

ĀDAM: A STUDY OF SOME LEGENDS IN *TAFSĪR* AND *ḤADĪṬ* LITERATURE*

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To my wife Zahava

Stories and tales about the prophets, and about pious, ascetic, and righteous people of bygone days, the so called *qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, circulated widely in the Muslim community already in the first century of Islam. The origin of these stories, as stated by T. Nagel, must be traced back to pre-Islamic Arabia; they were disseminated in that period by Jews and Christians.¹ The recently published papyrus of Wahb b. Munabbih,² the papyri edited by the late Nabia Abbott³ and the papyri of Ḥirbet Mird edited by A. Grohmann bear evidence to the fact that already in that early period of Islam there were elaborate stories about prophets, sages, and saints which were widely circulated. The *Tafsīr* of Muqātil b. Sulaymān⁴ and the *Tafsīr* of 'Abd al-Razzāq⁵ contain valuable material of the *qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, and reflect the way in which these stories were absorbed and incorporated into the exegetical compilations of the Quran. The important work of Ishāq b. Biṣr (d. 206 H.) *Mubtada' al-dunyā wa-qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, until recently considered lost,⁷ has been rediscovered and, I am told, is

* One part of this paper was published in A. Rippin (ed.), *Approaches to the History of the Interpretation of The Qur'ān*, Oxford 1988.

¹ T. Nagel, *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, *EP*.

² Raif Georges Khoury, *Wahb b. Munabbih, Der Heidelberger Papyrus PSR Heid Arab 23*, Wiesbaden 1972.

³ Nabia Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri I* (Historical texts) and II (Quranic Commentary and Tradition), Chicago 1957, 1967.

⁴ Adolf Grohmann, *Arabic Papyri from Ḥirbet Mird*, Louvain 1963.

⁵ Muqātil b. Sulaymān, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, MS Saray, Ahmet III, 74, I-II; idem, *op. cit.* vol. I, ed. 'Abdallāh Maḥmūd Ṣaḥāta, Cairo 1969 (including the first six *sūras*).

⁶ 'Abd al-Razzāq b. Hammām, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, MS Cairo, Dār al-kutub *tafsīr* 242.

⁷ See Nabia Abbott, *op. cit.*, I, 46 sup.: (Document 2, Story of Adam and Eve) "...there is a strong possibility that the papyrus with its rather 'unique' text could belong to this somewhat discredited and lost work..."

now being prepared for a critical edition.⁸ The importance of this early compilation was pointed out by T. Nagel in his Inaugural Dissertation, *Die Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*;⁹ Nagel devoted five pages to an examination of the personality of Iṣḥāq b. Biṣr and to a detailed scrutiny of the sources of the *Mubtada'*.¹⁰ The MS, which contains the first part of the composition, consists of 218 folios, and ends with the death of Abraham.

Nagel's high view of the significance of this rich early source is entirely justified.

The Quran contains a great many reports concerning prophets and sages, but these are usually formulated in vague terms and frequently do no more than mention an event or refer to a person who is not further specified. The transmitters of the tales aimed at widening the scope of the stories; they availed themselves of the lore contained in local traditions current in the Arab Peninsula in the period of the Ġāhiliyya, in Christian narratives concerning the life of Jesus, the Apostles, the martyrs and the monks, in Jewish Biblical legends, and in the utterances of sages and ascetics.¹¹ This huge mass of material started to infiltrate into the realm of *ḥadīṭ* and *tafsīr* very early on in the Islamic period, and from the terse reports and utterances, combined with the additional material derived from other sources, a rich tapestry of lively and plastic narrative was woven. As the advent of Islam and the mission of the prophet Muḥammad were, according to the concepts of the Muslim community, part of God's predestination, as they were contained in God's prior knowledge and heralded by the prophets of all ages, the stories of the prophets became an integral part of the books of history, and were duly embedded in the preamble (the *mubtada'*, *bad'*, or *ibtidā'*) with which, as a rule, these compilations began. The Muslim community was eager to learn of the biographies of the prophets, of the past, because the Prophet was identified

⁸ Bodleian Library, MS Huntingdon 388. For using this MS I owe thanks to Mrs. Ruth Lieber, who is working on its edition.

⁹ Tilman Nagel, *Die Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā', Ein Beitrag zur Arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, Bonn 1967.

¹⁰ Nagel, *Die Qiṣaṣ*, pp. 113-118; and see additional details about Iṣḥāq b. Biṣr: Ibn 'Adiyy, *al-Kāmil fī ḍu'afā' al-riḡāl*, MS Saray, Ahmet III, 2943, I, fols. 118b-119a; Ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī, *al-Maḡrūhīn*, ed. Maḥmūd Ibrāhīm Zāyid, Cairo 1976, I, 135-137; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rīḥ Dimaṣq* (Tahḏīb), ed. 'Abd al-Qādir Badrān, Damascus 1399/1979, II, 434-436; Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn, *Ġāmī' al-āṭār fī mawlid al-nabī al-muḥtār*, MS Cambridge Or. 913, fol. 202b; al-'Uqaylī, *Kitāb al-ḍu'afā'*, MS Zāhiriyya, *ḥadīṭ*, No. 362, fol. 19a; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *al-Ġarḥ wa-l-ta'dīl*, Hyderabad 1371/1952, II (=vol. 2) 214, no. 734; Ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*, ed. Muḥammad Yūsuf Naḡm, Wiesbaden 1971, VIII, 405-406, no. 3854; F. Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 293-294.

¹¹ Cf. F. Rosenthal, "The Influence of the Biblical Tradition in Muslim Historiography" in B. Lewis and P.M. Holt (ed.) *Historians of the Middle East*, Oxford 1962, pp. 35-45; and see the exhaustive bibliography on the *Qiṣaṣ* literature: Haim Schwarzbaum, *Biblical Legends in Islamic Folk Literature*, Walldorf-Hessen 1982.

in certain passages of the Quran with their mission and vocation, and especially with the sufferings and persecution which they had undergone. It is evident that these stories had some bearing on current trends within the Muslim community and that they both reflected and shaped to a certain extent the religious and political ideas of the various factions which made up the community of Islam.

The rich treasure of stories and traditions relating to Ādam, Ḥawwā' and their progeny is closely connected to the narrative verses of the Quran which deal with their creation, temptation, vicissitudes, and fate. These stories often present divergent and even contradictory conceptions of these events. The traditions attributed to the Prophet are frequently accompanied by commentaries, discussions and analyses provided by theologians, scholars of religious law, and especially by scholars of *ḥadīṭ*. The scrutiny of some of this material as presented by the *tafsīr* and *ḥadīṭ* literature may help us gain a better understanding of the ideas and beliefs prevalent in the various divisions of the Muslim community; it may help us reach a better definition of their religious and political attitudes and of the arguments used within their internal struggles.

I

A key verse concerning the creation of Ādam is: "And when thy Lord said to the angels: 'I am setting in the earth a viceroy' they said: 'What, wilt Thou set therein one who will do corruption there and shed blood, while we proclaim Thy praise and call Thee Holy?' He said, 'Assuredly I know that you know not'" (*Sūrat al-Baqara* 30, transl. A.J. Arberry). This verse is interpreted in several ways. The word *qāla* "said" in the phrase "Thy Lord said" is not an utterance to which an answer or advice of the angels is expected: God said it in order to inform them (*'alā sabīli l-tanwīhi bi-dālika*), not in order to consult them (*lā 'alā sabīli l-istiṣārati lahum*).¹² As a result, some commentators express the opinion that the question of the

¹² Ibn Ḡunḡul, *Ta'riḥ* MS Brit. Library, Or. 5912, fol. 23b; comp. al-Qurtubī, *Tafsīr* (= *al-Ġāmī' li-aḥkām al-qur'ān*), Cairo 1387-1967, I, 263: *wa-qāla arbābu l-ma'ānī: ḥajaba llāhu l-malā'ikata lā li-l-maṣūratī wa-lākin li-stiḥrāgi mā fīhim min ru'yati l-ḥarakā'i wa-l-'ibādati wa-l-tasbīḥi wa-l-taqdīsi, jumma raddahum ilā qīmatihim...*; see al-Maḡlisī, *Bihār al-anwār*, Tehran 1376-13 92, XI, 124-126 (about the permissibility of the query of angels); and see 'Abd al-Azīz b. Yaḥyā al-Kinānī, *Kitāb al-ḥayda*, ed. Ḡamīl Ṣalībā, Damascus 1384/1964, p. 167: *...fa-aḥbarānā 'azza wa-ḡalla 'an murāḡa'atihim iyyāhu fīmā a'lamahum annahu fā'iluhu, wa-mu'āraḡatihim lahu fīmā ḥīārāhu, wa-ta'riḡihim bi-anfusihim li-ḡalabi l-ḥilāfati, wa-annahum aḥaqqu bihā mimmani ḥīārāhu, wa-hum ahlu l-iḡ'ati llatī qad aḡbatahā llāhu lahum... wa-kāna fī'luhum ḥāḡā gayra muḥarramin wa-lā maḡzūrin li-annahum lam yanahum 'anhu qabla dālika...*

angels: "What, will thou set therein one who will do corruption..." does not reflect any objection to God's utterance or a low opinion of the qualities of Man; the angels' question is an attempt to solicit knowledge about the purpose of God's deed, "to set in the earth a *ḥalīfa*".¹³ Commentators are not unanimous about the identity of the angels ordered by God to bow to Ādam: one account gives a different setting in which God's order was uttered: God's command was released to a group of angels who were with Iblīs; other angels residing in the Heavens were not present.¹⁴ According to another opinion God addressed all the angels.¹⁵ Although the more general opinion of the scholars was that God merely informed the angels about "setting the viceroy in the earth", some held the view that He consulted them; this interpretation established the moral to be drawn from the story, viz., that we too should consult wise and knowledgeable people.¹⁶

The term *ḥalīfa* is crucial for the correct understanding of the phrase "I am setting in the earth a viceroy". The word denotes a person who replaces another one. Lane records, *inter alia*, "one who has been made, or appointed, to take the place of him who has been before him", "a substitute", "a successor", "deputy", "who supplies the place of him who has been before him". These definitions are more in harmony with the meaning of the word than "viceroy", used by Arberry in the translation of the verse.

Almost all commentators take it for granted that *ḥalīfa* refers to Ādam,

¹³ Ibn Ḡunḡul, *op. cit.*, fol. 23b: ...*fa-qālat al-malā'ikatu sālīna 'alā waḡhi l-istikšāfi 'an waḡhi l-ḥikmati lā 'alā waḡhi l-īrādī 'alā l-rabbi wa-l-tanaqquṣi li-banī ādam...*, and comp. al-Maqdisī, *al-Baḍ' wa-l-ta'rīḡ*, ed. C. Huart, Paris 1899 (reprint) II, 92: ...*laysa yaruddūna 'alā llāhi wa-lākin yastahbīrūnahu wa-yatlubūna ma'rifata ḥikmatihi wa-annahū yahluqu ḥalqan yufsidu...*; and see the explanation in the commentary of al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Qummī al-Naysābūrī, *Ġarā'ib al-qur'ān wa-raḡā'ib al-furqān*, ed. Ibrāhīm 'Aṭwa 'Awaḡ, Cairo 1381/1962, I, 232 inf.; and see the discussion of this subject: al-Faḡr al-Rāzī, *al-Tafsīr al-kabīr*, Cairo 1357/1938, II, 166–170.

¹⁴ See al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manṣūr fī l-tafsīr bi-l-ma'tūr*, Cairo 1314, I, 45: ...*ḡumma qāla li-l-malā'ikati llaḡīna kānū ma'a iblīsā ḡaṣṣatan dūna l-malā'ikati llaḡīna fī l-samawāti sḡudū li-ādama, fa-saḡadū illā iblīsā abā wa-stakbara...*; and see Abū Ḥayyān al-Ḡayyānī, *al-Baḡr al-muḡīṭ*, Cairo 1321, I, 140 ult.–141 I. I; and see Mīṭam, *Ṣarḡ nahḡ al-balāḡa*, Tehran 1378, I, 173–174; Anonymous, *Siyar al-anbiyā*, MS Br. Mus. Or. 1510, fol. 10a.

¹⁵ Abū Ḥayyān, *op. cit.*, I, 1. 8: ...*wa-in kāna l-malā'ikatu ḡam'ā l-malā'ikati fa-sababu l-qawli irādatu llāhi an yuṣlī'a llāhu l-malā'ikata 'alā mā fī nafsi iblīsā min al-kibri wa-an yuḡhira mā sabaqa 'alayhi fī 'ilmihī*; Mīṭam, *op. cit.*, I, 173–174.

¹⁶ Abū Ḥayyān, *op. cit.*, I, 141, l. 12: ...*wa-an yu'limanā an nuṣāwira dawī l-aḡlāmi minnā wa-arbāba l-ma'rifati idī stašāra l-malā'ikata...*; al-Naysābūrī, *Ġarā'ib*, I, 232, II. 1–2: *wa-l-fā'idatu fī iḡbāri l-malā'ikati bi-dālika immā ta'limu l-'ibādī al-muṣāwarata fī umūrihim wa-in kāna huwa fī ḡikmatihi l-bāliḡati ganiyyan 'an dālika, wa-immā li-ya'salū dālika l-su'āla wa-yuḡābū bimā uḡībū*; and see al-Faḡr al-Rāzī, *op. cit.*, II, 166; al-Ṣawkānī, *Faṡḡ al-qadīr al-ḡāmi'* bayna fannayī l-riwāya wa-l-dirāya min 'ilmi l-tafsīr, n.d. (repr. Beirut) I, 62 inf.

who was sent as messenger.¹⁷ His prophethood is attested in the *Book*, the *Sunna* and the *Iğmāʿ*. Some people deny his prophethood, but this denial should be considered *kufṛ*.¹⁸ Ādam undoubtedly deserved the title *ḥalīfa*.¹⁹ Some commentators assume that he was the *ḥalīfa* of the angels who dwelt on earth, others maintain that he was the *ḥalīfa* of Iblīs in holding sway over the earth. In the opinion of some the term *ḥalīfa* should be applied to Ādam and his progeny. This is said to be proved by the words of the angels: "What, wilt Thou set therein one who will do corruption there and shed blood?" This expression refers to the progeny of Ādam who would do corruption, not to Ādam himself as a person.²⁰ Some scholars are of the opinion that Ādam was the *ḥalīfa* of the *ġinn*, the sons of al-Ġānn.²¹ A peculiar tradition says that *fi l-arḍi* refers to Mecca.²² According to some Ādam was entrusted with establishing a rule of truth and justice on earth; others speak of his duties of cultivating the soil, digging canals, and building houses.²³

The distinctive position of Ādam as a prophet is reflected in the traditions about the books of revelation (*ṣaḥīfa*, *ṣaḥāʾif* or *ṣuḥuf*) which God sent down to him and about the religious injunctions which He ordered him to carry out. Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn records a report according to which God revealed to Ādam the letters of the alphabet; they were written down on 21 pages.²⁴ Another tradition says that God revealed to him 40

¹⁷ See e.g., Nūr al-Dīn al-Hayṭamī, *Mağmaʿ al-zawāʿid wa-manbaʿ al-fawāʿid*, Beirut 1967, I, 196, 197, VIII 198: ...*a-nabiyyan kāna ādam? qāla: naʿam*; al-Suyūṭī, *Ġamʿu l-ğawāmiʿ*, Cairo 1978, II, 641: *qultu li-l-nabiyyi (ṣ): ayyu l-unbiyāʾi awwalu? qāla: ādamu; qultu: a-wa-nabiyyan kāna? qāla: naʿam, nabiyyan mukallanīan; qultu: fa-kam al-mursalinā?* (sic!) *qāla: ʾalāʾiḥu mīʾatin wa-ḥamsatu ʾašara ḡamman ḡafirān*; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr*, I, 52; Ibn al-Šalāḥ, *Muqaddima*, ed. ʾĀʾiṣa ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Cairo 1976, p. 650; al-Māwardī, *Aʿlām al-nubuwwa*, Cairo 1353/1955, p. 33: ...*wa-kānat nubuwwatu ādama maqṣūratan ʾalayhi wa-mā nazala ʾalayhi min al-waḥyi mutawaḡḡiḥan ilayhi, fa-kāna min al-muṣṭafayna dūna l-mursalinā*; and comp. al-Qurṭubī, *op. cit.*, I, 263, ult.: ...*yā rasūla llāhi: a-nabiyyan mursalan? qāla: naʿam. wa-yuqālu: li-man kāna rasūlan, wa-lam yakun fi l-arḍi aḥadun? fa-yuqālu: kāna rasūlan ilā wuldihi, wa-kānū arbaʿina waladan fi ʾiṣrīna ḥaṣṣan...*; Ibn Abī ʾĀṣim, *al-Awāʾil*, MS Zāhiriyya, *ḥadīṭ*, 297, fol. 4b; al-Šawkānī, *Fatḥ al-qadīr*, I, 69; al-Daylamī, *Firdaws al-aḥbār*, MS Chester Beatty 4139, fol. 15a; Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Dimaṣqī, *Ġāmiʿ al-āṭār*, fol. 141a, inf.; al-ʾAynī, *ʾUmdat al-qārī, šarḥ ṣaḥīḥi l-buḥārī*, Cairo 1348, XVIII, 83; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Wasāʾil ilā maʾrifati l-awāʾil*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-ʿAdawī and ʾAlī Muḥammad ʿUmar, Cairo 1400/1980, p. 17.

¹⁸ ʾAlī al-Qārī, *Šarḥ al-ṣiḡḥ al-akbar li-abī ḥanīfa*, Beirut 1399/1979, p. 50.

¹⁹ Al-Qurṭubī, *op. cit.*, I, 263 inf: ...*wa-huwa ḥalīfatu llāhi fi imḍāʾi aḥkāmihī wa-awāmīrihi, li-annahū awwalu rasūlin ilā l-arḍi...*

²⁰ Al-ʾAynī, *ʾUmdat al-qārī*, XV, 205.

²¹ Abū Ḥayyān, *op. cit.*, I, 140; comp. al-Naysābūrī, *Ġarāʾib*, I, 231.

²² Al-Šawkānī, *Fatḥ al-qadīr*, I, 62, 63 inf.

²³ Abū Ḥayyān, *op. cit.*, I, 140 inf.: ...*aḥaduhumā: al-ḥukm bi-l-ḥaqq wa-l-ʿadl, al-ʾiṇān: ʿimārātu l-arḍi yazrʿu wa-yahṣudu wa-yabnī wa-yuḡrī l-anḥār.*

²⁴ *Ġāmiʿ al-āṭār*, fol. 148b.

books.²⁵ A tradition quoted from 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Biṣṭāmī's *Durrat al-ma'ārif* says that God granted Ādam the secrets of the letters; this is a piece of information which He did not reveal to the angels. God sent down to him 10 books (*ṣaḥā'if*) and so he talked about "*ilm al-hurūf*." Ādam wrote 3 books on the science of letters: *Kitāb al-malakūt*, *Kitāb al-ḥaṣāyā*, *al-Sifr al-mustaqīm*.²⁶ According to a tradition reported on the authority of Abū Ḍarr, God sent down to Ādam a book containing the letters of the alphabet. The Prophet states authoritatively that the letter "*lā*" (*lām alif*) is one of the 29 letters of the alphabet and that the number of the letters revealed to Ādam was 29, including the letter "*lā*"; he who denies the letter "*lā*" as one of the letters of the alphabet is guilty of *kufr*; he who does not admit that the number of letters is 29 will not come out from Hell.²⁷ The first who wrote Arabic, and Persian as well as other scripts, was Ādam; he put it down in clay, which he later burnt. Those tablets of burnt clay survived the Deluge, were found by the various peoples and applied to writing their languages.²⁸ Ādam is said to have been the first human being who composed poetry; he composed his verses in Arabic.²⁹

Ādam is said to have been the first to have prayed the morning prayer and to have performed two *rak'as* in this prayer.³⁰ Mas'ūdī records a tradition saying that God revealed to Ādam 21 books, Ġibrīl taught him the practices of the pilgrimage to Mecca and God enjoined him to pray, to pay the *zakāt*, to wash from ritual impurity, and to perform the *wuḍū'*.³¹ According to another tradition God sent down to Ādam 21 books (*ṣaḥīfa*) and enjoined him to perform 50 *rak'as*. He forbade him to eat pork, carrion and blood (of animals); God also forbade him to lie, to behave treacherously and to fornicate. God's injunctions were dictated by Ġibrīl and written down by Ādam in Syriac. In Paradise Ādam spoke Arabic;

²⁵ Ps. Aṣma'ī, *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* (included in the *Kitāb al-Šāmīl*) MS Br. Mus. Or. 1493, fol. 8b.

²⁶ Al-Qundūzī, *Yanābī' al-mawadda*, Kāzimiyya-Qumm, 1385/1966, p. 398.

²⁷ Ibn 'Arāq al-Kinānī, *Tanzīh al-šarī'a al-marfū'a 'ani l-aḥbārī l-šanī'a al-mawḍū'a*, ed. 'Abd al-Wahhāb 'Abd al-Laṭīf and 'Abdallāh Muḥammad al-Šadīq, Beirut 1399/1979, I, 250.

²⁸ Al-Šiblī, *Maḥāsīn al-wasā'il fī mārīfati l-awā'il*, MS Br. Library, Or. 1530, fols. 137a, 138a; cf. al-Qurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, I, 283; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Wasā'il*, p. 127.

²⁹ See e.g., Ibn Hišām, *al-Tiğān fī mulūk ḥimyar*, Hyderabad, 1347, pp. 17–18 (and see *ib.* the denial of this tradition); al-Suyūṭī, *al-Wasā'il ilā mārīfati l-awā'il*, p. 122; al-Šiblī, *Maḥāsīn al-wasā'il*, fol. 153b; Mu'āfā b. Zakariyyā, *al-Ġalīs al-šāliḥ al-kāfī wa-l-anīs al-nāṣiḥ al-šāfi*, MS Topkapı Saray, Ahmet III, 2321, fol. 159b, sup.; Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn, *Ġāmī' al-ūlār* fol. 148a–b; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūğ*, ed. Pellat, Beirut 1966, I, 39–40.

³⁰ Anonymous, *Siyar al-anbiyā'*, MS Br. Mus. Or. 1510, fol. 19b; 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb, *Tarīḥ*, MS Bodley., Marsh 288, p. 27.

³¹ Al-Mas'ūdī, *Aḥbār al-zamān*, ed. 'Abdallāh Ismā'īl al-Šawī, Cairo 1357/1938, p. 51.

after his disobedience and expulsion he spoke Syriac.³² These injunctions and prohibitions seem to have formed the *šarīʿat* Ādam, the binding law of Ādam. The Prophet is said to have acted before his Call according to the *šarīʿa* of Ādam.³³ Before his death Ādam summoned Šīʿ, ordered him to hide his will (*waṣīyya*) from the progeny of Qābīl and instructed him as to the injunctions and penalty laws enjoined by God, (*al-sarāʾir wa-l-ḥudūd*).³⁴ The Šīʿ version of the transfer of the will is slightly more detailed. According to it, God ordered Ādam to hand over to Šīʿ (=Ḥibatullāh) the True Name of God (*al-ism al-aʿẓam*), the Ark of Covenant (*tābūr*) in which the Knowledge (*al-ʿilm*) and the Will (*waṣīyya*) had to be deposited. Ādam enjoined Šīʿ to avoid contact with the progeny of Qābīl.³⁵

There are many reports about the *ġinn* and the angels who ruled on earth before Ādam and who had to be replaced by the rule of Ādam. We have mentioned above the view that the announcement made by God that He was installing a *ḫalīfa* was directed at the angels who were in the company of Iblīs. Abū Ḥayyān indeed says that God addressed the angels who fought the *ġinn* on the side of Iblīs; God intended to lift them to Heaven and replace them by Ādam and his progeny. Abū Ḥayyān gives a short report about the rule of the *ġinn* on earth and says that a force of angels was dispatched under the command of Iblīs to fight them.³⁶

The reports recorded by Ishāq b. Bišr in his *Mubtadaʾ* contain interesting details about the role of Iblīs and give us an idea as to the notions concerning the *ġinn* that were current in the early period of Islam.

An account given on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās tells the following story about angels and *ġinn*. The *ġinn* were inhabitants of the earth, the angels were in the Heavens. Every heaven had its angels, who performed their special prayers and glorifications of God; the higher the Heaven, the more powerful was the worship, the glorifications, and prayer. According to some they inhabited the earth for 2,000 years, according to others, for only 40 years and "God knows the truth."³⁷

The other report recorded by Ishāq b. Bišr is also given on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās and contains some new details about the classes of the *ġinn* and their activities. When God created Sawmā, the father of the *ġinn* — it was he who was created from the smokeless fire (*māriġ*) — God said to

³² Anonymous, *Siyar al-anbiyāʾ*, MS Br. Mus. Or. 1510, fol. 19b.

³³ Ibn Ḥaġar al-Haytamī, *al-Fatāwā al-ḥadīṭiyya*, Cairo 1390/1970, p. 153.

³⁴ Anonymous, *Siyar al-anbiyāʾ*, MS Br. Mus. Or. 1510, fol. 22a.

³⁵ Al-Masʿūdī, *Iḥbāt al-waṣīyya*, Najaf 1374/1955, pp. 16–17.

³⁶ Abū Ḥayyān, *op. cit.*, I, 140 ult.–141, l. 1; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr*, I, 44–45; al-Kisāʿī, *ʿAġāʾib al-malakūt*, MS Hebrew Univ., AR 8° 63, fol. 39b.

³⁷ Ishāq b. Bišr, *Mubtadaʾ al-dunyā wa-qīṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, MS Bodl. Huntingdon 388, fol. 38b.

him: "(say) what is your desire?" Sawmā answered: "I wish that we should see but remain unseen, that we should disappear in moist ground (*al-ṭarā*) and that our people of ripe age should be turned young." These wishes were granted: *ḡinnīs* see but remain unseen, the dead disappear in moist ground, a *ḡinnī* of ripe age never dies before being turned into a young *ḡinn*.³⁸ This report is followed by a short passage: When God created Ādam He asked him about his desire; Ādam said that he desired horses (*al-ḥayl*), which were indeed granted to him.³⁹

The story about the revolt of the *ḡinn* on earth and about the expedition of warriors from heaven against them is given in the following passage: God created the *ḡinn* and ordered them to inhabit and build up the earth. They did so and worshipped God for a very long time. But afterwards they became disobedient toward God and shed blood; amongst them was an angel called Yūsuf; they killed him. Then God dispatched against them a military force of the angels who dwelt in the Lower Heaven (*samā' al-dunyā*); this force was of the division of the *ḥinn*.⁴⁰ Among them was

³⁸ Ps. Aṣmaʿī, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, MS Br. Mus. Or. 1493, fol. 5b; al-Šiblī, *Ākām al-marḡān*, p. 85.

³⁹ Ishāq b. Bišr, *op. cit.*, fol. 38b; this and the following are recorded in Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Šiblī's *Ākām al-marḡān fī ḡarāʾibi l-aḥbār wa-aḥkāmī l-ḡānn*, ed. ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad al-Šadīq, Cairo 1376, pp. 9-11; the author quotes the source: Abū Ḥudayfa Ishāq b. Bišr's *al-Mubīdaʾ*. The name of the "father of the jinn" is given as *Sawmayā*; the editor remarks that Burhān al-Ḥalabī records the name in his *ʿIqd al-marḡān* (see Brockelmann, GAL, II, 307, SII, 82) as *Sawmayā*. And see al-Qalyūbī, *Nawādir*, Cairo 1371/1955, p. 125 (whether the creation of the horse preceded the creation of Ādam). And see al-Šaffūrī, *Nuzḥat al-maḡālīs wa-munīḥat al-naṣāʾis*, Beirut n.d., p. 227: when God showed Ādam all the creations He allowed him to choose one of them; Ādam chose the horse. Then he was told that he had chosen glory and power (*ʿizz*) for himself and for his progeny. And see Ibn Ḥaḡar al-Haytamī, *al-Fatāwā al-ḥadīṭiyya*, p. 65. Some reports stress the differences between the *ḡinn* and the angels; the angels do not eat, drink or copulate; the *ḡinn* eat, drink and copulate (al-Haytamī, *op. cit.*, p. 63). And see al-Haytamī, *op. cit.*, p. 71 (the *ḡinn* die like human beings; Iblīs grows old, but turns to be young like a person of 30 years).

⁴⁰ Ishāq b. Bišr, *op. cit.*, fols. 38b-39a; The *ḥinn* are defined as the lowest class of the *ḡinn*; they are nicknamed *kilāb al-ḡinn*; al-Šiblī, *Ākām*, p. 6 inf. and see al-Fayrūzābādī, *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, Cairo 1371/1952, IV, 218, s.v. *ḥnn*: *wa-l-ḥinn bi-l-kasr ḥayyun mina l-ḡinni minhumu l-kilābu l-sūdu l-buḥmu aw safilatu l-ḡinni wa-ḡaʿafūhum aw kilābuhum, aw ḥalqun bayna l-ḡinni wa-l-insi*; and see Ibn al-Aʿīr, *al-Nihāya fī ḡarāʾibi l-ḥadīṭi wa-l-aṭar*, ed. al-Zāwī and al-Ṭanāḥī, Cairo 1383/1963, I, 453, s.v. *ḥnn*; and see al-Zamaḡṣārī, *al-Fāʾiq*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Biḡāwī and Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1971, I, 325.

Another version of this report (al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīḥ*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1378/1967, I, 84) has been blurred by an incorrect reading (...kāna iblīs min ḥayyin min aḥyāʾi l-malāʾikati yuqālu lahumu l-ḡinnu... fa-baʿa l-lāhu ilayhim iblīs fī ḡundin mina l-malāʾikati wa-hum ḥādā l-ḥayyu l-ladīna yuqālu lahumu l-ḡinnu...). The error of the reading of the name of Iblīs's group is evident. The error was rightly corrected in Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr* (ed. Maḥmūd and Muḥammad Šakir, Cairo n.d., I, 455, note 1) where the group to which Iblīs

Iblīs, who stood at the head of a troop of 4,000 warriors (scil. of the *ḥinn*). They descended, banned the Sons of al-Ġānn and exiled them from the earth to the isles of the sea. Iblīs and the warriors under his command settled on earth. Worship became easy for them⁴¹ and they were inclined to go on dwelling on earth.⁴² The report recorded by Abū Ḥayyān has some additional phrases which explain the attitude of the *ḥinn* and of their head, Iblīs. When God announced that He intended to put up a *ḥalīfa* on earth He let them know that He decided to raise them (i.e., the *ḥinn* — K.) to heaven, but they did not like the idea, as their worship (on earth — K.) was of the lightest kind among the angels. This is why they were reluctant to return to heaven.⁴³ Further, they remembered the case of the prophet (!) Yūsuf who was killed by the *ġinn*, and when God told them that He intended to set up a substitute on earth, they asked him: "Wilt thou set therein one who will do corruption there?"⁴⁴ The report makes it clear that these angels had no knowledge of hidden things. Their question was based only on their experience and on what they saw of the corruption of the *ġinn*.

An elaborate version of the events and of the position of Iblīs is given in Diyārbakrī's *Ta'rīḥ al-ḥamīs*; it is told on the authority of Ubayy b. Ka'b who claimed that he had found it in the Torah. It relates a story of a division of angels called *al-Ġinn b. al-Ġānn*. They were sent down from Heaven and God granted them sexual desire. They multiplied in large numbers and for a long period remained righteous and God-worshipping. However, they deteriorated and became corrupt, especially when they got addicted to drinking wine; this led them to sodomy, fornication, and murder. A righteous man from among them, called al-Ḥārīṭ or 'Azāzīl, decided to part from the wicked community; he was joined by a thousand honest believers, who settled separately in an isolated place and worshipped God. When the Earth complained of the wrong deeds of the

belonged is correctly given as *ḥinn*; comp. Muqātil b. Sulaymān, *Tafsīr*, ed. Ṣaḥāta, I, 29 ...*fa-waqqa' fī l-ḡinni l-ḡitanu wa-l-ḥasadu fa-qatalū fa-ba'a'ā llāhu ḡundan min ahli samā'i l-dunyā yuqālu lahumu l-ḡinnu* (sic! — the correct reading seems to be: *al-ḥinnu*) *iblisu, 'aduwwu llāhi minhum...*

⁴¹ In text: *fa-hāna 'alayhim al-'amal*; the intent is elucidated in Abū Ḥayyān's *Tafsīr*, I, 141, l. 5 — *wa-ḥaffafa 'anhum al-'ibāda*; and see Muqātil, *op. cit.*, I, 29: ...*wa-lam yukallafū mina l-'ibādati fī l-arḍi mā kullifū fī l-samā'i, fa-aḥabbū l-qiyāma fī l-arḍi fa-awḥā llāhu 'azza wa-ḡalla ilayhim: innī ḡā'ilun fī l-arḍi ḥalīfatan siwākum wa-rāfī'ukum ilayya, fa-kariḥū dālika, li-annahum kānū aḥwana l-malā'ikati 'amalan...*

⁴² Ishāq b. Biṣr, *op. cit.*, fol. 38b, inf. — 39a.

⁴³ Abū Ḥayyān, *op. cit.*, I, 141: ...*fa-qāla llāhu ta'ālā lahu wa-li-ḡundihi: innī ḡā'ilun fī l-arḍi ḥalīfatan badalan minkum wa-rāfī'ukum ilayya; fa-kariḥū dālika li-annahum kānū aḥwana l-malā'ikati 'ibādatan wa-qālū: a-taḡ'al...;* and see al-Diyārbakrī, *op. cit.*, I, 36.

⁴⁴ Ishāq b. Biṣr, *op. cit.*, fol. 39b.

ġinn community, God ordered 'Azāzīl to send one of his community in order to summon them to abandon disobedience and accept belief. 'Azāzīl sent to them Sahlūt b. Balāhit; he summoned them to embrace Islam, but they killed him. 'Azāzīl continued to send messengers to them and they went on killing them. The last of the messengers was Yūsuf b. Yāsif; the *ġinn* tortured him and finally killed him by casting him into a copper cauldron filled with boiling oil. Then God sent down against them a troop of angels; they held swords in their hands and fire poured from their mouths. God put them under the command of al-Ḥārīt (i.e., 'Azāzīl — K.) and they defeated the wicked *ġinn*.⁴⁵ It is evident that this account is different from the reports recorded by Ishāq b. Bišr: Iblīs (alias al-Ḥārīt, alias 'Azāzīl) is one of the *ġinn* who, inspired by a deep religious conviction, parts from the sinful community, dedicates himself to the worship of God, and fights at the head of the troops of angels for a victory of righteousness and truth. Nothing is said about the vicissitudes of 'Azāzīl (=al-Ḥārīt, Iblīs) after that victory.

A quite different account recorded by al-Diyārbakrī gives interesting details of the career of the pious *ġinnī* 'Azāzīl. When the community of the *ġinn* deteriorated he separated himself from them and devoted himself to the fervent worship of God. The angels in heaven admired him so much that they asked God to lift him to Heaven. God raised him to the Lower Heaven and he exerted himself in worship there as well. The angels of the second Heaven asked God to elevate him, and so he passed all the heavens until God placed him in the highest position, that of the Treasurer of the Throne, and entrusted him with its keys. He used to circumambulate the Heavens; the angels sought his favours and addressed him as the Treasurer of Paradise and the Chief of the Pious (ascetics).⁴⁶

Additional traditions concerning the events in the career of Iblīs are no less divergent. Some early traditions reported on the authority of the Companions of the Prophet or of their Successors (the *tābiʿūn*) say that Iblīs belonged to the *ġinn* who dwelt on earth and were defeated by the force of the angels dispatched against them. He was young when he was captured and brought to Heaven; there he worshipped God in the company of the angels. When God ordered the angels to bow to Ādam, Iblīs refrained.⁴⁷ Other traditions maintain that Iblīs (named al-Ḥārīt) belonged to a group of angels created from the fire of *samūm*, while other groups were created from light. They were called *al-ḥinn*.⁴⁸ Several traditions say that he was one of the dignified angels; God put him at the head of the

⁴⁵ Al-Diyārbakrī, *op. cit.*, I, 33.

⁴⁶ Al-Diyārbakrī, *op. cit.*, I, 32, inf. — 33.

⁴⁷ Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīḥ*, I, 87; idem, *Tafsīr* I, 507, nos. 698–699; Abū Ḥayyān, *op. cit.*, I, 153.

⁴⁸ Al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, I, 502, no. 685.

kingdom of the Lower Heaven and appointed him as Treasurer of Paradise; the division of angels to which he belonged was called *al-ġinn*, because they were the Treasurers of Paradise (*ḥuzzān al-ġanna*)⁴⁹

Some accounts stress his knowledge, devotion in the worship of God, and his high position: he was the head (*raʾīs*) of the angels in the Lower Heaven and his *kunya* was *Abū Kurdūs*; he belonged to the division of angels called *al-ġinn*, who were the Treasurers of Paradise and was one of the noble group of angels who were equipped with four wings.⁵⁰

A peculiar tradition says that Iblīs was sent as judge (*qāḍī*) to the *ġinn* on earth and that he meted out judgment among them in righteousness for 1,000 years; he was called *Hakam* and God approved of this name. He grew, however, haughty and insolent and began to cause hatred and dissension to spread among people, and for 2,000 years they shed blood in internal wars. Then God sent a fire and burnt the people. Having seen that which had happened, Iblīs went up to Heaven and became a fervent and devout worshipper at the side of the angels.⁵¹ Some scholars denied his provenance from the angels and based their argument on the verse of the Quran (*Sūrat al-kahf*, 50): *kāna min al-ġinn*. Al-Ṭabarī provides a harmonizing solution in his *Tafsīr*: it is possible that God created one part of His angels from light and another part from fire; Iblīs could possibly belong to that group of angels who were created from fire and he may have also been created from the fire of *samūm*. The fact that Iblīs had offspring can be explained by the hypothesis that God installed in him sexual desire, an impulse which was denied to other angels. The fact that he was from the *ġinn* does not mean that he was not an angel, as the angels also belong to the category of the *ġinn*, because they are invisible to the sight of human beings (*li-ġtinānihim ʿan abṣāri banī ādam*).⁵² Ṭabarī's opinion can be traced back to Ibn Qutayba⁵³ and is echoed in Šiblī's *Ākām*.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ Al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, I, 503, nos. 688–689; ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb, *Taʾrīḥ*, MS, p. 12; Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn, *op. cit.*, MS fol. 136b.

⁵⁰ Ibn Ġunġul, *op. cit.*, fol. 24a; comp. al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr* I, 50. The *kunya* of Iblīs in Ibn al-Aṭīr's *al-Muraṣṣaʿ*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Samarrāʾī, Baghdad 1391/1971, p. 287 is given as Abū al-Karawwaš.

⁵¹ Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīḥ*, I, 88.

⁵² Al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, I, 508. Ibn Ḥaġar al-Haytamī, *al-Fatāwā*, pp. 61 sup., 125; al-Faḥr al-Rāzī, *op. cit.*, II, 213–215, 218, XXI, 3, 124, 136–137; al-Aynī, *Umdat al-qārī*, XV, 167–168; Mīṭam, *Šarḥ naḥḡ al-balāġa*, I, 174.

⁵³ Ibn Qutayba, *Tafsīr ġarīb al-qurʾān*, ed. Aḥmad Ṣaqr, Cairo 1378/1958, p. 21: *al-ġinn mina l-ġitinān wa-huwa l-istiṭār... wa-qāla baʿḍu l-mufasssirīna fī qawlihi "fa-ṣaġadū illā iblīsa kāna mina l-ġinni fa-fasaqa ʿan amri llāhi", ay mina l-malāʾikati, fa-sammāhum ġinnan li-ġtinānihim wa-stiṭārihim ʿani l-abṣār*. This assumption is strongly refuted by Ibn Ḥazm in his *al-Iḥkām fī uṣūli l-aḥkām*, ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Cairo 1398/1978, pp. 511–516 (see e.g., p. 512: *...wa-qad ḥamala l-tahawwuru qawman rāmū naṣra maḡhabihim ḥāhunā fa-qālū inna l-malāʾikata yusammawna ġinnan li-ġtinānihim, wa-hādā qawlun*

The pivot of lengthy discussions was the question whether Iblīs belonged to the angels or to the *ginn*.⁵⁵ According to some scholars Iblīs was an angel; he was metamorphosed (*musiḥa*) by the order of God and having been banned from the community of angels he joined the *ginn*.⁵⁶

Descriptions of Iblīs' odd and perverse ways of copulation and parturition and several lists of his sons are actually given in the literature.⁵⁷ One of his descendants, Hāma b. al-Hīm, is said to have visited the Prophet; the Prophet taught him some chapters of the Quran and welcomed his conversion to Islam.⁵⁸

ṣāḥiṣun min wuḡūhin... wa-l-ṭāliḡu: iḡmā'u l-ummati 'alā anna man sammā ḡibrīla aw miḥā'ila ḡinniyyan fa-qad kafara... qāla 'aliyyun / Ibn Ḥazm/: wa-hādā hadayānūn li-ba'di ahli l-luḡati, wa-fti kulli qawmin ḡunūn...).

⁵⁴ Al-Šiblī, *Ākām*, p. 7: li-anna l-ḡinna taštamilu 'alā l-malā'ikati wa-ḡayrihim mimmani ḡanna 'ani l-absār.

⁵⁵ See e.g., al-Nasafī, *Tafsīr*, Cairo, n.d., I, 42, III, 67; al-Šawkānī, *Fatḥ al-qadīr*, I, 66, 191, III, 130; Miṭam, *Šarḥ naḡḡ*, I, 174; 'Abd al-Ḡabbār, *Tanzīh al-qur'ān 'ani l-maṣā'in*, Beirut, n.d., p. 22; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, I, 502–508; al-Qurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, X, 25; al-Fahr al-Rāzī, *op. cit.*, XXI, 136; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Šarḥ naḡḡ*, I, 110; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr*, IV, 227; Anonymous, *Siyar al-anbiyā*, MS Br. Mus. Or. 1510, fol. 4b; al-Ṭabarsī, *Maḡma' al-bayān fi tafsīr al-qur'ān*, Beirut 1380/1961, I, 180–183; al-Rāzī, *Masā'il al-rāzī wa-aḡwibatuhā min ḡarā'ib āy al-tanzīl*, Cairo 1381/1961, pp. 202–203.

⁵⁶ See e.g., al-Rāzī, *Masā'il*, pp. 202–203; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr*, IV, 227; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Šarḥ*, VI, 435–436.

⁵⁷ See e.g., Iṣḥāq b. Bišr, *op. cit.*, fols. 52b–53b; al-Kisā'ī, *'Aḡā'ib al-malakūt*, MS fol. 42b (and see *ib.*, fol. 39a); al-Maḡlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, LXIII, 306–307; XI 237; al-Daylamī, *Firdaws al-aḡbār*, MS Chester Beatty 3037, fol. 74a: ḥīna amara llāhu 'azza wa-ḡalla an yahbiṭa ādamu habaṭa wa-zawḡatuhu wa-habaṭa iblīs wa-lā zawḡata lahu wa-habaṭati l-hayyatu wa-lā zawḡa lahā fa-kāna awwala man talawwaṭa bi-naṣsihi iblīs, wa-kānat ḡuriyyatuhu min naṣsihi...; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, ed. Ilse Lichtenstädter, Hyderabad 1361/1942, p. 395; al-Šiblī, *op. cit.*, pp. 176–177; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr*, IV, 226 inf.: ...wuldu iblīs ḡamsatun: ṭabir wa-l-a'war wa-zalanbūr wa-miswaṭ wa-dāsīm...; ...an sufyān, qāla: bāda iblīs ḡamsa bayḡāt...; *L'A*, s.v. š z y: when God was willing to create a wife and progeny for Iblīs He imposed wrath on Iblīs; from a splinter of fire of this wrath God created the wife of Iblīs. (See this report in al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḡayawān*, Cairo 1383/1963, I, 209); and see about the peculiar way of the self-fertilization of Iblīs and about his children; *ib.*, I, 209; and see Ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī, *K. al-Maḡrūḡīn*, ed. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Zāyid, Cairo 1976, I, 266; al-'Aynī, *'Umdat al-qārī*, XV, 168; 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb, *Ta'rīḥ*, MS, p. 11 inf.

⁵⁸ See e.g., Iṣḥāq b. Bišr, *op. cit.*, MS Ṣāḥiriyya 359 (*maḡmū'a*) fols. 126b–127a; 'Umar b. Muḥammad al-Mawṣilī, *al-Wasīla*, Hyderabad 1397/1977, IV2, 81–83; al-Maḡlisī, *op. cit.*, LXIII, 303, 99–101; Ibn 'Arabī, *Muḥāḡarat al-abrār wa-musāmmarat al-aḡyār*, Beirut 1388/1968, I, 98–99; al-Šawkānī, *al-Fawā'id al-maḡmū'a*, ed. 'Abd al-Raḡmān b. Yaḡyā al-Mu'allimī, Beirut 1392, p. 498, no. 1377; Ibn al-Ḡawzī, *al-Mawḡū'āt*, ed. 'Abd al-Raḡmān Muḥammad 'Uymān, *al-Madīna al-munawwara*, 1386/1966, I, 207–208; al-Suyūṭī, *al-La'ālī l-maṣnū'a fi l-aḡādīd al-mawḡū'a*, Cairo n.d., I, 174–178; al-Fākihī, *Ta'rīḥ Makka*, MS Leiden, Or. 463, fols. 371b–372a; and see Muḥammad b. Ḥibbān al-Bustī, *K. al-Maḡrūḡīn*, I, 136–137 (on the authority of Iṣḥāq b. Bišr); Ibn 'Arāq, *op. cit.*, I, 238–239, no. 23 (on the

Everybody is, in fact, accompanied by a Satan and even the Prophet had his Satan; God, however, helped the Prophet, and his Satan embraced Islam.⁵⁹

The Prophet pointed out the difference between his Satan and the Satan of Ādam: "My Satan was an unbeliever, but God helped me against him and he converted to Islam; my wives were a help for me. Ādam's Satan was an infidel and Ādam's wife was an aid in his sin."⁶⁰

Scholars devoted long discussions to the question of where the angels got their knowledge that Man would cause corruption on earth. Some assumed that God had disclosed it to them, others conjectured that they might have seen it on the Tablet (*al-lawḥ al-mahfūz*); some commentators surmised that they had learnt it by analogy from the corruption and decline which had previously befallen the realm of the *ġinn* on earth.⁶¹ A different explanation of the sources of information available to the angels is supplied in an account traced back to Muğāhid (d. 104 H.): Iblīs was given the rule of the lower heaven of this world (*kāna iblīs 'alā sulṭān samā'i l-dunyā*) and of the heaven of the earth (*wa-sulṭān samā'i l-arḍi*). It was written in the highest firmament (*al-raqī' al-a'lā*) in the presence of God (*'inda llāhi 'azza wa-ḡalla*), that from early on it was in God's knowledge (*qad sabaqa fī 'ilmihi*) that He would set up a *ḥatifa* on earth and that there would be bloody events and calamities. Iblīs saw the document and read it (while the angels did not know it); when God mentioned Ādam to the angels, Iblīs informed them that Allah would

authority of Ishāq b. Biṣr; al-Damīrī, *op. cit.*, I, 208; Ibn Ḥaḡar al-Haytamī, *op. cit.*, pp. 70, 234; al-'Uqaylī, *Kitāb al-du'a'afā*, MS Zāhiriyya, *Ḥadīṭ* 362, fol. 19a (on the authority of Ishāq b. Biṣr); al-Muttaqī l-Hindī, *Kanz al-'ummāl*, Hyderabad 1377/1958, VI, 82-84, no. 650.

⁵⁹ See e.g., Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad* (reprint) Beirut 1398/1978, III, 309 inf.: ...*fa-inna l-ṣayṭāna yaḡrī min aḥadikum maḡrā l-damī; qulnā: wa-minka yā rasūla llāh? qāla: wa-minnī, wa-lakinna llāha a'ānanī 'alayhi, fa-aslama...*; al-Darīmī, *Sunan*, Dār iḥyā' al-sunna al-nabawiyya, n.p., n.d., II, 320; Ibn Dayba', *Taysīr al-wusūl ilā ḡāmī' al-uṣūl*, Cairo 1390/1970, III, 285, no. 4; al-Ṣāḡānī, *Mabāriq al-azhār fī ṣarḥ maṣāriq al-anwār*, ed. 'Izz al-Dīn 'Abd al-Laṭīf b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, Ankara 1328, I, 309; al-Sukkarī, *Ġuz'*, MS Zāhiriyya, maḡmū'a 18, fol. 237a; Ibn Ḥaḡar al-Haytamī, *op. cit.*, p. 72; Ibn al-Ġawzī, *Talbīs iblīs*, Beirut 1368 (repr.) p. 34; al-Ṭaḡāwī, *Muṣkil al-āṭār*, Hyderabad 1333, I, 30-31; al-Ḍahabī, *Mizān al-Fīdāl*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Biḡāwī, Cairo 1382/1963, IV, 59 inf.-60, no. 8293; 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Tafsīr*, MS Cairo, fol. 37a ult. — 37b.

⁶⁰ See e.g., al-Munāwī, *Fayḍ al-qadīr, ṣarḥ al-ḡāmī' al-ṣaḡīr*, Beirut 1391/1972, IV, 440, no. 5885: *fudḡiltu 'alā ādama bi-ḥaṣlatayni: kāna ṣayṭānī kāfīran fa-a'ānanī llāhu 'alayhi ḥatīf aslama, wa-kunna azwāḡī 'awnan lī; wa-kāna ṣayṭānu ādama kāfīran wa-kāna zawḡatuḥu 'awnan 'alā ḥaṭīfatihi*; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr*, I, 54; al-Daylamī, *Firdaws al-aḡbār*, MS Chester Beatty 3037, fol. 109b, l. 2.

⁶¹ See e.g., Abū Ḥayyān, *op. cit.*, I, 142; al-Naysābūrī, *op. cit.*, I, 232-234; al-Qurṭubī, *op. cit.*, I, 274-277; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, I, 454-472; Ibn Ḡunḡul, *op. cit.*, fol. 23b.

bring about a creation which would shed blood and that He could order the angels to bow to this *ḥalīfa*. Thus when God said: *Innī ḡā'ilun fī l-arḡi ḥalīfatan*, the angels remembered what Iblīs had said to them and they questioned: "*a-taḡ'alu fīhā man yufsidu fīhā?*"⁶²

A short report quoted in other sources affords us a glimpse of the way by which secret information was passed from certain rather suspect sources. The angels, according to this report, got the information from Hārūt and Mārūt, who in their turn got it from an angel who was superior to them and whose name was *al-Siḡill*.⁶³ A more detailed version is recorded in Ibn Kaṭīr's *Tafsīr*: Hārūt and Mārūt were the helpers of the angel *al-Siḡill*. *Al-Siḡill* had the privilege of looking at the *Umm al-Kitāb* three times a day. Once he cast a glance at a tablet that was forbidden to him, and learnt from it of God's plan to create Ādam and of the events that would follow. He disclosed this information to his two helpers. When God announced that He was going to establish a *ḥalīfa* on earth it was Hārūt and Mārūt who asked: *a-taḡ'al...* Ibn Kaṭīr marks the tradition as an *isrā'iliyyāt* story.⁶⁴

The question of the angels *a-taḡ'al* "Wilt thou set therein..." was asked according to another report in quite different circumstances. When, having committed his sin, Ādam was expelled from Paradise and sent down to Earth, the angels asked God the fateful question *a-taḡ'al*. God bade them choose two angels who would be sent down to Earth and whose deeds would subsequently be watched and tested. They chose Hārūt and Mārūt, who descended to Earth and whose way of life was one of corruption and depravity. For their sins they must undergo pain and suffering until the present day. The profligate Zuhara (Venus) was hanged up in the sky as a star and remains there until now.⁶⁵

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⁶² Ishāq b. Biṣr, *op. cit.*, fol. 39a-b.

⁶³ Ibn Gungul, *op. cit.*, fol. 23b: *wa-qīla aḡla'ahum 'alayhi hārūt wa-mārūt 'an malakin fawqahumā smuhu l-siḡillu*. *L'A* lists *al-siḡill* as an angel (s.v. *s ḡ ḡ*), and so does al-Fayrūzābādī in his *Qāmūs* (s.v. *s ḡ ḡ*). Ibn Kaṭīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, Beirut-Riyad 1966, I, 71 sup.

⁶⁴ Ibn Kaṭīr, *Tafsīr*, Beirut 1385/1966, I, 123 inf.-124 sup.

⁶⁵ Nūr al-Din al-Haytamī, *op. cit.*, VI, 313; Ibn Kaṭīr, *Tafsīr*, I, 241-243; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr*, I, 46; Anonymous, *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, MS Leiden Or. 14,027 fol. 11a; and comp., e.g., the different reports; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, II, 419-435; and see Yahyā b. Salām, *Tafsīr (Muḥtaṣar)* by Ibn Zamanīn, MS Qarawiyyīn 40/34, p. 15; al-Ṭa'labī, *Tafsīr*, MS Berlin, Sprenger, 409, pp. 148-152 (according to some reports Hārūt and Mārūt were sent down in the period of Idrīs; according to another report three angels were sent down); Ibn Ḥaḡar al-Haytamī, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-62; al-Faḥr al-Rāzī, *op. cit.*, II, 167-168, 170; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ naḡḡ*, VI, 436; al-Šawkānī, *Faiḥ al-qadīr*, I, 122-123; al-Suyūṭī, *al-La'ālī l-maṣnū'a fī l-aḡādīl al-mawḍū'a*, I, 158; and see Nāṣir al-Din al-Albānī, *Silsilat al-aḡādīl al-dā'iya wa-l-mawḍū'a*, Beirut 1384, pp. 204-207; Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Durr al-fāḡira fī al-amāl al-sā'ira*, ed. 'Abd al-Maḡd Qaṭāmiš, Cairo 1972, II, 555.

The word *ḥalīfa* became the pivot of a heated discussion in connection with the need to establish an authoritative ruler over the Muslim community. Al-Qurṭubī scrutinizes the orthodox Sunnī views, while he also records the Šīʿī views. It is here, in the crucial problem of the exclusive right of the Šīʿa to get the Caliphate, that the miraculous elements of the *qīṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* became part and parcel of the Šīʿī arguments. The Sunnī view was necessarily based on the notion that the exclusive right of Qurayš to be granted the Caliphate was legitimate, as it resulted in the meeting of the Saqīfat Banī Sāʿida, on the precedent that the authority of the Caliphate was ceded to another person, as happened in the case of Abū Bakr who transferred the Caliphate to ʿUmar before his death, or on the authorization of an electoral body entrusted with the appointment of the Caliph, as in the case of ʿUṣmān.⁶⁶ In his account of the Sunnī arguments al-Qurṭubī records the rejection of the Šīʿī interpretation of the widely circulating traditions: “*man kuntu mawlāhu fa-ʿaliyyun mawlāhu*” and “*anta minnī bi-manzilati hārūn min mūsā illā annahu lā nabīyya baʿdī*.” The Sunnī argument emphasizes the differences in the position of Hārūn as opposed to ʿAlī: Hārūn shared the prophethood with Mūsā, while ʿAlī did not share the prophethood with Muḥammad. Hārūn was the brother of Moses, while ʿAlī was not Muḥammad’s brother. The Prophet’s intention was not that ʿAlī would be his *ḥalīfa*; this is indicated by the fact that Hārūn died before the death of Mūsā and was not his *ḥalīfa*, the *ḥalīfa* of Mūsā was Yūšaʿ (Joshua). Had the Prophet had the intention to intimate that ʿAlī would be his successor he would have said: *anta minnī bi-manzilati yūšaʿ min mūsā*. As to the tradition in *man kuntu mawlāhu* — al-Qurṭubī quotes the opinion of scholars to the effect that the tradition was not considered to be sound; philological analysis and comparison with other traditions in which the word *mawlā* appeared proved that the Šīʿī interpretation is misleading. An additional argument was the recording of the circumstances in which the Prophet uttered the tradition: when ʿAlī quarrelled with Usāma b. Zayd, Usāma said to ʿAlī: “I am not your *mawlā*, I am the *mawlā* of the Prophet.” Then the Prophet is said to have uttered: *man kuntu mawlāhu fa-ʿaliyyun mawlāhu*. This tradition is said to have been uttered on another occasion; when ʿĀʾiṣa was suspected of having had an affair with a Muslim warrior as reported in the “*ḥadīṭ al-ifk*”, ʿAlī advised the Prophet to find another woman as wife, “There are many women”, said ʿAlī. ʿĀʾiṣa was offended by his words, hypocrites in Medina calumniated ʿAlī and tried to get rid of him. Then the Prophet uttered the saying: *man kuntu mawlāhu*, thus refuting the calumnies of the hypocrites. Finally: the Prophet used to appoint a deputy when he left Medina for an

⁶⁶ See e.g., al-Qurṭubī, *op. cit.*, I, 264–265; Ibn Kaṣīr, *Tafsīr*, I, 124.

expedition. When he appointed 'Alī and left for the expedition of Tabūk, the hypocrites claimed that he left him at Medina because he hated him. Another rumour which was bruited about in Medina by wicked people said that he left 'Alī merely in charge of his family. The sayings of the hypocrites were denied when the Prophet said about 'Alī: *kaḡabū, bal ḡallaštuka kamā ḡallafa mūsā ḡārūna*.⁶⁷

The Šī'a's conception of the Caliphate on Earth was defined with great precision: there existed only four *ḡulaḡā* on Earth, of whom 'Alī was the fourth. That is why 'Alī could say: "He who does not say that I am the fourth of the four Caliphs, on him fall God's curse". The four Caliphs were: Ādam, Dāwūd, Hārūn and 'Alī.⁶⁸ This statement was also uttered by al-Ḥiḡr and was confirmed by the Prophet. A story says that the Prophet walked one day with 'Alī in Medina. They met a Bedouin with a long beard who addressed 'Alī: O, Amīr of the Faithful, Peace be upon you, the fourth Caliph!" The man disappeared and the Prophet explained to 'Alī that it was al-Ḥiḡr, and told him: the first Caliph is your ancestor Ādam, the second is Hārūn (the successor of Mūsā), the third is Dāwūd, you are the fourth: "O 'Alī," said the Prophet, "you are indeed my successor (*ḡaliḡai*) after my death and you will pay my debts."⁶⁹ In his thorough and fundamental work on the concept of "Nūr Muḡammad"⁷⁰ Uri Rubin gave a lucid exposition of the Šī'i concept of the prerogatives for authority and about the legacy of the Prophet.

Ādam was surnamed Abū Muḡammad.⁷¹ He is the only person distinguished by this *kunya* in Paradise in order to display the honour of the prophet Muḡammad.⁷² Muḡammad was invested with prophethood before the creation of Ādam.⁷³ In the first month of the pregnancy of

⁶⁷ Al-Qurtubī, *Tafsīr*, I, 265–268; and see al-Buḡārī, *al-Ta'riḡ al-kabīr*, Hyderabad 1380, VI, 241, no. 2277: *mā samī'ā ḡadā l-ḡadīḡa ḡattā ḡā'a ḡadā min ḡurāsān fa-na'aqa bihi; ya'nī abā ishāq, ya'nī man kuntu mawlāhu fa-'aliyyun mawlāhu, fa-itaba'ahu l-nāsu*.

⁶⁸ Al-Katakānī, *Kitāb al-burḡān fī tafsīri l-qur'ān*, ed. Maḡmūd b. ḡa'far al-Mūsawī al-Zarandī and Naḡī al-Dīn al-Taḡraḡī al-Bazarḡānī, Tehran 1375, I, 75 inf.

⁶⁹ Ni'matullāh al-Mūsawī al-ḡazā'irī, *al-Anwār al-nu'māniyya*, Tabriz-Teheran, 1380, I, 267.

⁷⁰ Uri Rubin, "Pre-existence and light, Aspects of the concept of Nūr Muḡammad", *Israel Oriental Studies V* (1975) 62–119.

⁷¹ Rubin, *op. cit.*, p. 71; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'riḡ (tahḡīb)*, ed. 'Abd al-Qādir Badrān, Beirut 1399/1979 (reprint) II, 345; al-Qurtubī, *Tafsīr*, I, 279; al-Suyūḡī, *al-Durr*, I, 62, al-Ta'labī, *Tafsīr*, MS Sprenger, p. 84; al-'Aynī, *Umdat al-qārī*, XV, 204.

⁷² Al-Suyūḡī, *al-Durr*, I, 62; al-'Aynī, *Umdat al-qārī*, XV, 204.

⁷³ Al-Buḡārī, *al-Ta'riḡ al-kabīr*, VI, 68–69, no. 1736 (...*samī' tu l-nabiyya /š/ yaḡulu: innī 'abdu llāhi wa-ḡāḡamu l-nabiyyīn wa-inna ādama la-munḡadilun fī ḡināḡihī...*); Ibn Taymiyya (*Maḡmū'at*) *al-Rasḡīl al-kubrā*, Beirut 1392/1972, II, 357 inf. (see the evaluation of this ḡadī by Ibn Taymiyya); Naḡīr al-Dīn al-Albānī, *Silsilat al-aḡādīḡ al-ḡa'īḡa*, nos. 302–303, pp. 316–317; al-Munāwī, *Fayḡ al-qadīr*, V, 53, no. 6424; al-Šāliḡī, *al-Sīra al-šāmiyya*, I, 96–107.

Āmina, the mother of the Prophet, she saw in her dream a tall man who gave her the good tidings that she would give birth to the Lord of the Messengers; the tall man was Ādam.⁷⁴ When Muḥammad was born he disappeared for a short time; he was brought to the presence of Ādam, who kissed him on his forehead and told him that he would be the lord of Ādam's progeny; those who adhered to his faith and uttered his *ṣahāda* would gather on the Day of Resurrection under the banner of the Prophet.⁷⁵

God created the world for the sake of Muḥammad, Ādam saw on the throne of God the *ṣahāda*: "There is no god except God, Muḥammad is the messenger of God," and when Ādam begged God to forgive him his sin he invoked by the merit of Muḥammad.⁷⁶ On Ādam's forehead was a blaze of light which was to be transferred through the generations down to Muḥammad: it was the light of Muḥammad.⁷⁷

Šīʿī traditions give an extended version of the inscription on the Throne. The *ṣahāda* included an addition mentioning 'Alī.⁷⁸ An almost identical inscription was on the gate of Paradise.⁷⁹ A tradition traced back to Ibn 'Abbās says that when God created Ādam He put him up in His presence and then Ādam sneezed; God inspired in him the formula of praise and gratitude to God and said: "Ādam, you praised Me, therefore I swear by My power and splendour that were it not for two servants whom I intend to create at the end of time (*fī āḥiri l-zamāni*) I would not have created you." Ādam inquired about their names and God showed him two lines of light on His Throne; on the first line: "There is no god save God, Muḥammad is the prophet of mercy, 'Alī is the key of Paradise;" on the second line: "I bind myself by oath that I shall have mercy upon him who would be faithful to both of them (*man wālāhumā*) and I shall punish (*u'addibu*) him who would be hostile towards them."⁸⁰ The Šīʿī traditions record extended inscription formulae which incorporate the Prophet and

⁷⁴ Al-Šaffūrī, *op. cit.*, p. 354.

⁷⁵ Al-Šaffūrī, *op. cit.*, p. 355.

⁷⁶ Rubin, *op. cit.*, p. 106; Ibn Abī al-Dunyā, *al-Isrāf fī manāzil al-aṣrāf*, MS Chester Beatty 4427, fol. 5a, 5b; Muḥammad al-Madanī, *al-Iḥāfāt al-saniyya fī l-aḥādīṭ al-quḍsiyya*, Hyderabad 1358, p. 140, no. 679; Ibn 'Asākir, *op. cit.*, II, 344 (2 versions). 'Alī b. Burhān al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī, *Insān al-'uyūn fī sīrat al-amīn al-ma'mūn (=al-Sīra al-ḥalabīyya)*, Cairo 1382/1962, I, 241 (and see *ib.* p. 245: the inscription between the shoulders of Ādam: *muḥammadun rasūlu llāhi, ḥāṭamu l-nabiyyīn*); al-Samarqandī, *Tafsīr*, MS Chester Beatty 3668, I, 15a; al-Ṭa'labī, *Tafsīr*, MS Sprenger p. 87 inf.; Ishāq b. Bišr, *op. cit.*, fols. 54a, 55a; Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī, *Silsilat al-aḥādīṭ al-ḍa'īfa*, no. 403, cf. al-Zurqānī, *Šarḥ al-mawāhib al-laduniyya*, Cairo 1327, V, 242 inf. — 243 sup.

⁷⁷ Rubin, *op. cit.*, pp. 91–96.

⁷⁸ Al-Madanī, *op. cit.*, p. 144, no. 695; cf. Rubin, *op. cit.*, p. 107 sup.

⁷⁹ Al-Madanī, *op. cit.*, p. 150, no. 730.

⁸⁰ Ni'matullāh al-Mūsawī, *op. cit.*, 1380, I, 228–229.

other members of 'Alī's family: 'Alī, Fāṭima, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn. God explained to Ādam that these are "better than Ādam and all of God's creatures;" had it not been for them, God would not have created Paradise, the Earth, Hell, and the sky.⁸¹

Another report on an expanded Šī'ī inscription is linked with the term "yawm 'arafa" and with the stipulations associated with the forgiveness of sins. When Ādam was in Paradise, he one day looked at the Throne and saw lines of light containing the names of Muḥammad and the members of the *ahl al-bayt*: this took place on the eighth day (of his stay in Paradise — K.). On the next day God acquainted him with their rank and position and stated that had it not been for them He would not have created him (i.e., Ādam — K.) nor anyone else. This day was called yawm 'arafa. Later, after God had refused to accept Ādam's repentance, Ġibrīl visited him and encouraged him to ask God's forgiveness "by the merit" (*bi-ḥaqq*) of Muḥammad, 'Alī, Fāṭima, Ḥasan, Ḥusayn and the imāms whose names were written on the Throne. This was, in fact, the content of the phrase of the Quran: *fa-talaqqā ādamu min rabbihi kalimātin fa-tāba 'alayhi*. Then God revealed to Ādam: "O Ādam, had you not invoked me with these names I would not have accepted your repentance; I swear that there will be no sinner who invokes Me with these names but that I shall forgive his sins."⁸²

As a counterpart to the Šī'ī conception that there were inscriptions in Heaven legitimizing the claims of the Šī'ī imāms and emphasizing the usurpatory character of the rule of the first Caliphs and their Umayyad successors, there were the Sunnī orthodox traditions, which upheld the legitimacy of the first three "Guided Caliphs". Many traditions record predictions of the Prophet concerning the virtuous character of the rule of the first three guided Caliphs and of the merits of the first Umayyad rulers. To this category belongs the tradition quoted by Rubin, according to which the Prophet saw on the night of the *Mī'rāğ* in each Heaven an inscription: Muḥammad is the Prophet of God and Abū Bakr is his successor.⁸³ On the Throne is written: *Lā ilāha illā llāhu Muḥammad rasūlu llāhi Abū Bakrin wa-'Umaru wa-'Uṣmānu, yuqṭalu šahīdan*.⁸⁴ A

⁸¹ Ni'matullāh al-Mūsawī, *op. cit.*, I, 243 inf.

⁸² Ni'matullāh al-Mūsawī, *op. cit.*, I, 247.

⁸³ Rubin, *op. cit.*, p. 107, note 21: the tradition is indeed recorded in Ḥasam 'Arafa's *Ğuz'*, MS Chester Beatty 4433, fol. 125a; Anonymous, *Manāqib al-ṣaḥāba*, MS Br. Mus. Or. 8273, fol. 22b; and see al-Ṭa'labī, *Tafsīr*, MS Sprenger, p. 88: The Prophet saw during his *mī'rāğ* an inscription on the throne containing the *ṣaḥāda* and the names of Abū Bakr and 'Umar; and see Anonymous, *Manāqib al-ṣaḥāba*, fol. 11b: when on his *mī'rāğ* the Prophet saw on the rising sun the *ṣaḥāda* and the names of Abū Bakr and 'Umar.

⁸⁴ Rubin, *op. cit.*, p. 107, note 22; Anonymous, *Manāqib al-ṣaḥāba*, MS Br. Mus. Or. 8273, fol. 22b; and cf. Anonymous, *A collection of ḥadīṭ*, MS Yahuda Ar. 1050, The Hebrew

tradition reported on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās says that on every tree and on every leaf there is an inscription: *lā ilāha illā llāhu, Muḥammadun rasūlu llāhi, Abū Bakrini l-ṣiddīqu 'Umaru l-fārūqu 'Utmānu dū l-nūrayn*.⁸⁵ Here only the three guided Caliphs are mentioned; 'Alī is ignored. Another tradition recorded on the authority of Quṭba b. Mālīk is similar in content: when the Prophet laid the foundations of the mosque at Qubā' three of his Companions were with him: Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Utmān. Quṭba passed by and asked him: "O Messenger of God, you laid the foundation of the mosque and with you is only this (tiny — K.) group of three persons?" The Prophet answered: "These are the people entitled to successorship (*wulāt al-ḥilāfa*) after my death."⁸⁶ This tendency to eliminate 'Alī and to glorify the three first Caliphs is evident in the following utterance of 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb: In the time of the Prophet we did not consider anybody equal to Abū Bakr; after him we counted 'Umar and 'Utmān; after that we abandoned making any further order of preference among the Companions of the Prophet (*ḡumma natruku aṣḥāba l-nabiyyi (ṣ) lā nufaḍḍilu baynahum*).⁸⁷ A significant utterance of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī assesses the status of the first two Caliphs putting them on a par with the Prophet: "Never will a fourth be counted together with the three: The Prophet, Abū Bakr and 'Umar".⁸⁸ Mālīk b. Anas used to count: Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Utmān; then he used to remain silent.⁸⁹ 'Umar himself gained the highest praises from the Prophet: the Prophet said that had he not been sent as a prophet 'Umar would have been sent.⁹⁰ Several of

University, fol. 8a: Ka'b informs Mu'āwiya about an utterance in the Holy Scriptures: *Muḥammad aḥmad ṣallā llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallam, abū bakr al-ṣiddīq, 'umar al-fārūq, 'uṭmān al-amīn raḍiya allāhu 'anhum aḡma'in*.

⁸⁵ Anonymous, *Manāqib al-ṣaḥāba*, MS fol. 22b; al-Nāzilī, *Mafza' al-ḥulū'i*, p. 37 (from al-Ṭabarānī).

⁸⁶ Al-Suyūṭī, *Ḡam' al-ḡawāmi'*, Cairo 1978, II, 590; Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥanaṭī, *al-Bayān wa-l-ta'rīf fī asbāb wurūd al-ḥadīṭ al-ṣarīf*, Beirut 1400/1980, II, 136, no. 749; Ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī, *al-Maḡrūḥīn*, I, 277.

⁸⁷ Anonymous, *Manāqib al-ṣaḥāba*, MS fol. 22b, sup.; Anonymous, *al-Ta'rīḥ al-muḥkam fī man intasaba ilā l-nabiyyi ṣallā llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallam*, MS Br. Mus. Or. 8653, fol. 61b; cf. Ibn 'Adī, *al-Kāmil fī ḡu'afā' al-rīḡāl*, MS Ahmet III/1 fol. 349b, inf.; Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilyat al-awliya'*, Beirut 1387/1967, VIII, 359; al-Dahabī, *Mīzān al-ṛ-ṛidāl*, II, 150, no. 3233; and see Ziauddin Aḥmad, "Some Aspects of The Political Theology of Ahmad b. Hanbal", *Islamic Studies* XII (1973), 57.

⁸⁸ Al-Basawī (=al-Fasawī), *al-Ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rīḥ*, ed. Akram Ḍiyā' al-'Umarī, Baghdad 1401/1981, II, 684; and comp. *ib.*, II, 638, inf. about Abū Bakr and 'Umar: *qaddamahumā rasūlu llāhi (ṣ) fa-man dā llaḍī yu'aḥḥiruhumā?*

⁸⁹ Al-Basawī, *op. cit.*, II, 806 penult. (and see *ib.* p. 807 ll. 1-2).

⁹⁰ Al-Basawī, *op. cit.*, II, 500; Anonymous, *Manāqib al-ṣaḥāba*, MS fol. 6b; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Ḥawāṭil li-l-faṭāwī*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1378/1959, I, 572; Ibn 'Adī, *al-Kāmil fī ḡu'afā' al-rīḡāl*, MS Ahmet III, 2943-1, 349b, inf.; al-Muḥibb al-Ṭabarī,

‘Umar’s precepts proved to be congruent with the will of God and some Quranic verses confirmed his suggestion.⁹¹ The few traditions quoted give us some insight into the ongoing and uninterrupted competition between the Šī‘a and their opponents as to the position of ‘Alī and his descendants, the imāms, and the rights of Šī‘ī aspirants to the Caliphate. Šī‘ī missionaries tried to explicate to their adherents the deliberate forgeries of the Umayyad officials who circulated them.⁹² They themselves circulated stories and reports about the Caliphs which contained defamations not less abusive than those which their opponents told of the Šī‘ī leaders.⁹³

Having made these remarks on the use of the word *ḥalīfa*, it should be remarked that there is a variant reading of this word: *ḥalīqa*.⁹⁴ This reading, not widely current, could have changed the content of the discussion or even made it entirely superfluous.

II

The stories about the creation of Ādam are abundant and often divergent or contradictory: only a few aspects of these stories can be treated here. Well-known are the stories about Iblīs who heard that God was about to send an angel to bring a handful of dust for the creation of Ādam; he went down in order to persuade the Earth to refuse to hand over the handful of dust.⁹⁵ The Earth indeed tried to refuse, and asked for God’s protection when the angels came to take the dust. Two of the angels could not stand against the beseeching of the Earth and returned to God without the required dust; the third angel disregarded the beseeching of the Earth and preferred to carry out God’s command to return carrying the dust; this

al-Riyāḍ al-naḍira fī manāqib al-‘ašara, ed. Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn al-Na‘sānī, Cairo n.d. I, 199 (see the two versions of this *ḥadīṭ*); Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ miṣr*, ed. Charles Torrey, Leiden 1920, p. 288 inf.

⁹¹ See e.g., Anonymous, *Manāqib al-ṣaḥāba*, MS fol. 3a; al-‘Aynī, *Umdat al-qārī*, II, 284–285 sup.; IV, 143–144; Maḥmūd Ḥasan Rabī, *Risālat šahī al-samar bi-muwāfaqāt ‘umar*, Cairo 1373/1954, pp. 122–128; and see additional bibliography in *EP* “*Maḥām Ibrāhīm*”.

⁹² See e.g., Sulaym b. Qays al-Kūfī, *Kitāb al-saqīfa*, Najaf n.d. pp. 138–139.

⁹³ See e.g., al-Katakānī, *op. cit.*, I, 498–500 (Abū Bakr and ‘Umar depicted as eating, drinking wine in Ramaḍān and denouncing their allegiance to the Prophet and to Islam).

⁹⁴ See Abū Ḥayyān, *op. cit.*, I, 140; al-Qurṭubī, *op. cit.*, I, 263; al-Ṭa‘labī, *Tafsīr*, MS Sprenger, p. 409; al-Faḥr al-Rāzī, *Tafsīr*, II, 166, sup.

⁹⁵ See e.g., al-Kisā‘ī, *The Tales of the Prophets*, translated and annotated by W.M. Thackston, Jr., Boston 1978, p. 22; al-Kisā‘ī, *‘Aḡāṭib al-malakūt*, MS 47a; Anonymous, *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā’,* MS Leiden Or. 14,027, fol. 5b.

angel became the Angel of Death.⁹⁶ The versions of the story telling of the dust brought to the presence of God usually say that it was gathered from different places on the earth and that is the reason why mankind consists of different colours.⁹⁷ Other reports say that the dust for the shaping of Ādam's body was collected from the Six Earths; the major part of it was taken from the Sixth Earth, which is called *adāmā*, a word from which the name of Ādam is derived. The dust was not gathered from the Seventh Earth because that is where Hell is found.⁹⁸ Al-Šabrahīṭī records this tradition, but does not mention the name of the Sixth Earth. Another tradition, attributed to Wahb, gives a detailed list of the parts of Ādam's body mentioning their provenance from the various earths; but in this tradition his shank and his feet were from the dust of the Seventh Earth.⁹⁹

Another type of tradition lists the members of Ādam's body and gives the various regions of the world from which they were taken: his head was from the dust of the Ka'ba, his breast from the dust of al-Daḥnā, his back and his belly from the dust of India, his hands from the dust of the East and his legs from the dust of the West.¹⁰⁰ Different data are provided by al-Daylamī in a tradition on the authority of Abū Hurayra: his head and forehead were from the dust of the Ka'ba, his body from Jerusalem (*bayt al-maqdis*), his thighs from Yaman, his shanks from the dust of Ḥiğāz, his right hand from the dust of the East, his left hand from the dust of the West, his skin from the dust of al-Ṭā'if, his heart from the dust of Mawṣil, his spleen and his lungs from the region of al-Ğazira.¹⁰¹ Another list of the

⁹⁶ Ishāq b. Bišr, *op. cit.*, fols. 40b–41a; al-Samarqandī, *Tafsīr*, MS Chester Beatty 3668, I, 13a; cf. Anonymous, *Siyar al-anbiyā*, MS Br. Mus., Or. 1510, fol. 11b; al-Ḥāzin, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1381, I, 39; al-Saqṣīnī, *Zahrat al-riyāḍ wa-nuzhat al-qulūb al-mirād*, MS Hebrew Univ. Yahuda Ar. 571, p. 8 sup.; Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Sa'd al-su'ūd*, Najaf 1396/1950, p. 33; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūğ al-dahab*, ed. Ch. Pellat, I, 33.

⁹⁷ See e.g., al-Qurṭubī, *op. cit.*, I, 280; al-Šabrahīṭī, *Šarḥ 'alā al-arba'in ḥadīṭ (!) al-nawawīyya*, Beirut (reprint), n.d. p. 288 ult.; cf. al-Samarqandī, *Tafsīr*, MS I, 13a; al-Bayhaqī, *al-Asmā' wa-l-ṣifāt*, pp. 362–363; Ibn Ḥuzayma, *Kitāb al-tawḥīd*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥalīl Harrās, Cairo 1387/1968, pp. 63–64; al-Ṭa'labī, *Tafsīr*, MS Sprenger, p. 84; al-Ḥāzin, *Tafsīr*, I, 40; al-Saqṣīnī, *op. cit.*, MS p. 8; 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Tafsīr*, MS fol. 2b inf.; Anonymous, *Siyar al-anbiyā*, MS Br. Mus. Or. 1510, fol. 11a–b (see fol. 11a: The Rūm and the Arabs created from the white dust, the Turks from the red one and the Abyssinians from the black); Ibn Fūrak, *Muṣkil al-ḥadīṭ*, Hyderabad 1362, pp. 25–26; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, Cairo 1357/1938, XIII, 11.

⁹⁸ Ishāq b. Bišr, *op. cit.*, fol. 41a; cf. al-'Aynī, *Umdat al-qārī*, XV, 204 (called Ādam because he was created from *ādīm al-arḍ*, or because the dust of the earth is called in Hebrew *ādām*; the second *ā* in the word is shortened into *a* in the name *ādam* (quoted from Ṭa'labī. See Ṭa'labī, *Tafsīr*, MS Sprenger p. 84).

⁹⁹ Al-Šabrahīṭī, *op. cit.*, p. 289 sup.

¹⁰⁰ Al-Šabrahīṭī, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

¹⁰¹ Al-Daylamī, *al-Firdaws*, MS Chester Beatty, 3037, fol. 77b.

parts of the body of Ādam and their qualities according to their provenance is given by Suyūṭī in his *al-Kalām ‘alā ḥalqi ādama wa-ḍikri waḥdihī ‘alayhi l-ṣalātu wa-l-salām*. The tradition is transmitted on the authority of Ibn ‘Abbās: God created the head of Ādam from the dust of Jerusalem (*bayt al-maqdis*), his face from the dust of Paradise, his teeth from the Kawṭar (said to be a river in Paradise — K.), his right hand from the Ka‘ba, his left hand from Persia, his feet from India, his bones from the mountain (perhaps Ġabal, the mountainous province in Persia is meant — K.), his pudenda from Babylon, his back from Iraq, his heart from Paradise, his tongue from al-Ṭā‘if and his eyes from the Ḥawḍ (= the pond with a delicious beverage from which the believers will be given permission to drink of the Day of Resurrection — K.). As his head is from Jerusalem it became the place of reason and sagacity; as his face is from Paradise it became the place of beauty and comeliness; as his teeth are from the Kawṭar they became a spot of sweetness; as his right hand is from the Ka‘ba it became the place of assistance; as his back is from Iraq it became the place of strength; as his pudenda are from Babylon it became a place of lust; as his bones are from al-Ġabal they became the place of rigidity; as his heart is from Paradise (*firdaws*) it became the place of belief; as his tongue is from al-Ṭā‘if it became the place of the *ṣahāda*.¹⁰² It is obvious that we have stories closely akin to the type of *ṣaḍḍ’il al-buldān* or *ṣaḍḍ’il al-amākin*; places have distinctive features, which affect the people living in these places. There are traditions saying that Ādam was created from the dust of Mecca.¹⁰³ Others claim that he was created from the dust of al-Ġābiya.¹⁰⁴ Sa‘īd b. Ġubayr said that God created Ādam from the dust of Daḡnā.¹⁰⁵ Al-Ḥasan (probably al-Baṣrī — K.) reported that his breast (*ḡuḡu*) was from Ḥimā Ḍariyya.¹⁰⁶ Some reports say that God created Ādam from the dust of al-Daḡnā.¹⁰⁷ In the wadi of al-Daḡnā God is said to have performed the act of the Covenant with the progeny of Ādam, which

¹⁰² Al-Suyūṭī, *Iḥnā ‘aṣara rasā’il* (!), Lahore n.d., pp. 25–27; al-Saqsinī, *op. cit.*, MS, pp. 8–9.

¹⁰³ Ishāq b. Biṣr, *op. cit.*, fol. 42a.

¹⁰⁴ Al-Daylamī, *Firdaws*, MS Chester Beatty 3037, fol. 77b. Ibn al-Ġawzī, *al-Mawḍū‘āt*, I, 190; al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz*, VI, 64, nos. 548–549; Muḥammad Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī, *Silsilat al-aḥādīṭ al-da‘ifa*, pp. 357–358, no. 354; al-Munāwī, *Fayḍ al-qadīr*, III, 445, no. 3927; Ibn ‘Arāq, *Tanzīh al-ṣarī‘a*, I, 232, no. 11; al-Suyūṭī, *Ġam‘ al-ḡawāmī‘*, Cairo 1978, I, 520, 167.

¹⁰⁵ Al-Qurṭubī, *op. cit.*, VI, 388 (comp. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta‘rīḥ* I, 121; Ādam alighted in Daḡnā in India; and see Ishāq b. Biṣr, *op. cit.*, fol. 64b: Daḡnā in India).

¹⁰⁶ Al-Qurṭubī, *op. cit.*, VI, 388; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Ta‘rīḥ Dimaṣq (tahḍīb)*, Beirut 1399/1979, II, 343; al-Bakrī, *Muḡam mā staḡam*, ed. Muṣṭafā al-Saqqa, Cairo 1368/1949, p. 859 ult.

¹⁰⁷ Yāqūt, *Muḡam al-buldān*, s.v. al-Daḡnā; *L’A*, s.v. *d ḡ n*; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr*, I, 48, I. 1; Ibn ‘Asākir, *op. cit.*, II, 343; Ibn Ḡunḡul, *op. cit.*, fol. 25a.

was in his loins.¹⁰⁸ Ādam alighted in the wadi of al-Daḥnā when he was expelled from Paradise.¹⁰⁹ It is a wadi between Mecca and al-Tāʾif. On a mountain outside Nabulus (in the Holy Land) Ādam prostrated himself to God.¹¹⁰ He is said to have dwelt in a village in the vicinity of Bayt Lihya in the region of Damascus.¹¹¹ There are several other places connected with the life of Ādam; some of them serve as places of pilgrimage though not necessarily favoured by orthodox scholars.

Ādam was created on Friday, the best day of the week; he was introduced to Paradise on that day and was expelled from Paradise on that day. His repentance was accepted on Friday and he died on Friday.¹¹² As the angels bowed to Ādam on Friday, this day became a day of feast for the believers.¹¹³

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One aspect of the story of the creation of Ādam became the pivot of a heated discussion between the anthropomorphistic scholars and their opponents.¹¹⁴ The important verse which speaks of God's creation of Ādam with His own hands (*Sūrat Ṣād*, XXXVIII, 75: "... Said He: Iblīs, what prevented thee to bow thyself before that I created with My own hands?" (transl. A.J. Arberry) is in fact the bone of contention between the two opposing theological schools. The question is whether the expression "My own hands" should be understood as referring literally to God's hands, or metaphorically. Tradition enlarged the scope of the role of God's hands in the process of creation. God is said to have made three things with His own hands: the creation of Ādam, the writing of the Torah, and the planting of the trees of Paradise. Some traditions add a

¹⁰⁸ Ishāq b. Biṣr, *op. cit.*, fol. 67b.

¹⁰⁹ Ibn Kaṭīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, Beirut-Riyad 1966, I, 80, I, 4.

¹¹⁰ Yāqūt, *Muḡam al-buldān*, s.v. Nabulus. According to a Samaritan tradition Ādam was created from the dust of the mountain of Gerizim at Nabulus (see Z. Ben-Hayyim, "A Fragment from Memar Marqa, An Unknown Version", in *Studies in the Literature of the Talmud*, The Language of the Songs and the Exegesis of the Bible, University of Tel Aviv 1983 (in Hebrew) pp. 126 ("Q" and "Š") and 131 (translation).

¹¹¹ Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rīḥ Dimaṣq (tahqīb)*, Beirut 1399/1979, II, 341.

¹¹² Nūr al-Dīn al-Haytamī, *Maḡma' al-zawā'id*, II, 167; Yaḥyā b. Ma'īn, *al-Ta'rīḥ wa-l-'ilal*, MS Zāhiriyya, *Maḡmū'* 112, fol. 8b, 9b; Anonymous, *Siyar al-anbiyā'*, MS Br. Mus. Or. 4510, fols. 11a, 12a, 15b; 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb, *Ta'rīḥ*, MS p. 16; 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Tafsīr*, MS fol. 2a; Anonymous, *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, MS Leiden. Or. 14,027, fol. 14b; al-Buḥārī, *al-Ta'rīḥ al-kabīr*, IV, 44, 220, 1911.

¹¹³ Anonymous, *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, MS Leiden Or. 14,027, fol. 7a.

¹¹⁴ See Ibn Ḥuzayma's censure of the Ḡahmiyya and Rāfiḍī views: *Kitāb al-tawḥīd* p. 41; and see A.J. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, London 1965, pp. 66-70, 73-74.

fourth object: the Pen.¹¹⁵ Al-Aṣʿarī records the tree of Ṭubā as the fourth thing.¹¹⁶

It is evident that the anthropomorphists (*al-muḡassima*) interpreted the "hands" literally; others rendered this expression as "power", "ability" (*qudra, quwwa*) or "favour", "grace" (*al-niʿma*); some argued that the expression "hands" serves for emphasis with the aim of stressing that Ādam was God's own creation.¹¹⁷ Abū Ḥayyān records two readings: *bi-yadayya* (with My two hands) and *bi-yadī* (with My hand) and explains the word as ability and strength (*al-qudra wa-l-quwwa*).¹¹⁸ Al-Šawkānī records the various meanings attributed to the word *yad* and the two readings mentioned above. The meaning "ability", "strength" (*qudra*) is rejected because the dual cannot denote strength and ability; it denotes two attributes of God (*bal li-l-dalālati annahumā šifatāni min šifāti dātihi subhānahu*).¹¹⁹ Further Šawkānī records another opinion, that the two hands are used metaphorically emphasizing God's deed; the expression "with My two hands" thus denotes: I myself created him. In another formulation quoted by Šawkānī the aim of the expression is, as in the former explication, to stress that God created Ādam without mediation (*wāsiṣa*) and attributed the creation to Himself, in this way bestowing special honour on Ādam, although He is the Creator of all things (*wa-aḍāfa ḥalqahu ilā nafsihi takrīman lahu wa-tašrīfan*).¹²⁰ More explicit about the mediators is al-Ġāwī: "before him whom I created with My own hands" means "whom I created by My power and will" (*bi-qudratī wa-irādātī*) without the mediation of a father and mother.¹²¹ Explanations of the kind mentioned above are given in other commentaries as well.¹²² Al-Aṣʿarī criticizes severely the widely current interpretations. Basing himself on the sound usage of the Arabic language al-Aṣʿarī states that "God's two hands" mentioned in the verse cannot denote "favour or grace." God's two hands cannot denote, as some commentators maintain, strength; their

¹¹⁵ ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Tafsīr*, MS fol. 91a, ult.-91b; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, (Būlāq) XVIII, 2 (from ʿAbd al-Razzāq), XXIII, 119; al-Suyūṭī, *Ġamʿ al-ḡawāmiʿ*, I, 168, 510; idem, *al-Durr*, III, 121, V, 321; al-Bayhaqī, *al-Asmāʾ wa-l-ṣifāt*, Cairo 1358, p. 318; al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz*, VI, 65, nos. 556-559.

¹¹⁶ Al-Aṣʿarī, *al-Ibāna ʿan uṣūl al-diyāna*, Cairo n.d., p. 36 sup.

¹¹⁷ See e.g., al-Naysābūrī, *Ġarāʾib*, XXIII, 107.

¹¹⁸ Abū Ḥayyān, *op. cit.*, VII, 410; and see Ibn Bābūya (al-Šayḥ al-Šadūq), *al-Tawḥīd*, ed. Muḥammad Maḥdī al-Sayyid Ḥasan al-Ḥarsān, Najaf 1386/1966, p. 104.

¹¹⁹ al-Šawkānī, *Fatḥ al-qadīr*, IV, 445 (*al-yad hāhunā bi-maʿnā l-taʿkīd wa-l-šila maḡāzan ka-qawlihi: wa-yabqā waḡhu llāh...*).

¹²⁰ Idem, *op. cit.*, IV, 445.

¹²¹ Al-Ġāwī, *Marāḥ labīd*, Cairo 1305, II, 233.

¹²² Al-Wahīdī, *al-Waḡīz fī tafsīr al-qurʾān al-ʿazīz* (on margin of al-Ġāwī's *Marāḥ*, II, 233; al-Nasafī, *Tafsīr*, IV, 47; al-Qurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, XV, 228; al-Katakānī, *op. cit.*, IV, 64.

recourse to the meanings of *ayd* (*wa-l-samā' banaynāhā bi-aydin*, *Sūrat al-dāriyāt*, 47) has nothing to do with "the two hands" because the plural of *yad* as favour or grace is *ayādin*, *ayādī*. If the meaning of the hand in the verse were power (*qudra*) Ādam would not have got any distinction over Iblīs because Iblīs was also created by God's power as He did everything else. "God's hands" are however not the same as the hands of a human being.¹²³ Ibn Huzayma too uses the same arguments in rejecting the meanings "favour" and "strength". He who explains the two hands of God as meaning "strength" (*quwwa*) adducing *ayd(in)* as proof, should be sent to the *kuttāb* to be taught proper Arabic.¹²⁴ Al-Bayhaqī reiterates the arguments which refute the interpretation of God's hands as either God's body extremities (*ḡāriḥa*), as favour or as power; the word must be understood as denoting two attributes of God connected with the creation of Ādam.¹²⁵ Al-Faḥr al-Rāzī scrutinizes the various explanations of the word *yad* in the verse; having rejected them all he chooses to explain it as a metaphor which denotes the keenness and care with which the work was carried out.¹²⁶

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Another tradition concerning the creation of Ādam became the subject of keen debate: that was the utterance of the Prophet according to which God created Ādam in his image (*inna llāha 'azza wa-ḡalla ḥalaqa ādama*

¹²³ Al-Aṣ'arī, *al-Ibāna*, pp. 36–39.

¹²⁴ Ibn Huzayma, *K. al-tawḥīd wa-iḡbāt šifāt al-rabb*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥalī Harrās, Cairo 1387/1968, pp. 85–87.

¹²⁵ Al-Bayhaqī, *al-Asmā'*, p. 319: ...*fa-lā yaḡūzu an yuḥmala 'alā l-ḡāriḥati, li-anna l-bārī ḡalla ḡalāluluḥ wāḥidun lā yaḡūzu 'alayhi l-tab'īdu, wa-lā 'alā l-quwwati wa-l-mulki wa-l-ni'mati wa-l-ṣilati, li-anna l-iṣtirāka yaqā'u ḥina'idin bayna waliyyihi ādama wa-'aduwwihi iblīs, fa-yabṣulu mā ḡukira min tafḡlihi 'alayhi, li-buṭlāni ma'nā l-taḡṣṣi; fa-lam yabqa illā an yuḥmala 'alā šifatiyhi ta'allaqatā bi-ḡalqi ādama tašrifan lahu, dūna ḡalqi iblīs...*; and see ib. 330–331: ...*wa-ḡahaba ba'du ahli l-naẓari ilā anna l-yamīna yurādu biḥā l-yadu, wa-l-kaffu 'ibāratan 'ani l-yadi, wa-l-yadu li-llāhi ta'āla šifatu bilā ḡāriḥatin... wa-laysa fī ḡālika tašbīhun bi-ḡālin...*; and see Ibn Fūrak, *Muškil al-ḡadī*, Hyderabad 1362, pp. 169–173.

¹²⁶ Al-Faḥr al-Rāzī, *Tafsīr*, XXVI, 229–232 (and see pp. 231 ult. — 232, ll. 1–2; *wa-llaḡṭ talahḡḡaša 'indī fī ḡadā l-bābi anna l-sulṭāna l-'aẓīma lā yaqḡdiru 'alā 'amali šay'in bi-yadihi illā iḡā kānat ḡāyatu 'ināyatihi mašrūfatan ilā ḡālika l-'amali; fa-iḡā kānati l-'ināyatu l-ṣadīdatu min lawāzimi l-'amali bi-l-yadi amkana ḡāluḥu maḡāzan 'anhu 'inda qiyāmi l-dalā'ili l-ḡāhirati...*; and see the commentary of the tradition about God's creation of Eden and His planting of the trees with His own hands: al-Munāwī, *Fayḡ al-ḡadīr*, III, 444, no. 3926: ...*"ḡarasa aḡḡarāḡ bi-yadihi", ay bi-ṣifatin ḡaṣṣatin wa-'ināyatin tāmmatin, fa-inna l-ṣaḡḡa lā yaḡā'u yadahu fī amrin illā iḡā kāna lahu bihi 'ināyatun ṣadīdatun fa-aṡlaqa l-lāzima wa-huwa l-yadu wa-arāda l-malzūma wa-huwa l-'ināyatu maḡāzan, li-anna l-yada bi-ma'nā l-ḡāriḥati muḡāḡlun 'alā llāhi...*

'*alā ṣūratihī*').¹²⁷ This is usually coupled with a further tradition which says that Ādam was 60 cubits in height when created, that God sent him to greet the angels and that his greeting became the current greeting of the Muslim community. Everybody entering Paradise will be 60 cubits high; people have been gradually losing their height.¹²⁸ Ibn Qutayba scrutinizes the interpretations of the scholars concerning this utterance. Some of them assume that the suffix *hi* in *ṣūratihī* goes back to Ādam; but this interpretation is rejected by Ibn Qutayba, as it is obvious that God created Ādam in his shape and the beasts in their shape. According to some scholars, this indicates that God created Ādam following an image that was with Him; this interpretation is also rejected, as God did not create any of His creatures according to a model.¹²⁹ The interpretation of this tradition is further complicated if one takes into account another saying of the Prophet in which he forbade to disform the face (of an adversary — K.) because God created it in his shape, i.e., in the shape of the adversary's face. This is again rejected by Ibn Qutayba, as it is obvious that Ādam's face was similar to that of his posterity.

A further complication arises from a peculiar utterance which states explicitly that God created Ādam in the image of al-Raḥmān. It is undeniable that al-Raḥmān is identical with Allah; the Arabic of the sentence is clumsy and the utterance simply indicates that God created Ādam in the image of God.¹³⁰ Ibn Qutayba concludes that the tradition of God's creation of Ādam indicates that Ādam was created in Paradise having the same shape that he retained when removed to earth. But Ibn Qutayba himself is uncertain as to whether this was the intention of the Prophet. He quotes the verse from the Torah where it is said that "God created Ādam in His shape" and points out that it fits in with the interpretation of the *ḥadīṭ*, according to which the suffix *hi* refers to God.¹³¹ According to a more moderate interpretation, God's creation of Ādam in His shape alludes to some of God's attributes, like knowledge and power.¹³²

¹²⁷ Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb ta'wīl muḥtalif al-ḥadīṭ*, Cairo 1326, p. 275; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sarḥ*, III, 227.

¹²⁸ Ibn Ḥuzayma, *op. cit.*, p. 41; Muḥammad Ḥabībullāh al-Ṣinqīṭī, *Zād al-Muslim fī mā uṭafaqa 'alayhi l-buḥārī wa-muslim*, Beirut (repr.) 1387/1967, I, 180–181, no. 427; al-Munāwī, *Fayḍ al-qadūr*, III, 445, no. 3928; al-Bayhaqī, *al-Asmā' wa-l-ṣifāt*, pp. 289–291; al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥam' al-ḡawāmi'*, I, 510.

¹²⁹ Comp. Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Sa'd al-su'ūd*, p. 33 penult.: *fa-qāla fī l-ṣuḥufi mā ḥādā lafzuḥu: fa-ḥalaqa llāhu ādama 'alā ṣūratin allatī (!) ṣawwarahā fī l-lawḥi l-mahfūẓi...*

¹³⁰ Ibn Qutayba, *K. ta'wīl*, p. 278; and see the thorough scrutiny of the traditions: Ibn Fūrak, *Muṣkil al-ḥadīṭ*, pp. 6–14.

¹³¹ See e.g., Genesis I, 26–27.

¹³² Ibn Ḥaḡar al-Haytamī, *op. cit.*, 290, 292; and see the comments in Munāwī's *Fayḍ*, III, 445–447.

Traditions say that Ādam was 60 cubits high at the time when he was created.¹³³ According to other reports Ādam's head reached up to Heaven and his legs touched the earth when he was first sent down from Paradise and alighted in India; the angels were afraid of him and his stature was reduced to 60 cubits; Ādam was cut off from the voices of the angels and their praises of God and became sad, God gave him solace by causing the House in Mecca to descend on earth and by ordering Ādam to set out to Mecca to perform the *ṭawāf*.¹³⁴ Divergent stories say that he was so tall that the clouds rubbed his head and he became bald; his baldness was inherited by his posterity. His height was then reduced to 60 cubits.¹³⁵ Some sources are critical of these fabulous stories: many believers reject the story that Ādam's height was reduced to 60 cubits, as this is unnatural; baldness, say the physicians, stems from humidity in the brain.¹³⁶ Ādam is said to have been the most beautiful of creatures; he was beardless (*amrad*) and only his descendants got a beard later on.¹³⁷ According to a divergent tradition, Ādam prostrated himself when he received the good tidings that God accepted his repentance, and asked God for more beauty. God granted him a black beard; this will remain the adornment of men until the Day of Resurrection.¹³⁸

Ibn Kaṭīr indeed records on the authority of Ka'b al-Aḥbār that Ādam is the only man in Paradise with a long black beard which reaches down to his navel.¹³⁹ It is evident that we have here two contradictory views about

¹³³ Al Maḡlisī, *op. cit.*, XI, 115; al-ʿIṣāmī, *Simṭ*, I, 78, 80; Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn, *op. cit.*, MS fol. 140a (and see *ib.*, fol. 140b about the beautiful beardless people of Paradise); al-Šāliḥī, *op. cit.*, I, 165–166; al-Qurṭubī, *Tafsīr* I, 320, l. 1, VI, 388; al-ʿAynī, *ʿUmdat al-qārī*, XV, 208–209 (and see *ib.* the description of the people of Paradise). Anonymous, *Siḡar al-anbiyāʾ*, MS Br. Mus., Or. 1510, fol. 12b–13a; al-Hāzin, *Tafsīr*, I, 39 inf.; al-Šabrahī, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

¹³⁴ Al-Azraqī, *op. cit.*, p. 12; cf. Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn, *op. cit.*, MS, fol. 140b, sup.; cf. ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaf*, V, 91, no. 9090, and p. 93 no. 9096.

¹³⁵ Al-Qurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, VI, 388, l. 319 inf.; cf. al-Maḡlisī, *op. cit.*, XI, 127 (his head reaching the sky, his feet treading on the Šafā; reduced to 70 cubits); and cf. al-ʿIṣāmī, *Simṭ*, I, 77 (70 cubits); cf. al-ʿAynī, *ʿUmdat al-qārī*, XV, 209; al-Ṭaʿlabī, *Tafsīr*, MS Sprenger, p. 168; cf. al-Suyūṭī, *al-Wasāʾil*, 142 (*awwal man ṣalīʿa*).

¹³⁶ Al-Maḡdisī, *al-Baḍʾ*, II, 99.

¹³⁷ Al-Maḡdisī, *op. cit.*, II, 00 ult.

¹³⁸ Al-Maḡlisī, *op. cit.*, LXXVI, 110 inf.; and see al-ʿIṣāmī, *Simṭ*, I, 571; and see the description of the hairless Ādam: Anonymous, *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, MS Leiden Or. 14, 027, fol. 15a.

¹³⁹ Ibn Kaṭīr, *al-Bidāya*, I, 97; Ibn Ḡunḡul, *op. cit.*, MS I, 28b; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr*, I, 62 (Ādam had no beard when alive; men's beards originated only after Ādam, but in Paradise he is the only person with a beard, a black one reaching down to his navel. Another tradition says that the only person with a long black beard in Paradise is Moses: see al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr*, I, 62 and al-Ḍahabī, *Mizān al-ʿitidāl*, II, 286, no. 3763; al-Daylamī, *Firdaws al-aḥbār*, MS Chester Beatty 4139, fol. 112a; and see ʿAlī al-Qārī, *al-Asrār al-marfūʿa fī al-aḥbār al-mawḍūʿa*, ed. Muḥammad al-Šabbāḡ, Beirut 1391/1971, 124, no. 83).

the beauty of man: a young beardless ephebe and a man with a full black beard.

Wa-‘allama ādama l-asmā’a kullahā, “and He taught Ādam the names, all of them” is interpreted in several different ways in the commentaries of the Quran. God taught him, according to the commentators, one of the following things: the names of all the creatures, the names of events which happened in the past or which will happen in the future, all the languages (so that he could speak with each of his sons in a special language), the names of all the stars, the names of the angels, the names of his progeny, or the names of the various species of His creatures; or He taught him everything, including even the grammar of Sībawayh.¹⁴⁰

Some traditions say that the secret language which God taught Ādam was Syriac.¹⁴¹ An early report states that God taught Ādam the names in Syriac in order to hide from the angels the knowledge thus acquired.¹⁴² Al-Suyūṭī records a tradition saying that Ādam spoke Arabic in Paradise; when he committed the sin he began to speak Aramaic, but after God accepted his repentance he reverted to Arabic.¹⁴³ The early ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb has a more detailed account of the language of Ādam; Ādam is included in the list of prophets whose language was Arabic. He descended from Paradise speaking Arabic because Arabic was the language of God, of the angels, and the people of Paradise. This is supported by the words spoken by the Prophet to Salmān al-Fārisī: “You should love the Arabs because of three things: your Quran and your Prophet are Arab and your language in Paradise will be Arabic.” ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb explains the position of Arabic in comparison with Aramaic: Ādam and his progeny spoke Arabic. In a later period Arabic degenerated (*ḥurriṣa*) into Syriac, which is akin to Arabic.¹⁴⁴

Šī‘ī tradition explains that God taught Ādam the names of the prophets, the names of Muḥammad, ‘Alī, Fāṭima, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, the names of the prominent men of their family (*āḥl*), the names of the righteous men of the Šī‘a and the names of the rebellious men of their opponents.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁰ Abū Ḥayyān, *op. cit.*, I, 145–146; and comp. al-Faḍl al-Ṭabarsī, *Maḡma’ al-Bayān fī tafsīr al-qur’ān*, Beirut 1380/1961, I, 168–196; and see al-Maḡlisī, *op. cit.*, XI, 146. Knowledge of language (*‘ilm al-luḡa*) follows in importance the perception of the unity of God; God showed the angels the superiority of Ādam by his knowledge of language (see al-Samarqandī, *Tafsīr*, MS, fol. 13b.).

¹⁴¹ Al-Šāliḥī, *al-Sīra al-sāmiyya* (= *Subul al-hudā wa-l-rašād*), I, 364.

¹⁴² Yahyā b. Salām, *Tafsīr*, MS, p. 7.

¹⁴³ Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manṭiq*, I, 58; and see a similar report in al-Mas‘ūdī’s *Aḥbār al-zamān*, p. 49.

¹⁴⁴ ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb, *Ta’rīḥ*, MS, p. 19. And see René Dagorn, *La Geste d’Isma‘īl*, Paris 1981, pp. 289 penult. — 290.

¹⁴⁵ Al-Maḡlisī, *Bihār al-anwār*, XI, 117 inf.

"Then He presented them unto the angels" is consequently explained that God presented unto the angels the spectres of the prophets and the imāms as lights within shadows.¹⁴⁶ The angels committed themselves to faith and obedience, and undertook to recognize the excellence of 'Alī and of the Šī'ī imāms.

The Šī'ī idea of the superiority of 'Alī and the imāms provides the reason why God ordered that the angels prostrate themselves in front of Ādam. As the angels became convinced that the Šī'ī imāms surpass them in rank and position they prostrated when they were ordered to do so.

A clear exposition of the Šī'ī idea is given in a story in which the Prophet is made to reply to the hypocrites who asked him whether 'Alī was superior to the angels. He explained that the angels gained honour only through their love of the Prophet and 'Alī and through the acceptance of their *wilāya*. Adherents of 'Alī who cleansed their hearts from deceit, hatred, and the impurity of sins are purer and better than the angels. As the angels believed that they surpass the creatures on earth, God created Ādam, taught him all the names, ordered him to test their knowledge through questions and to show them that they were inferior. Then He ordered them to prostrate themselves to Ādam. The Prophet stresses that the Šī'a are constant in their struggle against oppressive rulers, that they suffer and grieve as a result of the persecution of their enemies, and that they subdue their lust and desire; the angels do not need to cope with such difficulties and do not suffer pain as do the Šī'ī adherents. The angels perceived that Ādam possessed the light of these noble creatures and they therefore prostrated themselves to Ādam.¹⁴⁷ The Prophet repeated the same idea in another tradition in which he emphasized the superiority of the Šī'a over the angels: God put us into the loins of Ādam and ordered the angels to prostrate themselves to him as a mark of honour and glorification for us; their prostration was thus an act of worship for God and one of

¹⁴⁶ Al-Mağlisī, *op. cit.*, XI, 117 ult. — 118, l. 1; and see *ib.*, II, 5-7: ...*fa-qāla llāhu ta'āla: yā ādamu anbi' hāwulā'i l-malā'ikata bi-asmā'ihim, asmā'i l-anbiyā'i wa-l-a'immati (š) 'fa-lammā anba'ahum*" *'arafūhā, aḥaḍa 'alayhim al-'ahda wa-l-mū'aqa bi-l-imāni bihim wa-l-iṣḍāḥ lahum*...

¹⁴⁷ Al-Mağlisī, *op. cit.*, XI, 137-138: ...*fa-lammā 'arrafa llāhu malā'ikatahu faḍla ḥiyāri ummati muḥammadin (š) wa-šī'ati 'aliyyin wa-ḥulafā'ihi ('alayhimu l-salāmu) 'alayhim, wa-ḥimālahum fī ḡanbi maḥabbati rabbihim mā lā yaḥtamiluhu l-malā'ikatu abāna banī ādama l-ḥiyāra l-muttaqīna bi-l-faḍli 'alayhim, jumma qāla: fa-li-dālika fa-sḡudū li-ādama limā kāna muštamilan 'alā anwār ḥāḍiḥi l-ḥalā'iqi l-aḥḍāṭin*... The tradition is recorded from Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Ṭabarsī's *al-Iḥtiṣāḡ*, ed. Muḥammad Bāqir al-Ḥarsān, Najaf 1386/1966, I, 62-63; cf. the story of the conversation of the angels with God, in which they boasted of their fast. God replied: You fast because you do not desire food, but these (i.e., the human beings — K.) are better than you, because they need food, nevertheless they fast. Thus the human beings are superior to the angels. (Al-Zandawaysī, *Rawḍat al-'ulamā' wa-nuzhat al-fuḍalā'*, MS Br. Mus. Add. 7258, fol. 267b (= 150b).

rendering homage and obedience for Ādam, because we were in his loins. How can we not be considered superior to the angels while they (i.e., the angels) prostrated themselves to Ādam?¹⁴⁸ In a third tradition the Prophet mentions again the prostration of the angels as an argument for the superiority of Muḥammad, ‘Alī, Fāṭima, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn over the angels. “I, ‘Alī, Fāṭima, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn were in the pavilion of the Throne: we glorified God and the angels glorified Him by our glorification; this was two thousand years before the creation of Ādam. When God created Ādam he ordered the angels to prostrate themselves to him, but He did not order us to do so, says the Prophet.” The expression ‘*ālūna* (contained in the rebuke addressed at Iblīs: *istakbarta am kunta min al-‘ālīn*) refers to the five who were in the pavilion of the Throne.¹⁴⁹ A tradition which fits in with the Šī‘ī story states that the place where the angels prostrated themselves to Ādam was al-Kūfa (which was a Šī‘ī stronghold).¹⁵⁰

The Sunnī explanations of the command given to the angels to prostrate themselves to Ādam are concise and touch upon the problem whether one is permitted to prostrate oneself in front of a human being. Some scholars argue that the prostration was only done in the direction of Ādam; others claim that the prostration was no more than an act of bowing (*inhinā’*) toward Ādam; that *li-ādam* means “with Ādam” (Ādam serving as *imām* — K.); or that the prostration was in front of God and the bowing was to Ādam as a mark of respect for him. Finally, some commentators claimed that it was a real prostration to Ādam, but that this was not yet forbidden at that time.¹⁵¹

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¹⁴⁸ Al-Maḡlisī, *op. cit.*, XI, 140, 150 inf. — 151.

¹⁴⁹ Al-Maḡlisī, *op. cit.*, XI, 142. According to a Šī‘ī tradition the cherubs behind the throne are people of the Šī‘a, of the First Creation (al-Maḡlisī, *op. cit.*, XIII, 224).

¹⁵⁰ Al-‘Ayyāsī, *Tafsīr*, ed. Hāšim al-Rasūlī al-Maḥallātī. Qumm 1371, I, 34, no. 18; al-Katakānī, *op. cit.*, I, 79; al-Maḡlisī, *op. cit.*, XI, 149; al-Burāqī, *Ta’rīḥ al-Kūfa*, ed. Muḥammad Šādiq Āl Baḥr al-‘Ulūm, Najaf 1379/1960, p. 59 (more precisely, the outskirts of al-Kūfa, *ẓaḥr al-kūfa*, by which probably Najaf is meant).

¹⁵¹ See e.g., al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, I, 512; al-Ḡaṣṣāš, *Aḥkām al-qur’ān*, Quṣṭanṭīniyya 1338 (reprint — Beirut) I, 32; (and see *ib.*, the assumption about whether it is permissible to prostrate oneself according to the *šar’* at *ādam*: ...*wa-qad kāna l-suḡūdu ḡā’izān fī šar’atī ādama ‘alayhi l-salām li-l-maḥlūqīn wa-yuṣbiḥu an yakūna qad kāna bāqīyan ilā zamāni yūsufa ‘alayhi l-salām*. This kind of prostration was abolished in Islam); al-Ṭa’labī, *Tafsīr*, MS Sprenger, p. 84: ...*amarahumu llāhu an ya’tammū bi-ādama fa-saḡada l-malā’ikatu wa-ādamu li-llāhi rabbi l-‘ālamīn... ḡu’ila ādamu qiblatan lahum, wa-l-suḡūdu li-llāhi, kamā ḥuwwilati l-kā’batu qiblatan li-l-mu’minīn, wa-l-ṣalātu li-llāhi ‘azza wa-ḡalla*; see Iṣḥāq b. Bišr, *op. cit.*, fol. 43a, l. 1: ...*kāna suḡūduhum ṭā’atan, li-annahu lā yanbaḡī li-aḥādīn an yasḡuda illā li-llāhi ‘azza wa-ḡalla*; and see Anonymous, *Siyar al-anbiyā’*, MS Br. Mus. Or. 1510, fol. 13b: ...*wa-ḥtalafū fī suḡūdi ādama; qāla ba’duhum: suḡūdu ta’zīmīn wa-taḥīyyatīn*,

The creation of Ḥawwā' and the time when this took place formed the subject of another discussion. The verse in the Quran: *wa-qulnā yā ādamu skun anta wa-zawġuka l-ġannata* does not indicate when and how Ḥawwā' was created. The best known traditions transmit the story that Ḥawwā' was created from the rib of Ādam during his sleep.¹⁵² A widely current tradition of the Prophet states that "the woman was created from a crooked rib; if you are eager to set her aright you will break her; so treat her with gentleness and you will live with her."¹⁵³ Al-Māwardī records that story of her creation from a rib and adds several anecdotes concerning the meeting of the couple and their marriage; as in other sources, al-Māwardī quotes two alternative opinions, that Ḥawwā' was created either before Ādam entered Paradise, or after that event. A short passage in his report, an individual view expressed by one scholar, deserves particular attention: Abū Baḥr says that God created her from the material from which He created Ādam.¹⁵⁴ Šī'ī compilations recorded this version tracing it back to the utterances of the Šī'ī imāms. The imām al-Bāqir said: "God created Ḥawwā' from the remainder of the clay from which He created Ādam."¹⁵⁵

lā suġūdu ṣalātin wa-ibādatin, wa-lam yakun waḍ'ā l-waġhi 'alā l-arḍi, wa-innamā kāna inḥinā'an wa-waḍ'ā l-yadi 'alā l-ṣadri; hādā qawlu bni 'abbāsīn...; and see *ib.*, fol. 8a: the first one to have prostrated himself was Isrāfīl; God rewarded him by causing the Quran to be written on his forehead. See further, al-Ḥāzin, *Tafsīr*, I, 41; al-Nasafī, *Tafsīr*, I, 40, III, 67; al-Šawkānī, *Fath al-qadīr*, I, 66, III, 130; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Šarḥ naḥḡ*, I, 100; 'Abd al-Ġabbār, *Tanzīh al-qur'ān 'an al-maṭā'īn*, p. 22; Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn, *op. cit.*, MS, fol. 137b; Abū Ḥayyān, *op. cit.*, I, 152-153; al-Naysābūrī, *op. cit.*, I, 260 penult. — 261.

¹⁵² See e.g., al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr*, I, 52; Ibn 'Asākir, *op. cit.*, II, 349; al-Samarqandī, *Tafsīr*, MS, I, 14a; al-'Aynī, *Umdat al-qārī*, XV, 212; al-Šaffūrī, *Nuzḥat al-maġālīs*, p. 288; al-Saqṣīnī, *op. cit.*, p. 10; al-Šawkānī, *Fath al-qadīr*, I, 70; al-Ṭabarsī, *Maġma' al-bayān*, I, 187; Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn, *op. cit.*, MS, fol. 141a.

¹⁵³ Ibn Qutayba, *Uyūn al-aḥbār*, Cairo 1349/1930, IV, 77: *innamā l-mar'atu ḥuliqat min ḍiḥ in awġā: fa-in taḥriṣ 'alā iqāmatihā taksirhā fa-dārihā, ta'īs bihā*; al-Šayḥ al-Mufīd, *al-Iḥtišās*, ed. Muḥammad Maḥdī al-Sayyid Ḥasan al-Ḥarsān, Najaf 1390/1971, p. 334; al-Munāwī, *Fayḍ al-qadīr*, II, 388, nos. 2111-2112; al-Sulamī, *Ādāb al-suḥba*, Jerusalem 1954, p. 82, note 245 (and see the references of the editor); 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb, *Ta'rīḥ*, MS p. 8 inf.; al-Qurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, I, 301 inf. — 302 sup.; al-Maġlisī, *op. cit.*, XI, 222, no. 245; Ibn Kaṭīr, *al-Bidāya*, I, 74; al-Bayhaqī, *Šu'ab al-īmān*, MS Reisu l-kuttāb Muṣṭafā Ef. Sulaymāniyya 219, fol. 133b; al-Ṭa'labī, *Tafsīr*, MS Sprenger, p. 85.

¹⁵⁴ Al-Māwardī, *A'lām al-nubuwwa*, p. 32: *...annahu ḥalaqahā min miḡli mā ḥalaqa minhu ādama, wa-hādā qawlun tafarrada bihi ibn baḥr...;* and see Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn, *op. cit.*, MS, fol. 140b (quoting al-Māwardī).

¹⁵⁵ Al-Maġlisī, *op. cit.*, XI, 99 (al-Maġlisī XI, 101 quotes from "*Ḥabar ibn Salām*" the answer of the Prophet about the creation of Ḥawwā': *...fa-min ayna ḥuliqat? qāla: min al-ṭināti llatī faḍalat min ḍiḥ ihi l-aysar*. The passage quoted by Maġlisī can easily be identified as copied from the "*Masā'il 'Abd al-Salām*", a well-known popular treatise. I have a photostat of a manuscript of this work from the library of the late S.M. Stern. The phrase on fol. 3b, ll. 12-13 is as follows: *fa-aḥbirnī min ayyi mawḍi' in ḥuliqat minhu? qāla: ṣadaqta yā muḥammad*; the text in Maġlisī, *op. cit.*, LX, 246 has: *ḥuliqat min ḍiḥ ihi l-aqṣar*).

A more detailed report is attributed to Wahb (b. Munabbih? — K.): God created Ḥawwā' from the remainder of the clay of Ādam, forming her in Ādam's shape. God put sleep on Ādam and showed it (!) to him; it was the first dream on earth. When Ādam awoke, Ḥawwā' was sitting at his head. He asked who she was and God replied that she was the person whom he had seen in his dream.¹⁵⁶ A Šī'ī imām (Abū Ġa'far) remarks angrily on the opinion that Ḥawwā' was created from Ādam's rib: "They lie! Was God powerless to create her from material other than Ādam's rib?" He quoted on the authority of one of his ancestors the following utterance of the Prophet: God took a handful of clay, mixed it with His right hand (both of His hands were right hands) and created Ādam from it: from a remainder of the clay He created Ḥawwā'.¹⁵⁷ The reason for the anger of the Šī'ī imāms is indicated by a tradition recorded by Ibn Bābawayh al-Qummī. People say that Ḥawwā' was created from the left rib of Ādam, remarks one of the followers of the imām. The imām (Abū 'Abdallāh) says in rage: "Did God lack the power to create a wife for Ādam from something other than his rib? This is a slander which makes it possible to say that Ādam had sexual intercourse with himself as Ḥawwā' was (created) from his rib. What is the matter with these people? May God judge between us and them. Even some of the beasts are in the habit of killing themselves when they notice that they have had intercourse with one of their sisters," the imām observed. Further the imām gives a short report on the independent creation of Ḥawwā' (*ibtada'a lahu ḥalqan*).¹⁵⁸ A harmonizing version is recorded by Ni'matullāh al-Mūsawī; Ḥawwā' was created from the clay prepared for Ādam; every part of the body of Ādam was made separately in order to put the parts together during creation. In this way Ḥawwā' was created from the clay of Ādam's rib.¹⁵⁹ But it was not only Ḥawwā' who was created from the remainder of Ādam's clay; some other useful creatures originated from this left-over. God created from this remainder the palm tree and the Prophet bade the believers to honour this tree, which is the aunt of the believers.¹⁶⁰ Prophets and imāms used to put green

¹⁵⁶ Al-Mağlisī, *op. cit.*, XI, 115, no. 42.

¹⁵⁷ Al-Mağlisī, *op. cit.*, XI, 116.

¹⁵⁸ Ibn Bābūya al-Qummī, *ʿIlal al-šarāʾiʿ*, ed. Muḥammad Šādiq Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, Najaf 1385/1966, pp. 17–18; and see al-Mağlisī, *op. cit.*, XI, 222 inf.; Ni'matullāh al-Mūsawī al-Ġazāʾirī, *op. cit.*, I, 240.

¹⁵⁹ Ni'matullāh al-Mūsawī, *op. cit.*, I, 241 inf. — 242.

¹⁶⁰ See e.g., al-Suyūṭī, *Ġamʿ al-ğawāmiʿ*, I, 140: *akrimū ʿammatakumu l-naḥlata, fa-innahā ḥuliqat min faḍlati ʿīnati abikum ādama, wa-laysa minā l-šağari šağaratun akramu ʿalā llāhi min šağaratin waladat tahtahā maryam bint ʿimrān...*; al-Munāwī, *Fayḍ al-qadīr*, II, 94, no. 1432; Ibn al-Ğawzī, *al-Mawḍūʿāt*, I, 183–184; Ni'matullāh al-Mūsawī, *op. cit.*, I, 232; Ibn ʿAsākir, *op. cit.*, II, 343; al-Ğāḥiẓ, *al-Ḥayawān*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Ḥārūn, Cairo 1385/1965, I, 212; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Laʾālī al-maṣnūʿa*, I, 155; Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī, *Silsilat al-aḥādīṯ*

branches of palm trees in the graves during the burial; there is indeed an utterance of the Prophet recommending it (*ḥaḍḍirū...*); but this custom was later branded by the opponents of the Šīʿa as a Šīʿī *bidʿa*.¹⁶¹ From this remainder God also created, according to a traditon recorded by Ibn ʿAsākir, the pomegranate and the vine.¹⁶² Some Muslim scholars report that pigeons¹⁶³ and locusts were also created from this remainder.¹⁶⁴

The same criteria used for criticizing the traditions about Ḥawwāʾ were applied to the traditions about the children of Ādam and Ḥawwāʾ as well. According to the current tradition Ḥawwāʾ gave birth to a great number of sets of twins. The sons of Ādam were permitted to marry their sisters on condition that they would not marry their own twins.

There was indeed an eminent descendant of ʿAlī, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, who justified these marriages and adopted the story of the creation of Ḥawwāʾ from Ādam's rib. When he was asked about that, his attention being drawn to the fact that this was a Maḡūsī practice, he replied that the deeds of Ādam and his children had been carried out before the prohibition of these deeds was issued. Their actions were in harmony with their law (*ṣarīʿa*).¹⁶⁵ The tradition that the sons of Ādam married their sisters, says a Šīʿī imām, only strengthens the arguments of the Maḡūs. The Šīʿī story about the progeny of Ādam is as follows: Ḥawwāʾ gave birth to seventy sets of twins. After Qābīl murdered his brother Hābīl, Ādam was overcome by grief and abstained from intercourse with Ḥawwāʾ for five hundred years. Then he had intercourse with her and she bore two children: Šīṭ and Yāfiṭ, who did not have twin siblings. When they became mature for marriage God sent down two *ḥūrī* girls: Baraka for Šīṭ, Munzala for Yāfiṭ. The progeny of Šīṭ and Yāfiṭ are the prophets and messengers of mankind.¹⁶⁶ This account contains no information about the marriages of the other sons of Ādam.

al-ḍaʿīfa, pp. 282–283, nos. 261, 263; Anonymous, *Siyar al-anbiyāʾ*, MS Br. Mus. Or. 1510, fol. 12b. A peculiar story records a convincing proof that the palm tree was created from the remainder of Adam's clay and is different from any other tree. Like a human being, the palm tree dies when its top is cut off: al-Samarqandī, *Maḡmaʿ al-ḥikam*, MS Bratislava, fol. 87b.

¹⁶¹ Niʿmatullāh al-Mūsawī, *op. cit.*, I, 232.

¹⁶² Ibn ʿAsākir, *op. cit.*, II, 343; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Laʾālī al-mašnūʿa*, I, 156; Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī, *Silsilat al-aḥādīṭ al-ḍaʿīfa*, no. 262; al-Munāwī, *Fayḍ al-qadīr*, III, 450, no. 3937; al-Suyūṭī, *Ḡamʿ al-ḡawāmīʿ*, I, 511.

¹⁶³ See Niʿmatullāh al-Mūsawī, *op. cit.*, I, 232.

¹⁶⁴ Al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, Cairo 1383/1963, I, 188; al-Kisāʿī – W.M. Thackston, Jr., *op. cit.*, p. 58; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr*, III, 110.

¹⁶⁵ Al-Maḡlisī, *op. cit.*, XI, 226.

¹⁶⁶ Al-Maḡlisī, *op. cit.*, XI, 224; Ibn Bābūya, *op. cit.*, pp. 19 inf. — 20 sup. (with the variants: Nazla and Munzala): al-ʿIṣāmī, *Simṭ al-nuḡūm al-ʿawālī*, Cairo 1380, I, 67 inf. — 68.

In another version it is again the imām Abū ‘Abdallāh who is asked about the marriage of the sons of Ādam with their sisters and who flatly denies the account, arguing that Ādam’s belief was identical with that of the Prophet; had Ādam done it, the Prophet would have followed his example. Further the imām gives a short résumé of the marriages of Ādam’s children. Ādam’s monstrous daughter ‘Anāq was killed by ravaging beasts. The son Qābīl (born after ‘Anāq) grew up and married a *ḡinnī* girl Ḡihāna sent for him by God. Later Hābīl was born and when he grew up God sent down a *ḥūrī* girl called Turk (sic!); Hābīl married her. After a time God bade Ādam transmit to Hābīl the greatest name of God, the legacy of prophethood and the lists of names which God taught him. Ādam carried out God’s order. However Qābīl envied Hābīl; a test of a sacrifice proved that Hābīl had the right to the prophetic legacy. Qābīl disregarded the test of fire (which consumed the sacrificial ram of Hābīl) and killed his brother, guided in his plan by Iblīs. Qābīl was advised by Iblīs to build a temple for the worship of Fire on the spot where the fire consumed the sacrifice of Hābīl; he was the first worshipper of Fire. Ādam came to the place where Qābīl killed Hābīl and wept for forty days, cursing the earth which accepted the blood of his son; this place is the *qibla* of the congregational mosque of al-Baṣra. On the day when Hābīl was killed, his wife the *ḥūrī* Turk bore a child; Ādam named it Hābīl; the child was thus Hābīl b. Hābīl. Afterward God granted Ādam a child; Ādam named him Šīl or Hibatullāh. Šīl grew up and married a *ḥūrī* girl named Nā‘ima, sent for him by God; she bore him a girl and Ādam named her Ḥūriyya; when she grew up she married Hābīl b. Hābīl. All the creatures are in fact the progeny of Šīl. Before his death Ādam conveyed the prophetic legacy to Šīl, bidding him hide it from Qābīl and enjoin his descendants to transmit it to Nūḥ.¹⁶⁷

What was the tree which Ādam and Ḥawwā’ were ordered to stay away from (*wa-lā taqrabā ḥādihi l-šaḡarata*) and refrain eating the fruit of? The answer to this provides a great variety of possibilities; a fig tree; a camphor tree; a grape vine; a wheat; a palm date; or a citron tree.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁷ Al-Maḡlisī, *op. cit.*, XI, 226–229; about the worship of fire of Qābīl, see al-‘Iṣāmī, *op. cit.*, I, 86.

¹⁶⁸ See e.g., al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr*, I, 53 sup.; al-Naysābūrī, *op. cit.*, I, 276 ult. — 277 sup.; al-Qurṭubī, *op. cit.*, I, 305; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, I, 516–521; Iṣḥāq b. Biṣr, *op. cit.*, fol. 44a; Ibn Gungul, *op. cit.*, fol. 24b; Abū Ḥayyān, *op. cit.*, I, 158; al-Samarqandī, *Tafsīr*, MS, fol. 14b; ‘Abd al-Ḡabbār, *Tanzīh al-qur’ān ‘an al-maḡḍin*, p. 23 sup.; Anonymous, *Siyar al-anbiyā’*, MS Br. Mus. Or. 1510, fol. 14b; al-Šawkānī, *Fatḥ al-qadīr*, I, 68, 70; Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn, *op. cit.*, MS, fol. 141b. And see the Christian tradition saying that the tree was a fig tree; it was the tree cursed by Jesus; on the trunk of this tree Jesus was crucified: Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal* II, 75.

According to a report transmitted by Šu‘ayb al-Ġabā’¹⁶⁹ the wheat-like tree was called *da’a*.¹⁷⁰

Some transmitters said that it was a tree which, when its fruit is eaten, causes bowel movement. This was the reason why Ḥawwā’ and Ādam were forbidden to eat it.¹⁷¹ The tree is sometimes called *šağarat al-‘ilm* or *šağarat al-ḥuld*, pointing clearly to the hopes of Ādam and the deceitful ways of Iblīs. There are also discussions whether the *ğanna* (the “Garden”) was in heaven or on earth.¹⁷²

Theologians and scholars of religious law analyse in great detail the character of the sin committed by Ādam and Ḥawwā’, whether it is congruent with the prophetic mission, and what is the form of the punishment given to them and the repentance they practised.¹⁷³

III

There is a clear tendency among Muslim scholars to belittle Ādam’s sin. Ādam and Ḥawwā’ ate from the fruit of a tree which was of the same kind as that which God forbade them to eat; they were not aware of the meaning of God’s prohibition, assuming that God forbade them to eat the fruits of a specific tree (*al-šağara bi-‘aynihā*). The disobedience (*ma’āṣī*) of the prophets is no more than small transgressions (*li-anna ma’āṣī l-anbiyā’i lā takūnu illā ṣağā’ira*). Had Ādam and Ḥawwā’ known that the prohibition of God referred to the whole species of that tree they would not have committed the sin. Consequently the removal of Ādam and Ḥawwā’ from Paradise was not by way of punishment (*wa-lam yuḥriğhumā ‘uqūbatan*). Further, God forgave Ādam’s sin and the effect of that transgression was removed (*wa-zāla ta’īru tilka l-ma’ṣiya*).¹⁷⁴ The

¹⁶⁹ See on him: al-Sam‘ānī, *al-Ansāb*, Hyderabad 1383/1963, III, 186, no. 816.

¹⁷⁰ Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *al-‘Ilal*, ed. Talāt Koçyiğit and İsmail Cerrahoğlu, Ankara 1963, p. 72, no. 419, (reminding *da’at* in Hebrew — K.), and see idem, *al-Zuhd*, Beirut 1398/1978, p. 48.

¹⁷¹ See e.g., Abū Ḥayyān, *op. cit.*, I, 158; Ibn Ġunğul, *op. cit.*, fol. 24b; Ibn ‘Asākir, *op. cit.*, II, 352; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr*, I, 53; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, I, 528, no. 745.

¹⁷² See e.g., Ibn Qayyim al-Ġawziyya, *Hādī al-arwāḥ ilā bilād al-afrāḥ*, Cairo n.d. (*maktabat al-mutanabbī*), pp. 19–34; Ibn Ġunğul, *op. cit.*, fol. 24b; Abū Ḥayyān, *op. cit.*, I, 156 inf. — 157; al-Ṭabarsī, *Mağma’ al-bayān*, I, 187; al-Ḥāzin, *Tafsīr*, I, 41; Ibn Hišām, *al-Tiğān*, pp. 11–12.

¹⁷³ See e.g., ‘Abd al-Ġabbār, *Mutašābih al-qur’ān*, ed. ‘Adnān Muḥammad Zarzūr, Cairo 1360/1966, I, 277–279 (no. 251); and see *ib.*, II, 495 (nos. 469–470); idem, *Tanzīh al-qur’ān ‘an al-maṣā’iṣ*, Beirut, n.d., p. 145; *wa-rubbamā qīla fī qawlihi ta’ālā: qāla rabbanā ṣalamnā anfusana...*; and see Abū Ḥayyān, *op. cit.*, I, 160–162.

¹⁷⁴ ‘Abd al-Ġabbār, *Tanzīh al-qur’ān ‘an al-maṣā’iṣ*, p. 23; and see *ib.*, p. 145: the comment on *ṣalamnā anfusana*: they brought harm upon themselves by losing their reward and by being scared by the minor sin committed.

story of Ādam's sin is formulated in a similar way by Ibn al-ʿArabī: Iblīs lured Ādam and incited him to eat the fruit from a tree of a species forbidden by God, arguing that God's prohibition referred only to one specific tree of this species (*garrahu bi-l-aḥdī bi-l-zāhiri*, lit. "he tempted him to follow the outward sense" [of God's command]). Further Ibn al-ʿArabī records other explanations of the circumstances of Ādam's sin: Some stories tell that he committed the sin while he was drunk. Ibn al-ʿArabī denies this tradition vigorously since drunkenness does not free one from punishment for a sin. Prophets are impeccable after they have been granted prophethood and kept aloof from every deed (*munazzahūn*) which may impair the proper fulfilment of their religious obligations (*ammā yuḥillu bi-l-farāʿiq*) or cause involvement in sins.¹⁷⁵

In some reports the burden of the sin is imposed on Ḥawwāʾ. She is said to have handed Ādam the intoxicating drink,¹⁷⁶ or to have led him to the forbidden tree,¹⁷⁷ or to have persuaded Ādam to eat the forbidden fruit.¹⁷⁸ Ḥawwāʾ's evil role is reflected in Ādam's answer when asked by God whether he ate of the forbidden fruit: "The woman whom Thou hast placed with me has led me astray" (*yā rabbī, hādīhi llatī ḡʿalta maʿī aḡwatnī*).¹⁷⁹ When Ādam once met Ḥawwāʾ weeping he reproached her by saying: "This happened by your deed".¹⁸⁰ Ādam settled down on earth and worked hard with an ox; while he wiped the sweat from his forehead with his hand,¹⁸¹ he rebuked Ḥawwāʾ saying: "You did it with me" (*anti ʿamilti bī hādā*). Everyone who works with an ox says even today "*ḥuww*" (which is reminiscent of Ḥawwāʾ's evil deed — K.).¹⁸² According to a tradition traced back to Ibn ʿAbbās it was Ḥawwāʾ who hastened to the tree and overtook Ādam, because Satan promised them that whoever came first would gain the upper hand over the other. Ḥawwāʾ came first, ate the fruit of the forbidden tree and gave it to Ādam. But God thwarted the plan and granted the upper hand to Ādam.¹⁸³ Ḥawwāʾ was severely punished.¹⁸⁴

¹⁷⁵ Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Tafsīr*, I, 18–19.

¹⁷⁶ See e.g., al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, I, 530, no. 749; al-Ṭaʿlabī, *Tafsīr*, MS Sprenger, p. 86 inf.

¹⁷⁷ See e.g., Yaḥyā b. Salām, *Tafsīr*, MS, p. 7.

¹⁷⁸ See e.g., al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, I, 525–529; al-Ṣawkānī, *Faṭḥ al-qadīr*, I, 70.

¹⁷⁹ Al-Baḡawī, *Maʾālim al-tanzīl*, I, 42 inf.; al-Ḥāzin, *Tafsīr*, I, 42 inf. — 43 sup.; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr*, III, 74; see Genesis 3, 12.

¹⁸⁰ Al-Masʿūdī, *Aḥbār al-zamān*, p. 50.

¹⁸¹ See e.g., al-Baḡawī, *Tafsīr*, IV, 228; al-Ḥāzin, *Tafsīr*, IV, 228; al-Nasaʿī, *Tafsīr*, III, 68 sup.; al-Ḡawī, *Marāḥ*, II, 30; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XVI, 150.

¹⁸² Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīḥ (taḥḍīb)* II, 353; and cf. al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr* IV, 310 (and see *ib.*, another version: God rebuked Ḥawwāʾ stating that she had deceived Ādam); Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn, *op. cit.*, MS, fol. 146b; and see Anonymous, *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, MS Leiden Or. 14,027, fol. 13a.

¹⁸³ Ishāq b. Bīr, *op. cit.*, MS, fols. 44b, 71b.

¹⁸⁴ See e.g., Anonymous, *Siyar al-anbiyāʾ*, MS Br. Mus. Or. 1510, fol. 15b; Anonymous,

But it was Ādam who was warned by God to beware of Iblīs and was threatened that he would be removed from Paradise and would be miserable, *fa-tašqā*. The change of number from the dual *fa-lā yuḥriḡannakumā* to the singular *fa-tašqā* is explained by the fact that Ādam was held responsible for the sustenance and maintenance of Ḥawwā'. Since then men are obliged by law to provide adequate support for their wives, the "daughters of Ḥawwā'".¹⁸⁵ It is evident that Ḥawwā' deserved the punishment she got; but she could not bear her hardship, her bad plight and ignominy, and complained to God of her misery. God promised her as well as the women of her progeny that those women who are decent, honourable, and righteous in their marital life will be duly rewarded on the Day of Resurrection.¹⁸⁶

Ḥawwā's transgressions, however, had no bearing on how the causes and effects of Ādam's sin are evaluated. The Quran refers to his sin as forgetfulness, as mentioned in *Sūrat Ṭā-Hā* 115: "And we made covenant with Ādam before, but *he forgot* and We found in him no constancy," *wa-laqaḍ 'ahidnā ilā ādama min qablu fa-nasiya wa-lam naḡid lahu 'azman*. Some commentators render the verb *fa-nasiya*, "he forgot" by *fa-taraka*, "he left, forsook, relinquished, abandoned."¹⁸⁷ It is obvious that *taraka* has graver connotations than *nasiya*. This is seen in an interpretation quoted on the authority of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī: were it mere forgetfulness no punishment would have been imposed on Ādam, because God acquitted the believers from a sin of error or forgetfulness. But Ādam relinquished (*taraka*) that which he had been enjoined to do, namely to avoid eating from the fruit.¹⁸⁸ Al-Rāzī (= Muḥammad b. Abī-Bakr b. 'Abd al-Qādir) argues that one cannot render *nasiya* by "he forgot", because the severity of Ādam's punishment, his being expelled from Paradise, and the harsh terms '*aṣā* and '*ḡawā* applied to Ādam are incompatible with the idea of forgetfulness. Besides, he could not have forgotten the injunction because he often argued with Iblīs. Consequently the conclusion to be drawn is that *fa-nasiya* has to be rendered by *fa-taraka*: Ādam repudiated the covenant and the injunction given to him.¹⁸⁹ In spite of this deed Ādam

Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā', MS Leiden Or. 14,027, fol 10b, 14b; and see al-Mas'ūdī, *Aḥbār al-zamān*, p. 51 (the ten kinds of suffering of women).

¹⁸⁵ See al-Qurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, XI, 253; al-Rāzī, *Masā'il*, p. 223.

¹⁸⁶ Anonymous, *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, MS Leiden Or. 14,027, fol. 14b.

¹⁸⁷ See e.g., Ibn Qutayba, *Tafsīr ḡarīb al-qur'ān*, ed. Aḥmad Ṣaqr, Cairo 1378/1958, p. 283, no. 115 (*fa-nasiya*, *ay taraka l-'ahda*); al-Qurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, XI, 251; Ibn Kaṭīr, *Tafsīr*, IV, 541; al-Faḥr al-Rāzī, *Tafsīr*, XXII, 124; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr*, IV, 309.

¹⁸⁸ Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr*, IV, 310.

¹⁸⁹ Al-Rāzī, *Masā'il*, p. 222-223. The editor, Ibrāhīm 'Aṭwa 'Awaḍ, rejects the rendering of *nasiya* by *taraka* stating that it is an importunate expression used in relation to a prophet.

can not be marked as *‘āṣin* (disobedient or rebellious) or *ġāwin* (a seducer, a person who leads others astray), which may indicate that he was a constant sinner.¹⁹⁰ There is, however, also a suggestion that *fa-nasiya* possesses its original meaning “to forget”, as in Ādam’s time forgetfulness was considered a sin and was subject to punishment.¹⁹¹

The tendency to take the burden of guilt off Ādam’s shoulders can be noticed in another interpretation: *fa-nasiya* is read by some scholars of the Quran as a passive: *fa-nussiya*, “he was made to forget”, which means that Satan made him forget God’s injunction.¹⁹² The following clause: *wa-lam naḡid lahu ‘azman*, “and we found in him no firm resolution,” is interpreted by the commentators as denoting that God did not find in him a firm resolution to refrain from the erroneous decision to eat of the fruit of the forbidden tree. Some scholars explicate it, however, by saying that he was not resolute in committing the sin; this is, of course, almost a praise.¹⁹³ Following the same line some commentators interpreted the following clause (*Ṭā-Hā* 121) *wa-‘aṣā ādamu rabbahu fa-ġawā*, “and Ādam disobeyed his Lord, so went astray” (translation of M. M. Pickthall) by making *‘aṣā* to mean “a fault, an unintentional deed of offence” (*ḥaiṭ’a* or *ḥaiṭ’a*).¹⁹⁴ Abū Ḥanīfa admits that some of the prophets committed certain slips (*zallat wa-ḥaiṭ’at*) after having been granted prophethood and ‘Alī al-Qārī, the commentator, proves this by scrutinizing the slips of Ādam.¹⁹⁵ This theory is corroborated by the tradition saying that there has never been a prophet who did not err (occasionally) or who at least did not have the intention to commit an error, except Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyā.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁰ Al-Rāzī, *Masā’il*, p. 223; al-Qurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, XI, 257; al-Faḥr al-Rāzī, *Tafsīr*, XXII, 128; al-Ḥāzin, *Tafsīr*, IV, 229; al-Baḡawī, *Tafsīr*, IV, 229 (on margin of al-Ḥāzin’s *Tafsīr*).

¹⁹¹ See, e.g., al-Qurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, XI, 251.

¹⁹² Al-Ṣawkānī, *Fatḥ al-qadīr*, III, 389; al-Ġawī, *Marāḥ*, II, 30, l. 1; al-Faḥr al-Rāzī, *Tafsīr*, XXII, 124.

¹⁹³ Al-Faḥr al-Rāzī, *Tafsīr*, XXII, 124; al-Ġawī, *Marāḥ*, II, 30; al-Ṣawkānī, *Fatḥ*, III, 389.

¹⁹⁴ See e.g., Ibn Ḥuzayma, *op. cit.*, p. 354: ...*wa-qawuhū ‘azza wa-ḡalla “wa-‘aṣā ādamu rabbahu fa-ġawā” mā yubayyinu wa-yūdiḥu anna sma l-ġawī qad yaḡa’u ‘alā murtakibi l-ḥaiṭ’ati qad zaḡara llāhu ‘an iṭyānihā, wa-in lam takun tilka l-ḥaiṭ’atu kufran wa-lā širkan wa-lā mā yuqāribuhā wa-yuṣbihuhā...*

¹⁹⁵ Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nu‘mān b. Ṭābit, *al-Fiqh al-akbar, šarḥ al-mullā ‘alī al-qārī*, Beirut 1399/1979, p. 51: ...*kamā waḡa’a li-ādama ‘alayhi l-ṣalātu wa-l-ṣalāmu fī aklīhi mina l-šaḡarati ‘alā waḡhi l-nisyāni aw tarki l-‘azūmati wa-ḥiyyāri l-ruḡṣati, ḡannan minhu anna l-murāda bi-l-šaḡarati l-manhiyyati l-muṣāri ilayhā bi-qawlihi ta’ālā “wa-lā taḡrabā ḥāḍihi l-šaḡarata” hiya l-šaḡsiyyatu, lā l-ḡinsiyyatu, fa-akala mina l-ḡinsi, lā mina l-šaḡsi...*

¹⁹⁶ Al-Qurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, XI, 252: ...*mā min nabīyyin illā wa-qad aḡṭa’a aw hamma bi-ḥaiṭ’atin mā ḥalā yaḡyā bna zakariyyā...*; and comp. Ibn ‘Adī, *al-Kāmil fī du’af’i l-riḡāl*, MS Ahmet III, no. 2943/3, fol. 87b: *mā min aḡadin yalqā llāha illā qad hamma bi-ḥaiṭ’atin aw ‘amilahā illā yaḡyā bna zakariyyā fa-innahu lam yahumma bihā wa-lam ya’malhā*; and cf.: al-Suyūṭī, *Ḡamr al-ḡawāmī*, I, 264; al-Munāwī, *Fayḍ*, V, 475, no. 8016.

Concerning *‘aṣā* and *hāba* al-Qurṭubī quotes the attenuating opinion of some scholars who consider the slips of the prophets as insignificant; in comparison with the deeds done by other persons they may be considered good.¹⁹⁷ Another interpretation of *‘aṣā* in the same vein says that the verb may denote a failure to carry out a recommended action.¹⁹⁸ Thus *‘aṣā* was interpreted as possessing two meanings, committing a sin intentionally as well as committing a slip unintentionally.¹⁹⁹ Following the same line of thought, the verb *ḡawā*, “he went astray,” was rendered in this clause by *hāba*, “he became disappointed,” because “he did not achieve his aim,” “he did not receive the reward he might have received,”²⁰⁰ or “he carried out a deed which he should not have done.”²⁰¹

The expression *ḡalamnā anfusanā* (*Sūrat al-a‘rāf*, verse 24), “we have wronged ourselves,” was likewise explained: the harm done to themselves was “their deed which it would have been better not to do”²⁰² or that Ādam and Ḥawwā’ considered their deed as *ḡulm* “iniquity” because of their high moral position and freedom from guilt.²⁰³

¹⁹⁷ Al-Qurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, XI, 255: ...*wa-innamā tilka l-umūru llatī waq‘at minhum ‘alā ḡihati l-nudūri wa-‘alā ḡihati l-ḥaṭa’i wa-l-nisyanī, aw ta‘wīlin da‘ā ilā ḡālika, fa-hiya bi-l-nisbatī ilā ḡayrihim ḡasanātun wa-fi ḡaqqihim sayyi‘ātun bi-l-nisbatī ilā manāṣibihim...*

¹⁹⁸ Al-Faḥr al-Rāzī, *Tafsīr*, XXII, 127, gives some examples of this usage in Arabic: *āṣartu ‘alayhi fī amri waladihi fī kaḡā fa-‘aṣānī*, or: *amartuhu bi-ṣurbi l-daw‘i fa-‘aṣānī*. The concept of *‘iṣyān* can thus be applied to Ādam’s deed: he might have missed to carry out a recommended deed (*tārikun li-l-mandūbi*) and not missing to carry out an obligatory deed (*tārikun li-l-wāḡib*); and see Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Šarḡ nahḡ al-balāḡa*, I, 157: ...*wa-qawluhum: ma‘nā ‘aṣā annahu ‘adala‘ani l-awlā, li-anna l-amra bi-tarki akli l-ṣaḡarati kāna amran ‘alā sabīli l-nadbi, fa-lammā tarakahu ādamu kāna tārikan li-l-afḡali wa-l-awlā, fa-summiya ‘āṣiyan bi-ṣ-ṭibāri muḡālafati l-awlā...*; and see the discussion of this topic *ib.*, VII, 12–18 (see e.g., p. 12: *wa-ḡukiya ‘an abī iṣḡaqa l-naṣṣāmi wa-ḡa‘fari bni mubaṣṣir anna ḡunūbahum lā takūnu illā ‘alā sabīli l-saḡwi wa-l-nisyanī, wa-annahum mu‘āḡḡūna bi-ḡālika wa-in kāna mawḡū‘an ‘an ummatihim... wa-ḡālati l-imāmiyyatu; lā taḡūzu ‘alayhimu l-kabā‘iru wa-lā l-ṣaḡā‘iru...*; and see *ib.*, p. 14 sup.: *wa-‘aṣā ādamu rabbahu, fa-inna l-ma‘ṣiyata muḡālafatun li-l-amri, wa-l-amru mina l-ḡakīmi ta‘ālā qad yakūnu bi-l-wāḡibi wa-bi-l-nadbi ma‘an: fa-lā yumtana‘u ‘alā ḡḡā an yakūna ādamu mandūban ilā tarki l-tanāwuli mina l-ṣaḡarati... wa-laysa yumtana‘u an yusammā tāriku l-naṣfi ‘āṣiyan kamā yusammā bi-ḡālika tāriku l-wāḡibi...*).

¹⁹⁹ See al-Nasaṣī, *Tafsīr*, III, 68; and cf. al-Ḡāwī, *Marāḡ*, II, 30; al-Ṭabarsī, *Maḡma‘ al-bayān*, XVI, 151 inf., I, 158.

²⁰⁰ See e.g., Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Šarḡ nahḡ*, VII, 15: *qāla l-murtadā: ma‘nā ḡawā ḡāhunā, ḡāba, li-annahu nā‘lamu annahu law fa‘ala mā nudiba ilayhi min tarki l-tanāwuli mina l-ṣaḡarati la-staḡaqqā l-ṭawāba l-‘aṣīm; fa-iḡā ḡālaḡa l-amra, wa-lam yaṣir ilā mā nudiba ilayhi fa-qad ḡāba lā maḡālaṡa min ḡayṡu lam yaṣir ilā l-ṭawābi llaḡṡi kāna yastaḡiqquhu bi-l-imtiṡāi...*; and see al-Ḥāzin, *Tafsīr*, IV, 229; al-Ḡāwī, *Marāḡ*, II, 30; al-Faḥr al-Rāzī, *Tafsīr*, XXII, 128.

²⁰¹ Al-Ḥāzin, *Tafsīr*, IV, 229: *fa-ḡawā, ay fa‘ala mā lam yakun lahu fīluhu*.

²⁰² Al-Ḥāzin, *Tafsīr*, I, 42, I. 6: *wa-man lam yuḡawwiz ḡālika ‘alā l-anbiyā‘i ḡamala l-ḡulma ‘alā annahu fīlu mā kāna l-awlā an lā yaḡālahu*.

²⁰³ Al-Ḥāzin, *Tafsīr*, II, 180 inf: ...*fa-kāna mā ṣadara minhum ma‘a ṡaḡaratihim wa-*

According to some scholars Ādam perpetrated the sin before he was granted prophethood.²⁰⁴ Some scholars, Sunnī and Šrī alike, assumed that the expulsion of Ādam and Ḥawwā' was not caused by Ādam's sin and was not made as a punishment for that sin.²⁰⁵ They were merely expelled because the standard of what is good and right (*maṣlaḥa*) changed after they had eaten the fruit, and it was according to God's wisdom and prior plan that they were expelled.²⁰⁶

*

As mentioned above,²⁰⁷ God forgave the sin of Ādam when he implored Him by the merit of Muḥammad (*bi-ḥaqqi muḥammadin*). That Ādam's sin was forgiven is said to be indicated in the Quran. This is found in some commentaries of the Quran. Sūra XLVIII, 1–2 says the following: "Surely we have given thee a manifest victory, that God may forgive thee thy former and thy latter sins, and complete His blessing upon thee and guide thee on a straight path" [Arberry's translation] (*innā fatahnā laka faṭḥan mubīnan* li-yaḡfira laka llāhu mā taqaddama min ḡanbika wa-mā ta'aḡḡhara, wa-yutimma nī'matahu 'alayka wa-yahdiyaka ṣīrāṭan mustaqīman*). Scholars were not unanimous about the meaning of the phrase "thy former and thy latter sins." Some explained "thy former" as referring to sins perpetrated before the call to prophethood, and "thy latter" after that call. Others assumed that "the former" referred to sins committed in the period of the Ġābiliyya, "the latter" to all (i.e., sins — K.) not committed by the Prophet.

Another interpretation says that "the former" denoted the sin of the Day of Badr, "the latter" the sin of Ḥunayn. Some scholars interpreted "the former" as relating to the sin of Abraham, "the latter" to the sins of other prophets.²⁰⁸ In some interpretations "the former" was explained as

nazāhatihim wa-'imārati bawāṣinihim bi-l-waḡyi l-samāwiyyi wa-l-ḡikri l-quḡsiyyi wa-'imārati ṡawāhirihi bi-l-'amali l-ṡāliḡi aw l-ḡaṡyati li-llāhi 'azza wa-ḡalla ḡunūban, wa-ḡiya ḡasanātun bi-l-nisbatī ilā ḡayrihim...

²⁰⁴ Al-Šawkānī, *Faṭḥ*, III, 390; al-Faḡr al-Rāzī, *Tafsīr*, XIV, 50, XXII, 128; al-Ḥāzin, *Tafsīr*, I, 42, 179–180, IV, 230; al-Katakānī, *al-Burḡān*, III, 46 (in another report al-Katakānī records *ib.*, that Ādam perpetrated the sin in Paradise. After his expulsion, when he established his abode on earth, he was granted prophethood and infallibility).

²⁰⁵ See above, note 174, and see al-Ṭabarsī, *Maḡma' al-bayān*, I, 191: *wa-lam yakun iḡrāḡuhumā min l-ḡannati wa-iḡbāṡuhumā ilā l-arḡi 'alā waḡḡi l-'uqūbatī...*

²⁰⁶ Al-Ṭabarsī, *Maḡma'*, I, 191: *...wa-iḡā ṡaḡḡa mā ḡulnāhu fa-innamā aḡraḡa llāhu ādama min l-ḡannati li-anna l-maṡlaḡata ḡad ṡaḡayyarat bi-tanāwulihi min l-ṡaḡarati fa-ḡiaḡati l-ḡikmatu wa-l-taḡbiru l-ilāḡiyyu iḡbāṡahu ilā l-arḡi...*

²⁰⁷ See note 76; and see Anonymous, *Qīṡaṡ al-anbiyā'*, MS Leiden Or. 14,027, fol. 11b.

²⁰⁸ Al-Qurṡubī, *Tafsīr*, XVI, 262–263.

“the case of Māriya,” “the latter” as “the case of Zaynab.” Some scholars assumed that the phrase simply denotes all the sins perpetrated by the Prophet.²⁰⁹ Ṭabarsī refutes these interpretations, records however two peculiar explications: (1) *ḡanbaka* should be interpreted as “sin committed (scil. by the unbelievers) against thee,” and *ḡafara* should be rendered “He removed, abolished”; the meaning is: God cast aside the decisions of the enemies of the Prophet; this is evidently linked with the prediction about the conquest of Mecca in the future. The other explanation is that the suffix in *ḡanbaka* refers not to the Prophet, but to the Šīʿī community: God forgave the former and the latter sins of the Šīʿī community. A Šīʿī imām explains: The Prophet neither committed, nor did he intend to commit, a sin; God merely put on him the burden of the sins of his *šīʿa*, which He later removed from him.²¹⁰

According to another explanation the “former sin” of the Prophet forgiven by God is that of his ancestors Ādam and Ḥawwāʾ, the “latter sin” is that of his community.²¹¹ This interpretation is rejected by most scholars; al-Šawkānī comments with some severity: how far removed it is from the meaning of the Quran!²¹² But it was al-Šāfiʿī who put it forward: *mā taqaddama min ḡanbika* is *mā taqaddama min ḡanbi abīka ādama; wa-mā taʿahḡara* explained: *mā taʿahḡara min dunūbi ummatika*; a phrase attached says: *udḡiluhum l-ḡannata bi-ḡafāʿatika* (“I shall make them enter Paradise by thy intercession”).²¹³

This interpretation recurs in an interesting compilation of al-Samarqandī, *Maḡmaʿ al-ḡikam*. The Prophet did not commit a sin, nor did he perpetrate a minor transgression (*zalla*) in his youth. Some said the sin committed refers to the sin of Ādam, when he plucked the forbidden fruit from the tree. Samarqandī gives a description of the tree and says that it seized Ādam by the hair.²¹⁴ Ādam implored God by the merit (*bi-ḡaqqī*) of Abraham, Moses, and Jesus, but that was of no avail. However, when

²⁰⁹ Al-Naysābūrī, *Ġarāʾib al-qurʾān*, XXVI, 41; and cf. al-Šawkānī, *Fatḡ*, V, 45.

²¹⁰ Al-Ṭabarsī, *Maḡmaʿ*, XXVI, 52–53; and see al-Katakānī, *al-Burḡān*, IV, 195–196.

²¹¹ Al-Qurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, XVI, 263; al-Naysābūrī, *Ġarāʾib*, XXVI, 41; al-Ṭabarsī, *Maḡmaʿ*, XXVI, 52.

²¹² Al-Šawkānī, *Fatḡ*, V, 45.

²¹³ Al-Šāfiʿī, *Aḡkām al-qurʾān*, ed. Muḡammad Zāhid al-Kawṡarī and ʿAbd al-Ġanī ʿAbd al-Ḥālīq, Beirut 1400/1980, p. 38, (and see *ib.*, pp. 37 ult. — 38, l. 1: the current interpretation of the verse).

²¹⁴ See e.g., Yahyā b. Salām, *Tafsīr*, MS, p. 105; and comp. al-Saqsīnī, *op. cit.*, MS, p. 91: when Ādam was expelled from Paradise trees refused to hide him. He finally found shelter under the aloe tree. Asked by God why it gave shelter to Ādam the tree explained that it did it out of pity. God promised the aloe tree that, as a reward, He will cause people to esteem the tree and its wood will be expensive. But as the tree sheltered Ādam without asking permission its wood will have to be burnt in order to obtain the expensive scent.

Ādam invoked by the merit of Muḥammad, the tree let him loose. Then he heard a voice, crying out: "Had you implored Me by the merit of all the prophets I would not have freed you." That was the offence committed, "the former sin" (*mā taqaddama*); "the latter sins" (*mā ta'ahḥara*) refer to the sins of his community. God forgave them their sins and gave (i.e., the people of his community — K.) as gift to the Prophet (*fa-inna llāha ḡafara lahum wa-wahabahum li-muḥammadin 'alayhi l-ṣalātu wa-l-salām*). Samarqandī raises the question: why are both kinds of sin, the one committed by (one of — K.) the people of the past (*al-umam al-māḍiya*) and the one committed by us both attributed to the Prophet? The answer is: Because the Prophet is the Lord (*sayyid*) of mankind from beginning to end; he will intercede for them, all being in his care like his flock, and the sin committed by the people is by right attributed to the man who stands at their head.²¹⁵

This early tradition carries a new concept of the Prophet, according to which he carried on himself the burden of the sins of Ādam and Ḥawwā' (or the sins of the other prophets — K.) as well as the sins of his community. It was God's grace that He forgave the Prophet (and his community) all these sins.

IV

A characteristic feature of the early *qīṣaṣ* stories is a clear tendency of rigid predestination. Things had been decided and decreed thousands of years before the creation of mankind. No change can be made in the decisions, inscribed for ever on the Preserved Tablet (*al-lawḥ al-mahfūz*). All the events which happened to Ādam and Ḥawwā' are predetermined and inevitable.²¹⁶ God forbade them to eat from the fruit of the tree but He

²¹⁵ Al-Samarqandī, *Maḡma' al-ḥikam*, MS Bratislava, No. 169, fol. 93a-b (cat., ed. Petráček, Blaskovič, Vesely, Bratislava 1961).

²¹⁶ See e.g., al-Basawī, *op. cit.*, II, 41-42: ...*ādam ḥuliqa li-l-samā'i am li-l-arḍi? ...law ṛtaṣama wa-lam ya'kul mina l-ṣaḡarati... lam yakun budd min an ya'kula minhā li-annahu li-l-arḍi ḥuliqa*; Ibn 'Asākir, *op. cit.*, II, 351; and see the different versions of the tradition about the dispute between Ādam and Moses: *iḥtaḡga ādamu wa-mūsā, fa-qāla mūsā: yā ādam, anta llaḏī ḥalaqaka llāhu bi-yadihi wa-naṣaḥa fika min rūḥihi, aḡwayta l-nāsa wa-aḥraḡtahum mina l-ḡanna? qāla: fa-qāla ādam: wa-anta llaḏī ṣaḡāka llāhu bi-kalāmihi talūmunī 'alā 'amalin 'amiltuhu kaṭabahu llāhu 'alayya qabla an yaḥluqa l-samawāti wa-l-arḍa? qāla: fa-ḥaḡga ādamu mūsā 'alayhimā l-salāmu*; Ibn Abī 'Āṣim, *Kitāb al-sunna*, ed. Muḥammad Nāsir al-Dīn al-Albānī, Beirut 1400/1980, I, 63-70 (nos. 137-160); Ibn 'Asākir, *op. cit.*, II, 346; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr*, I, 54-55, III, 121; al-Qurṭubī, *op. cit.*, I, 302 inf., XI, 256; al-'Ayyāṣī, *op. cit.*, II, 10, no. 10; al-Suyūṭī, *Ḡam' al-ḡawāmī*, I, 1266; al-Maḡlisī, *op. cit.*, XI, 163; al-Katakānī, *op. cit.*, I, 81; II, 7; al-Ḥumaydī, *al-Musnad*, ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-A'zamī, Beirut-Cairo 1382, II, 475, no. 115; Ibn Taymiyya, *Iqīḏa' al-ṣirāt al-mustaḡīm, muḥālafatu aṣḥābi l-ḡaḥīm*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥamid al-Fiḳī, Cairo 1369/1950,

knew in His prior knowledge that they would not obey.²¹⁷ Ādam, standing in God's presence and beseeching Him to grant him forgiveness, asks God whether his deed was not determined for him before he was created. God confirms that it was so.²¹⁸ Ibn 'Abbās formulated this in a concise utterance: "God drove out Ādam from Paradise before He created him."²¹⁹ Creatures, says a tradition, are born in happiness (*sa'īd*) or misery (*šaqī*). Iblīs was born miserable, therefore he refused to bow to Ādam.²²⁰ God created Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyā in his mother's womb as believer and He created Fir'awn in his mother's womb as unbeliever (*kāfir*).²²¹

After the creation of Ādam God established the lots of all human beings who would be born until the Day of Resurrection. This is indicated in Sūra VII (*al-a'rāf*) 172: *wa-id āḥaḍa rabbuka min banī ādama min zuḥūrihim ḍurriyyatahum wa-ašhadahum 'alā anfusihim a-lastu bi-rabbikum? qālū: balā, šahidnā an taqūlū yawma l-qiyāmati innā kunnā 'an ḥaḍā gāfilīn* — "And when Thy Lord took from the Children of Ādam, from their loins, their seed and made them testify touching themselves: 'Am I not your Lord?', they said: 'Yes, we testify, lest you should say on the Day of Resurrection: As for us, we were heedless for this'" (Arberry's translation).

p. 462; al-Ta'labī, *Tafsīr*, MS Sprenger pp. 81, 87; Ibn Kaṭīr, *Tafsīr*, IV, 543; Ibn Ḥuzayma, *Kitāb al-tawḥīd*, pp. 53–57, 109–110; al-Bayhaqī, *al-Asmā' wa-l-ṣifāt*, pp. 284, 315–316; Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī, *Silsilat al-aḥādīṭ al-ṣaḥīḥa*, n.p., 1392/1972, no. 908, pp. 611–613; Ibn Qutayba, *Ta'wīl muḥtalif al-ḥadīṭ*, pp. 298–300 (and see esp. p. 290: Ibn Qutayba's assessment of the tradition); al-Ḥāzin, *Tafsīr*, IV, 229; al-Baḡawī, *Ma'ālim al-tanzīl*, IV, 229 (on margin of al-Ḥāzin's *Tafsīr*); al-Šawkānī, *Fatḥ*, I, 70 ult. — 71 sup., III, 391; Abū Ḥanīfa, *al-Fiqḥ al-akbar* (*ṣarḥ 'alī l-qārī*), p. 39; al-'Aynī, *Umdat al-qārī*, XIX, 60–62; Ibn Fūrak, *Kitāb muškil al-ḥadīṭ*, pp. 13, 198 (and see the refutation of Ibn Qutayba's assumption: *ib.*, pp. 13–14).

²¹⁷ 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb, *Ta'rīḥ*, MS, p. 9: ...*fa-nahāhumā llāhu 'anhā wa-qad 'alima annahumā lā yanlahiyāni 'anhā; wa-kāna 'ilmuhu fihimā huwa qadaruhu l-muqaddaru 'alayhimā*.

²¹⁸ Ishāq b. Bišr, *op. cit.*, fol. 55b, ll. 2–3: ...*yā rabbī ḥaḍā šay'un qaddartahu lī qabla an taḥluqanī annī fā'iluhu? qāla: na'am...*; and see *ib.*, fol. 54b; cf. al-Ta'labī, *Tafsīr*, MS Sprenger, p. 87: ...*yā rabbī, a-ra'ayta mā ataytu a-šay'un ibīda'tuhu min tilqā'i nafsī am šay'un qaddartahu 'alayya qabla an taḥluqanī? qāla: bal šay'un qaddartuhu 'alayka qabla an aḥluqaka...*; Ibn Kaṭīr, *Tafsīr*, I, 141 (on the authority of Sufyān al-Ṭawrī); al-Ḥāzin, *Tafsīr*, I, 43; 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Tafsīr*, MS, fol. 2b; Anonymous, *Siyar al-anbiyā*, MS Br. Mus. Or. 1510, fol. 17b.

²¹⁹ 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb, *Ta'rīḥ*, MS, p. 9; Sufyān al-Ṭawrī, *Tafsīr*, ed. Imtiyāz 'Alī 'Arṣī, Rampur 1385/1965, p. 3 (and see the references of the editor); al-Šawkānī, *Fatḥ*, I, 63.

²²⁰ Yaḥyā b. Salām, *Tafsīr*, MS, p. 7: *ḥalaqa llāhu l-ḥalqa šaḡiyyan wa-sa'īdan; fa-kāna iblīsū mimman ḥalaqahu šaḡiyyan, fa-lammā umira bi-l-suḡūdi abā wa-stakbara*.

²²¹ Al-Daylamī, *Firdaws*, MS Chester Beatty, 3037, fol. 38a, sup.; al-Munāwī, *Fayḍ al-qadīr*, III, 449, no. 3933 (and see the comment of al-Munāwī and the quotation from al-Gazālī); and see *ib.*, p. 444, no. 3925: *ḥalaqa llāhu l-ḥalqa fa-katiba āḡālahum wa-a'mālahum wa-arzāqahum*.

Al-Ṭabarī recorded in 28 pages of his *Tafsīr* (XIII, 222–250) the traditions according to which the progeny of Ādam were asked to take upon themselves the obligation stemming from faith in God; God divided the progeny of Ādam into the good, who would enter Paradise, and the wicked, who would enter Hell. Sometimes this obligation is referred to as the First Covenant (*al-mīlāq al-awwal*).²²² God brought out all the souls from the back of Ādam; they were like ants. The white ones, pulled out from the right side of Ādam's back, were predestined for Paradise; the black ones, pulled out from the left side of Ādam's back, were predestined for Hell. They declared that God was their Lord; some of them did this unwillingly.²²³ There are divergent traditions as to the place in which the Covenant took place: in Paradise or on earth. Some say it took place at Na'mān²²⁴ or at al-Daḥnā²²⁵; others say al-Daḥnā in India.²²⁶ An early tradition says that the Day of Covenant took place in Paradise a short time before the expulsion of Ādam and Ḥawwā'.²²⁷ According to some traditions the event took place on the Day of 'Arafa.²²⁸ Some reports establish the time when the Covenant was concluded: it happened when Ādam came from India (on his pilgrimage — K.) and met Ḥawwā'.²²⁹ Some questions of doctrine in connection with the explanation of this verse in the Quran and the *ḥadīṡ*s about the Covenant associated to it were raised by scholars: is the predestination of the souls deliberate, final and

²²² Al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XIII, 230, no. 15352; there is a tradition that God introduced to Abraham the human creatures as He presented them to Ādam (al-Saqṣīnī, *op. cit.*, MS, p. 244: *wa-yuqālu inna llāha 'azza wa-ḡalla 'araḡa l-ḡalā'iqā 'alā ibrahīma kamā 'araḡahum 'alā ādama*).

²²³ See e.g., al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XIII, 242, no. 15372; cf. al-Ṣaffūrī, *Nuḡḡat al-maḡālīs*, p. 302; and see Ibn Abī 'Aṣīm, *al-Sunna*, I, 87–91, nos. 196–206 (and see the editor's references); Anonymous, *Siyar al-anbiyā'*, MS Br. Mus. Or. 1510, fol. 18a–b; al-Munāwī, *Fayḡ al-qadīr*, III, 448, no. 3932; al-Bayhaqī, *al-Asmā' wa-l-ṣifāt*, pp. 325–326. And see the story of the meeting of Rābi'a al-'Adawiyya with al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Ṭābit al-Bunānī and Mālik b. Dīnār and her questions about the answers of their souls on the Day of the Covenant: al-Saqṣīnī, *op. cit.*, MS, p. 19; and see the different versions about the covenant: al-Buḡārī, *al-Ta'rīḡ al-kabīr*, VIII, 96–97, no. 2314; al-Suyūṡī, *Ḡam' al-ḡawāmi'*, I, 656–658; al-Basawī, *al-Ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rīḡ*, III, 412–413.

²²⁴ See e.g., al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XIII, 222–223, 229; Nūr al-Dīn al-Hayṡamī, *Maḡma' al-zawā'id*, VII, 25.

²²⁵ Al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XIII, 228, no. 15347 (see the comment of the editors, *ib.*, XIII, 225, note 1).

²²⁶ Al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XIII, 225, no. 15342.

²²⁷ See Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn, *op. cit.*, MS, fol. 146a.

²²⁸ Muḡammad al-Madanī, *al-Iḡāfāt al-saniyya fī l-aḡādīḡ al-quḡdiyya*, Hyderabad 1358, p. 63, no. 342 (and see other reports: *ib.*, pp. 144, no. 694, 68, nos. 363–365).

²²⁹ Anonymous, *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, MS Leiden Or. 14,027, fol. 16b (and see other reports about the Covenant: *ib.*, fols. 16b–17a).

unchangeable?²³⁰ Do small children enter Paradise, as their souls took part at the conclusion of the Covenant?²³¹

‘Abd al-Ġabbār criticizes sharply those traditions which talk of the souls of all human beings being drawn out from the back of Ādam and of a covenant being concluded with them. It is just impossible to conclude a covenant with creatures who are like ants, devoid of life and wisdom, argues ‘Abd al-Ġabbār. God concluded the Covenant with wise people imposing on them an obligation to act according to their wisdom. God pulled out from the loins of “the progeny of Ādam” (*min zuhūri banī ādama*) their offspring, he perfected their minds, concluded with them (as reasonable people — K.) a binding covenant, called them as witnesses and imposed this on their minds.²³²

Ishāq b. Bišr devotes a lengthy passage (five folios in the manuscript) to the account on the Day of the Covenant (fols. 63b–68b); they contain some additional elements, which deserve to be mentioned. The significant topic in some of these stories is the Black Stone. According to a report transmitted by Sa‘īd b. Abī ‘Arūba and traced back to Abū Mūsā al-Aṣ‘arī, Ādam himself attended the fateful event and watched his progeny pulled out from his back like small ants on God’s hand (or like ants dispersed in the wadi of al-Na‘mān.). He attests that God created him and that God is his Lord. God came with the Black Stone and ordered Ādam to stroke it; Ādam carried out God’s command and was ordered to prostrate himself. Then followed the Covenant with the prophets. God ordered them to demonstrate their obedience to Him and affirm His Lordship, bade them stroke the Black Stone and enjoined them to prostrate themselves. Further, God introduced them to the Prophet (i.e.,

²³⁰ See e.g., Abū Ḥanīfa, *al-Fiqh al-akbar* (*ṣarḥ ‘alī al-qārī*), p. 42 inf.; cf. Muḥammad al-Madanī, *al-liḥāfāt*, p. 63, no. 343.

²³¹ See e.g., al-Qurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, VII, 317: ...*wa-qad istadalla bi-hāḍihi l-āyati man qāla: inna man māta ṣaġīran daḥala l-ġannata li-iqrārihi fī l-mīlāqi l-awwali wa-man balāga l-‘aqla lam yuġnihi l-mīlāqu l-awwalu...*; and see Abū Ḥanīfa, *al-Fiqh al-akbar* (*ṣarḥ ‘alī al-qārī*), p. 42: *zāhara min hāḍihi l-maṣ‘alati wa-mā yata‘allaqu bihā mina l-adilla anna l-qawla bi-anna aṣfāl al-mušrikīna fī l-nār matrūkun*; and see Yaḥyā b. Salām, *Tafsīr*, MS, p. 263 (discussing the story of the Covenant) ...*wa-man kāna fī l-kitābi l-awwali sa‘īdan ‘umira ḥattā yaġriya ‘alayhi l-qalamu fa-yaṣīru sa‘īdan; wa-man māta ṣaġīran min awlādi l-mu‘minīn qabla an yaġriya ‘alayhi l-qalamu fa-yakūnūna ma‘a ābā‘ihim fī ahli l-ġannati; wa-man kāna min awlādi l-mušrikīn fa-māta qabla an yaġriya ‘alayhi l-qalamu, fa-laysa yakūnūna ma‘a ābā‘ihim fī l-nāri li-annahum mātū ‘alā l-mīlāqi llaḍī uḥida ‘alayhim fī ṣulbi ādama wa-lam yanquḍū l-mīlāq...*

²³² ‘Abd al-Ġabbār, *Tanzīh al-qur‘ān ‘an al-maṣā‘in*, p. 153: ...*wa-ġawābunā anna l-qawma muḥīrūna fī l-riwāyati, fa-mina l-muḥālī an ya‘ḥuḍa ‘alayhim al-mawāṭīqa wa-hum ka-l-ḍarr lā ḥayyāta lahum wa-lā ‘aql... wa-zāhiru l-āyati bi-ḥilāfi qawlihim, li-annahu ta‘ālā aḥaḍa min zuhūri banī ādama, lā min ādama; wa-l-murādu annahu aḥraġa min zuhūrihim ḍurriyyatan akmla ‘uqūlahum fa-aḥaḍa l-mīlāqa ‘alayhim...*

Muḥammad — K.) and ordered them to swear their allegiance to him and their belief in his prophetic mission; God joined them by attesting that Muḥammad is His messenger. Then the progeny of Ādam were ordered to affirm the lordship of God and to declare themselves God's servants (*fa-aqarrū bi-l-rubūbiyya wa-l-'ubūdiyya*); God enjoined them to stroke the Black Stone and to prostrate themselves and they carried out His order; only the unbelievers and the hypocrites (*al-kuffār wa-l-munāfiqūn*) were unable to do so, because they felt that there was something as stiff as bull's horns in their back bones. Then God showed Ādam his progeny, those predestined for Paradise as well as those predestined for Hell.²³³ In another report, traced back to Ibn 'Abbas, Ādam saw among the lights of his progeny the shining lights of Dāwūd and Muḥammad. Ādam committed himself to grant Dāwūd sixty years of his life, because the life-span allotted to Dāwūd was very short.²³⁴ Ādam, however, was faithless with regard to his obligation (*ḡahada*), but he was compelled to admit the truth when the signatures of the angels attending the Day of the Covenant were presented to him. Since then people have been enjoined to get witnesses for their pacts. Further, God explained to Ādam who was the Great Light he had seen: it was the prophet Muḥammad, whom God defined as the last as well as the first of the prophets; he is indeed the last of the prophets, but the first to enter Paradise. Ādam expressed his satisfaction at the idea that Muḥammad should precede him in entering Paradise.²³⁵

Ādam's personality emerges from a tradition in which it is said that the earth and the sky refused to undertake a certain responsibility, and only Ādam agreed to bear it: to be rewarded for good deeds and to be punished for evil actions. Paradise is for the good, Hell for the bad.²³⁶

The idea of the lot predestined to all the creatures is reflected in a *ḥadīṭ* transmitted by Sufyān al-Ṭawrī and recorded by Ishāq b. Biṣr. The Prophet ascended the *minbar* carrying in his hands two books. He started to read from the book in his right hand: In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate. A book written by the Merciful, the Compassionate; it contains the names of the people of Paradise and the names of their fathers and their tribal divisions and their progeny, their total number is

²³³ Ishāq b. Biṣr, *op. cit.*, MS, fols. 65a, inf. — 67a sup.; and see this tradition: al-Saqṣīnī, *op. cit.*, MS, pp. 16–17.

²³⁴ On the cession of the years see: Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-'Āmilī, *al-Ġawāhir al-saniyya fī l-aḥādīṭ al-qudsiyya*, Baghdad 1384/1964, pp. 10–11; Ibn Ḥuzayma, *K. al-tawḥīd*, pp. 67–68 (60 years); Ibn al-Gawzī, *al-Tabṣira*, p. 17 (40 years); 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb, *Ta'wīḥ*, MS, p. 27 (30 years); and see the various versions about the cession (30 years, 40 years, 60 years) Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn, *op. cit.*, fols. 138a–139b.

²³⁵ Ishāq b. Biṣr, *op. cit.*, fols. 67b–68a.

²³⁶ Ishāq b. Biṣr, *op. cit.*, fols. 65a–b.

inalterable (*muğmal ‘alayhim*), so that nothing can be added to or detracted from it until the Day of Resurrection; then the Prophet unfolded the book which was in his left hand and told the believers what was written there about the people of Hell and their unchanging number. Twice the Prophet uttered the words: "Your Lord has accomplished" [scil. "His decree"] (*farāga rabbukum*).²³⁷

This tradition goes well together with the traditions about the Covenant and about the people destined for Paradise as against those destined for Hell.

The document of the Covenant, as it had to be deposited in a proper place, was placed in the Black Stone. Ibn ‘Abbās stated that the Black Stone is God's right hand on earth; with it He greets those whom He likes from among His creatures. Stroking the Black Stone means, in fact, a renewal of the Covenant; while stroking the stone people say: "With belief in Thee and out of faithfulness toward the Covenant."²³⁸ ‘Umar's ignorance about the qualities of the Black Stone led him to speak about the stone with some contempt.²³⁹

The Black Stone is closely connected with the vicissitudes of Ādam. When he was expelled from Paradise the Stone was sent down with him; he wiped the tears of his eyes with it.²⁴⁰ When he performed the pilgrimage to Mecca he put the Black Stone on the mountain of Abū Qubays and it was as luminous in the eyes of the people of Mecca as the moon.²⁴¹ The Prophet is said to have carried a sliver of the Black Stone on his body. The story, as told by al-Samarqandī, runs as follows: When Ibrāhīm built the Ka‘ba he lifted the Black Stone in order to put it in the proper place; the Stone, however, fell down and a piece of it broke away. God then ordered Ġibrīl to put the broken piece in the cave of the mountain in which the Prophet would seek refuge during the *hiğra*. When the Prophet and Abū Bakr entered the cave while on their way to Medina during the *hiğra*, Ġibrīl arrived, handed over the broken piece of the Black Stone to the Prophet and bade him fasten it on his body: the Prophet carried out the order and obtained the miraculous power to see forwards and backwards. The traditions saying that the Prophet fastened a stone on his belly because of his hunger are therefore erroneous.²⁴²

²³⁷ Ishāq b. Bišr, *op. cit.*, fol. 67a.

²³⁸ Ibn Qutayba, *Ta’wīl muḥtalif al-ḥadīṭ*, pp. 271–272 (*īmānan bika wa-wafā’an bi-‘ahdika* is explicated by Ibn Qutayba: *ay: qad wafaynā bi-‘ahdika, innaka anta rabbunā*); and see Ibn Bābūya al-Qummī, *‘Ilal al-šarā’f*, pp. 423 inf. — 424, *bāb* 161, nos. 1–3, 5; Ibn Fūrak, *op. cit.*, pp. 32–33.

²³⁹ See e.g., Ibn Bābūya al-Qummī, *‘Ilal al-šarā’f*, p. 426.

²⁴⁰ Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr*, I, 57, l. 16; al-Saqsinī, *op. cit.*, MS, p. 18; al-Ṭa‘alabī, *Tafsīr*, MS Sprenger, p. 168.

²⁴¹ Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr*, I, 57, l. 9 from bottom.

²⁴² Al-Samarqandī, *Mağma‘ al-ḥikam*, MS, fol. 89a; and see on the two stones fastened on

The very origin of the Black Stone is connected with Ādam and his sin: when God introduced Ādam to Paradise and forbade him to eat from the wheat, He placed an angel over him to guard him. This angel was absent when Ādam ate the forbidden fruit. When God looked sternly at the angel he became a jewel. Ādam wept at the sight of the jewel, but God endowed it with the power of speech and it said: O Ādam, I am the angel whom God placed over you to keep you; then the jewel was moved to the Ka'ba. That is the Black Stone, which God deposited in Abū Qubays: Abū Qubays was a mountain in Khurasan and was moved to Mecca. When Ibrāhīm built the Ka'ba he took the Black Stone. Abū Qubays asked Ibrāhīm to intercede with God, that it would not be returned to Khurasan, and so it remained in Mecca.²⁴³ A tradition of the Prophet says that one should ask the Black Stone to be a witness on the Day of Resurrection; the Stone will appear on that Day as intercessor and its intercession will be accepted. It will have a tongue and lips and it will give favourable evidence for people who stroked it.²⁴⁴ Several traditions state that the Black Stone was from Paradise.²⁴⁵ The tradition about the Day of the Covenant and the role of the Black Stone is echoed in the utterance of the Prophet stating that the Black Stone is God's right hand and that he who strokes the Black Stone gives the oath of allegiance to God.²⁴⁶ A vivid description of the role of the Black Stone during the ceremony of the Covenant is reported on the authority of the imām al-Bāqir. When God took the oath of allegiance from mankind He let flow a river sweeter than honey and softer than foam. Then He ordered the Pen to draw (ink — K.; *istamadda*) from this

the belly of the Prophet because of hunger: al-Qurṭubī, *al-ʿIlām bimā fī dīn al-naṣārā min al-fasād wa-l-awḥām*, ed. Aḥmad Ḥiǧāzī al-Saqqā, Cairo 1398/1978, p. 305; about the hunger of the Prophet and his Companions see: al-Zurqānī, *Šarḥ al-mawāhib al-laduniyya*, V, 332–333; and al-Qalyūbī, *Nawādir*, p. 33. Another report says that the Prophet was given the choice between the privilege of intercession for his people on the Day of Resurrection and riches like those of Abū Ḡahl; the Prophet chose the intercession. When the Prophet ascended to heaven on his *mīrāğ* he asked God to give him the document (*al-ṣakk*) of the privilege of intercession. God ordered it to be on paper (*kāğid*) and put it into a stone. The Prophet carried this stone on his belly. Before his death he ordered Abū Bakr to bury it with him in his grave (al-Saqṣīnī, *op. cit.*, MS, p. 104).

²⁴³ Al-Šaffūrī, *op. cit.*, p. 226 inf.; a shorter version: al-Saqṣīnī, *op. cit.*, MS, p. 18; divergent versions about the angel who was turned into the Black Stone and about the document of the Covenant: Ibn Bābūya, *ʿIlal al-šarāʾiʿ*, pp. 429–431, *bāb* 164.

²⁴⁴ See ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaʿ*, ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-Aʿzamī, Beirut 1392, V, 30–31, nos. 8882–8883; Nūr al-Dīn al-Hayṭamī, *Mağmaʿ al-zawāʿid*, III, 242; al-Šaffūrī, *op. cit.*, p. 227; al-Munāwī, *Fayḍ al-qadīr*, I, 527, no. 1075; al-Fāsī, *Šifāʾ al-ğarām*, Cairo 1956, I, 170 (and see on the Black Stone *ib.*, pp. 168, 171).

²⁴⁵ See e.g., al-Munāwī, *op. cit.*, III, 408–409, nos. 3799, 3804.

²⁴⁶ See e.g., al-Munāwī, *op. cit.*, III, 410, no. 3805; and see above *ad* note 238; and see Ibn Bābūya, *ʿIlal*, p. 424, *bāb* 161, no. 3.

river, to put down their acknowledgement (of the Covenant — K.) and to write what will happen until the Day of Resurrection. Then He put it (i.e., the written document — K.) in the mouth of the Stone. The stroking of the Stone during the circumambulation of the Ka'ba amounts to reiterating the oath of allegiance (*bay'a*) as an acknowledgement of the Covenant.²⁴⁷

Some scholars identify the Black Stone with the stone which used to greet the Prophet before he received the revelation.²⁴⁸ Al-'Adawī, who records the tradition, records also the discussion of the scholars as to whether the greeting of the Black Stone was a real one, i.e., consisting of actual speech, or merely a sound. Consequently the scholars raised the question whether the Black Stone was a living creature or a lifeless being. Al-'Adawī concludes that in any case the Black Stone is a token of prophethood.²⁴⁹

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The Šī'ī story of the Covenant discloses divergent aspects of the event; it mentions different causes for the sin perpetrated by Ādam and makes much of the prominent role played by 'Alī and his family in this event. When Ādam and Ḥawwā' were introduced into Paradise and God caused the angels to bow to Ādam, he entertained the thought that God had created none more distinguished than he. God knew what he was thinking and He summoned him to lift his head; he saw the Throne and on its side he saw the inscription of the *šahāda* followed by the statement that 'Alī is the *amīr* of the faithful. Fāṭima his wife is the Lady of all the women in the world and Ḥasan and Ḥusayn are the lords (*sayyidā*) of the youths of Paradise. God explained to Ādam that these persons were his progeny and that they were the best creatures in the world; but for them God would have created neither Ādam, nor any of Hell, Paradise, Earth and Sky. God warned Ādam not to look at them with envy or desire their rank. But Ādam did look at them with envy, and thus Satan succeeded in subduing him by tempting him to eat the fruit of the forbidden tree. Ḥawwā' looked with envy at Fāṭima; thus Satan put her under his control and she, too, ate the forbidden fruit.²⁵⁰ Another setting for the story is recorded by al-

²⁴⁷ Ibn Šahrāšūb, *Manāqib āli abī ṭālib*, Najaf 1375/1956, III, 333; (and cf. the utterance of al-Bāqir stroking the Black Stone: *allāhumma, āmanatī addaytuhā, wa-mīṭāqī ta'āhadtuhu li-yašhada lī 'indaka bi-l-wafā'*).

²⁴⁸ See Abū al-Baqā' Muḥammad al-'Umarī al-'Adawī, *Aḥwāl makkata wa-l-madīna*, MS Br. Mus. Or. 11865, fol. 136b, sup.

²⁴⁹ Abū al-Baqā' al-'Adawī, *Aḥwāl*, fols. 136b — 137a.

²⁵⁰ Ni'matullāh al-Mūsawī, *op. cit.*, I, 243–244; al-Maḡlisī, *op. cit.*, XI, 164–165. A more detailed version is recorded by al-Katakānī, *op. cit.*, I, 82 inf. — 83: Ādam and Ḥawwā' asked

‘Ayyāṣī: When God showed Ādam his progeny during the act of the Covenant, the Prophet passed by leaning upon ‘Alī followed by Fāṭima, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. God warned Ādam not to envy them lest he would be expelled from the proximity of God. Then God reiterated his warning when Ādam entered Paradise; Muḥammad, ‘Alī, Fāṭima, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn were again shown to Ādam and he looked at them with envy. He was asked to give the oath of allegiance (*al-wilāya*), but refrained. He was later expelled from Paradise. When he repented he invoked God “by the merit of the Five (mentioned above — K.), vowed allegiance (scil. to the Šī‘ī imāms — K.)” and God forgave him his sins.²⁵¹ A very clear exposition of the story is given by Ni‘matullāh al-Mūsawī: When God created Paradise He planted that tree for ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and his Family (*āl*) stipulating that nobody should eat from its fruit before him. It is for this reason that God ordered them not to draw near the tree.²⁵² The tree is called in the Šī‘ī tradition the Tree of Envy (*šaḡarat al-ḥasad*). In a tradition traced back to the imām al-‘Askarī, the forbidden tree is called *šaḡarat al-‘ilm*, the Tree of Knowledge of Muḥammad and his Family, those whom God preferred (*āṭarahum*) above other people. God forbade to draw near the tree, as it belongs exclusively to Muḥammad and his Family and nobody should take from its fruits except them. It was a peculiar tree; it bore fruits of various kinds. He who took of the fruit by God’s permission would be given the knowledge of “the first things and of the last things” without having to learn. He who took them without permission would fail and be considered a disobedient rebel. God ordered Ādam and Ḥawwā’ not to draw near to the tree in their attempt to gain the position of Muḥammad and his Family and to attain to their excellence.²⁵³

According to some Šī‘ī sources the Prophet stated that ‘Alī was the first of his community to announce on the Day of the Covenant his belief in the

to show them the place of the wicked (*al-ẓālimūn*), i.e., “those who strive undeservedly to achieve the rank awarded to ‘Alī and the imāms by God”. (This is God’s definition of *ẓālimūn* — K.). They saw the wicked in the pit of Hell and witnessed their excruciating suffering. God again warned them not to envy ‘Alī and the imāms who are God’s lights on Earth lest they should be expelled from Paradise and debased; see further *ibid.*, I, 83 inf.; al-Maḡlisī, *op. cit.*, XI, 173.

²⁵¹ Al-‘Ayyāṣī, *op. cit.*, I, 41, no. 27 (and see *ib.*, no. 28; and see *ib.*, II, 9, no. 8. The phrase *wa-lam naḡid lahu ‘azman* is explained: “he was not resolute enough in abstaining from envy towards those whom God had elevated above him”; see al-Katakānī, *op. cit.*, IV, 131, l. 11; III, 45, l. 15 and penult.). Abū al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Fatūnī al-Nabāṭī al-‘Āmilī al-Iṣfahānī al-Ġarawī, *Muqaddimat tafsīr mir‘at al-anwār*, Qumm 1391, p. 80 has the following text: ... *bal fī aḥbārīn ‘adīdatīn anna ādama (‘a ṣ) lammā lam ya‘zim ‘alā qabūli l-wilāyati ‘azman tāmmān mā šāra min ulī l-‘azmi wa-btuliya bi-ḥikāyati l-šaḡarati wa-l-iḥrāgi mina l-ḡanna...*

²⁵² Ni‘matullāh al-Mūsawī, *op. cit.*, I, 244.

²⁵³ Al-Katakānī, *op. cit.*, I, 79.