء مني والذي يحلف به عبد الله بن عمر لو ان لأحد هم مثل احد ذهباً فأنفقه ما قبل الله منه حتى يؤمن بالقدر ثم قال حدثني ابي عمر بن الخطاب قال "بينما نحن عند رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ذات يوم ان طلع علينا رجل شديد بياض الثياب شديد سواد الشعر لا يرى عليه اثر السفر ولا يعرفه منا احد حتى جلس الى النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم فأسند ركبتيه الى ركبتيه ووضع كفيه على فخذيه قال يا محمد اخبرني عن الاسلام فقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم الاسلام ان تشهد ان لا اله الا الله وان محمدا رسول الله وتقيم الصلاة وتؤتي الزكاة وتصوم رمضان وتحج البيت ان

استطعت اليه سبيلا قال صدقت قال فعجبنا له يسأله ويصدقه قال
فاخبرني عن الايمان قال ان تؤمن بالله وملائكته وكتبه ورسله واليوم
الآخر وتؤمن بالقدر خيره وشره قال صدقت . (1)

٢ - حدثنا ابو بكر بن ابي شيبة حدثنا ابو معاوية ووكيع ح
وحدثنا محمد بن عبد الله ابن نمير الهمداني ((واللفظ له))
حدثنا ابي وابو معاوية ووكيع قالوا حدثنا الأعمش عن زيد بن وهب
عن عبد الله قال حدثنا رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وهو الصادق
المصدوق ؛ " ان احدكم يجمع خلقه في بطن امه اربعين يوما ثم يكون
في ذلك علقة مثل ذلك ثم يكون في ذلك مضغة مثل ذلك ثم يرسل
الملك فينفخ فيه الروح ويؤمر بأربع كلمات يكتب رزقه واجله وعمله وشقى
او سعيد فوالذي لا اله غيره ان احدكم ليعمل بعمل اهل الجنة
حتى ما يكون بينه وبينها الا ذراع فيسبق عليه الكتاب فيعمل بعمل
اهل النار فيدخلها وان احدكم ليعمل بعمل اهل النار حتى ما يكون
بينه وبينها الا ذراع فيسبق عليه الكتاب فيعمل بعمل اهل الجنة
فيدخلها . " (2)

٣ - حدثنا قتيبة بن سعيد حدثنا عبد العزيز ((يعني ابن
محمد)) عن العلاء عن ابيه عن ابي هريرة ان رسول الله صلى الله
عليه وسلم قال " ان الرجل ليعمل الزمن الطويل بعمل اهل الجنة

ثم يختم له عمله بعمل اهل النار وان الرجل ليعمل الزمن الطويل
 بعمل اهل النار ثم يختم له عمله بعمل اهل الجنة . (—)

٤ — حدثنا قتيبة بن سعيد حدثنا يعقوب ((يعنى ابن
 عبد الرحمن القارى)) عن ابي حازم عن سهل بن سعد الساعدي
 ان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال ان الرجل ليعمل عمل اهل
 الجنة فيما يبذو للناس وهو من اهل النار وان الرجل ليعمل عمل
 اهل النار فيما يبذو للناس وهو من اهل الجنة . (—)

٥ — حدثنا عثمان بن ابي شيبة وزهير بن حرب واسحق ابن
 ابراهيم ((واللفظ لزهير)) قال اسحق اخبرنا وقال الآخران
 حدثنا جرير عن منصور عن سعد بن عبيدة عن ابي عبد الرحمن عن
 علي قال " كنا في جنازة في بقيع الفرقد فاتانا رسول الله صلى الله
 عليه وسلم فقمعد وقعدنا حوله ومعه مخرصة فنكس فجعل ينكث بمخرصته
 ثم قال ما منكم من احد ما من منقوسة الا وقد كتب الله مكانها من
 الجنة والنار والا وقد كتبت شقية او سعيدة قال فقال رجل يا رسول
 الله افلا نمكث على كتابنا وندع العمل فقال من كان من اهل السعادة
 فسيصير الى عمل اهل السعادة ومن كان من اهل الشقاوة فسيصير
 الى عمل اهل الشقاوة فقال اعلموا فكل ميسر اما اهل السعادة
 فييسرون لعمل اهل السعادة واما اهل الشقاوة فييسرون لعمل

اهل الشقاوة ثم قرأ فاما من اعطى واتقى وصدق بالحسنى
فسييسره لليسرى واما من بخل واستغنى وكذب بالحسنى
فسييسره للعسرى". (—)

— ٦ —
حد ثنا ^{اسحق} بن ابراهيم الحنظلي حد ثنا عثمان بن عمر
حد ثنا عزرة بن ثابت عن يحيى ابن عقيل عن يحيى بن يعمر
عن ابي الاسود الدثلي قال قال لي عمران بن الحصين رأيت
ما يعمل الناس اليوم ويكد حون فيه أشي قضى عليهم ومضى عليهم
من قدر ما سبق او فيما يستقبلون به مما اتاهم به نبيهم وثبتت
الحجة عليهم فقلت بل شئ قضى عليهم ومضى عليهم فقال
افلا يكون ظلما قال ففزعت من ذلك فزعا شديدا وقلت كل شئ
خلق الله وملك يده فلا يسأل عما يفعل وهم يسئلون فقال لي
يرحمك الله انى لم ارد بما سالتك الا لأحرز عقلك ان رجلين
من مزينة اتيا رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فقالا يا رسول الله
ارابت ما يعمل الناس اليوم ويكد حون فيه أشي قضى عليهم ومضى
فيهم من قدر قد سبق او فيما يستقبلون به مما اتاهم به نبيهم
وثبتت الحجة عليهم فقال "لا بل شئ قضى عليهم ومضى فيهم
وتصدق ذلك في كتاب الله عز وجل : ونفس وما سواها فألهمها
فجورها وتقواها". (—)

٧ - حدثنا ابو بكر بن ابى شيبة حدثنا وكيع عن طلحة ابن يحيى عن عمته عائشة بنت طلحة عن عائشة ام المؤمنين قالت "دعى رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم الى جنازة صبي من الانصار فقلت يا رسول الله طوبى لهذا عصفور من عصافير الجنة لم يعمل السوء ولم يدركه قال او غير ذلك يا عائشة ان الله خلق للجنة اهلا خلقهم لها وهم فى اصلاب آبائهم وخلق للنار اهلا خلقهم لها وهم فى اصلاب آبائهم" . (-)

٨ - حدثنى محمد بن حاتم و ابراهيم بن دينار وابن ابى عمر المكى واحمد بن عبدة الضبى جميعا عن ابن عيينة ((واللفظ لابن حاتم وابن دينار)) قالا حدثنا سفيان ابن عيينة عن عمرو عن طاوس قال سمعت ابا هريرة يقول قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم "احتج آدم وموسى فقال موسى يا آدم انت خيبتنا واخرجتنا من الجنة فقال له آدم انت موسى اصطفاك الله بكلامه وخط لك بيده اتلومنى على امر قدره الله على قبل ان يخلقنى بأربعين سنة فقال النبى صلى الله عليه وسلم فحج آدم موسى فحج آدم موسى" . (-)

٩ - حدثنا عبد الله بن مسامة بن قعنب حدثنا معتمر بن سليمان عن ابيه عن رقبة بن مسلاة عن ابى اسحق عن سعيد بن

جبیر عن ابن عباس عن ابي بن كعب قال قال رسول الله صلى
الله عليه وسلم ان الفلام الذى قتله الخضر طبع كافرا ولو عاش
لأرهب ابويه طفيانا وكفرا " . ()

١٠ - حدثنا اسحق بن ابراهيم وعبد بن حميد ((واللفظ
لا سحق)) قالا اخبرنا عبد الرزاق حدثنا معمر عن ابن طاوس
عن ابيه عن ابن عباس قال ما رأيت شيئا اشبه باللحم مما قال
ابو هريرة ان النبى صلى الله عليه وسلم قال " ان الله كتب على
آدم حظه من الزنا ادرك ذلك لا محالة فزنا العينين النظر وزنا
اللسان النطق والنفس تتمنى وتشتهى والفرج يصدق ذلك او يكذبه " . ()

١١ - حدثنا ابو بكر بن ابي شيبة وابن نمير قالا حدثنا عبد الله
بن ادريس عن ربيعة ابن عثمان عن محمد بن يحيى بن حبان عن
الاعرج عن ابي هريرة قال قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم
" المؤمن القوى خير وأحب الى الله من المؤمن الضعيف وفى كل
خير احرص على ما ينفعك واستمع بالله ولا تعجز وان اصابك
شيء فلا تقل لو انى فعلت كان كذا وكذا ولكن قل قدر الله وما
يشاء فعل فان لو تفتح عمل الشيطان " . ()

١٢ - حدثني زهير بن حرب وابن نمير كلاهما عن ^{ابن} المقرئ قال
 زهير حدثنا عبد الله ابن المقرئ قال حدثنا حيوة اخبرني ابو هاني ،
 انه سمع ابا عبد الرحمن الحبلي انه سمع عبد الله بن عمرو بن العاص
 يقول إنه سمع رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يقول " ان قلوب
 بني آدم كلها بين اصبعين من اصابع الرحمن كقلب واحد يصرفه
 حيث يشاء ثم قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم . اللهم يا مصرف
 القلوب صرف قلوبنا على طاعتك " . ()

١٣ - وحدثني الحسن بن علي الحلواني حدثنا ابو توبة
 حدثنا ابو معاوية وهو ابن سلام عن زيد يعني اخاه انه سمع
 ابا سلام قال حدثني الحكم بن مينا ان عبد الله ابن عمر وابا هريرة
 حدثاه انهما سمعا رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يقول على اعوار
 منبره " لينتهين اقوام عن ودعهم الجمعات او ليختمن الله على
 قلوبهم ثم ليكونن من الغافلين " . ()

١٤ - حدثنا يحيى حدثنا عبد الرزاق عن معمر عن همام سمع
 ابا هريرة عن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قال " لا يقل احدكم
 اللهم اغفر لي ان شئت ، ارحمني ان شئت ، ارزقني ان شئت ،
 وليعزم مسئلته ، انه يفعل ما يشاء لا مكره له " . ()

١٥ - حدثنا احمد بن صالح ، ثنا عبد الله بن وهب ، قال
 اخبرني عمرو ، ان سالما الفراء حدثه ، ان عبد الحميد مولى بنى
 هاشم حدثه ، ان امه حدثته ، وكانت تخدم بعض بنات النبي صلى
 الله عليه وسلم ، ان ابنة النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم حدثتها ان النبي
 صلى الله عليه وسلم كان يعلمها فيقول ((قولى حين تصبحين ،
 سبحان الله وبحمده ، لا قوة الا بالله ، ما شاء الله كان ، وما لم
 يشأ لم يكن ، اعلم ان الله على كل شئ قدير ، وان الله قد احاط
 بكل شئ علما ، فانه من قالهن حين يصبح حفظ حتى يمسي ، ومن
 قالهن حين يمسي حفظ حتى يصبح)) (-)

١٦ - اخبرنا ابو الحسن على بن احمد بن ابراهيم الخسر
 وجردي - من اصل سماعه - انا ابو حامد احمد بن محمّن بن
 الحسن الخسر وجردي ثنا داود بن الحسين الخسر وجردي ثنا
 سلمة بن شبيب ثنا ابو المغيرة عبد القدوس ثنا ابو بكر بن ابي مريم
 عن ضمرة بن حبيب عن ابي الدرء عن زيد بن ثابت رضى الله عنه
 قال ((ان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم دعا وامره ان يتعاهد
 ويتعاهد به اهله كل يوم . قال حين يصبح لبيك اللهم لبيك ،
 لبيك وسعديك والخير في يدك ومنك وبك واليك ، اللهم ما قلت
 من قول او حلفت من حلف او نذرت من نذر فمشيئتك بين يدي ذلك
 كله ، ما شئت كان وما لم تشأ لا يكون)) . (-)

- ١٧ - حدثنا ابو بكر بن ابى شيبة وابو كريب قالا حدثنا وكيع
 عن سفيان عن زياد بن اسماعيل عن محمد بن عباد بن جعفر المخزومي
 عن أبى هريرة قال "جاء مشركو قريش يخاصمون رسول الله صلى الله
 عليه وسلم فى القدر فنزلت يوم يسبحون فى النار على وجوههم
 ذوقوا مس سقرانا كل شىء خلقناه بقدر" . (—)
- ١٨ - حدثنا على بن محمد . ثنا ابو معاوية . ثنا داود بن ابى
 هند ، عن عمرو بن شعيب ، عن ابيه ، عن جده ، قال خرج رسول
 الله صلى الله عليه وسلم على اصحابه وهم يختصمون فى القدر ،
 فكأنما يفتقأ وجهه حب الرمان من الغضب . فقال ((بهذا امرتم
 اول لهذا خلقتم ؟ تضربون القرآن بعضه ببعض . بهذا هلك الامم قبلكم))
 قال فقال عبد الله بن عمرو ما غبطت نفسى بمجلس تخلفت فيه
 عن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ما غبطت نفسى بذلك المجلس
 وتخلفى عنه . (—)
- ١٩ - حدثنا عبد الله بن محمد حدثنا ابن عيينة عن عمرو عن
 ابى العباس عن عبد الله بن عمر قال "حاضر النبى صلى الله عليه
 وسلم اهل الطائف فلم يفتحها ، فقال إنا قافلون غدا إن شاء الله" . (—)