

According to Bishr b. Mu'adh¹⁹⁶ —Yazīd¹⁹⁷ —Sa'īd¹⁹⁸ — [24] Qatādah, commenting on: "And He revealed in every heaven its command"¹⁹⁹: He created in it its sun, its moon, and its stars, and what is good for it.²⁰⁰

These reports, mentioned by us on the authority of the Messenger of God and those who mentioned them on his authority, have made it clear that God created the heavens and the earth before He created time, day and night, and the sun and the moon. God knows best!

Explaining the Annihilation of Time and Night and Day and That Nothing Remains Except God

Proof of the soundness of this statement is the words of God: "Everyone on it is annihilated, but the face of your Lord, Majestic and Venerable, remains,"²⁰¹ and: "There is no God but He. Everything perishes but His face."²⁰²

If everything perishes but His face, as God says, and night and day are darkness and light created by Him for the well-being of His creation, there can be no doubt that they will perish and be annihilated. Thus, God informs (us) and says: "When the sun shall be rolled up,"²⁰³ meaning that it shall be obscured, so that its light will be gone. That will take place at the Coming of the Hour. No further elaboration is needed, since it is acknowledged by all those who confess God's oneness, the Muslims, the people of the Torah and the Gospel, and the Magians. It is denied only by others who do not confess the oneness of God. We do not intend to explain the erroneousness of their statements in this book. All those whom

196. Bishr died in or before 245/859. See *Tahdhīb*, I, 458; Horst, 301, n. 16.

197. Abū Mu'āwiyah Yazīd b. Zuray' lived from 101/719[20] to ca. 798. See *Tahdhīb*, XI, 325-28; Horst, 301, n. 17.

198. Sa'īd b. Abi 'Arūbah was "confused" for a number of years before his death in the 150s/ca. 772. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 63-66; Horst, 301, n. 18.

199. Qur. 41:12. The meaning of "its command" is debatable. It seems to be "what was going to happen there" (R. Paret) or "what God commanded to happen there."

200. The suffix in *wa-ṣalāḥahā* could hardly be intended to mean "them (their well-being)." For the tradition, see *Tafsīr*, XXIV, 64.

201. Qur. 55:26 f.

202. Qur. 28:88. See above, n. 16.

203. Qur. 81:1.

[25] we have mentioned as acknowledging the annihilation of the entire world until there remains only the One Eternal and Unique, acknowledge that God revives and resurrects them after they have perished, except idol worshipers, for they acknowledge annihilation but do not acknowledge resurrection.

*The Proof for God Being Eternal and
First before Everything and for His
Originating Everything by His Power*

The proof for this statement (is as follows): There is nothing in this world that is observable except a body or something subsisting in a body.²⁰⁴ There is no body that is not either separate or connected. There is no separate body that cannot be imagined as becoming joined to some other like forms, and there is no connected body that cannot be imagined as becoming separated. When one of the two is deprived of existence, so, too, is the other. If two parts of it become connected after having been separate, one concludes that the connection of the two originated in them after it did not exist, and if separation originates in them after connection, one concludes that the separation in them originated after it did not exist.

Now, this is so with everything in the world. What is not observable is to be judged as being of the same kind²⁰⁵ as what we do observe in the sense of body or subsisting in a body. What cannot be free from having origination is no doubt originated through composition by someone composing it if it is connected, or through separation by someone separating it if it is separated; the conclusion is that the one who connects it if it is connected, and separates it if it is separated, is someone not similar to it and for whom being connected or being separated is not permissible. This is the One Unique and Powerful, the One Who establishes connections between different things, the One to Whom nothing is similar. He "has power over everything."²⁰⁶

204. On *jism* "body, material substance," see *Et*², II, 553-55, s. v. *djism*.

205. Read *mim-mā*, as in two manuscripts. *Jins* "kind, genus," is hardly the proper term here. *Ṭabarī* means that there is no other way to observe the supernatural (which cannot really be done) except by analogy with the physical world which we can observe by means of the senses.

206. Qur. 2:20, etc.

Thus, our description has made it clear that the Creator and Originator of all things was before everything, that night and day and time and hours are originated, and that their Originator Who administers and manages them exists before them, since it is impossible for something to originate something unless its originator exists before it. (It is also clear that) God's word: "Don't (the unbelievers) look at the camels (and reflect) how they were created, and at the heaven how it was raised, and at the mountains how they were set up, and at the earth how it was spread out flat?"²⁰⁷ contains the most eloquent evidence and the most effective proofs for those who use reason to reflect and the mind to be instructed, that the Creator of all those things is eternal and that everything of their kind is originated and has a Creator that is not similar to them. That is because everything mentioned by our Lord in this verse, the mountains, the earth, the camels, is dealt with and administered by man, who may move it around and manage it, who may dig, cut, and tear down, none of which he is prevented from doing. Yet, beyond that, man is not able to bring anything of that into existence without a basis (to work from). The conclusion is that the one who is incapable of originating those things could not have originated himself and that the one who is not prevented from managing and organizing whatever he wishes could not have been brought into existence by someone like himself and he did not bring himself into existence. Further, the One Who brought (man) up and gave him substantial ('ayn) existence is the One Who is not incapable of (doing) anything He wishes, and He is not prevented from originating anything He wants. He is "God Unique and Forceful."²⁰⁸

Someone might ask: Why should it be disapprovable to assume that the things you have mentioned result from the action of two eternal (beings)?²⁰⁹ The reply would be: We disapprove of that because we find that the administration is continuous and the creation perfect. We say: If the administrators were two, they would necessarily either agree or disagree. If they agree, the two would conceptually be one, and the one would be made two merely by [27]

207. Qur. 88:17-20.

208. Qur. 12:39, etc.

209. Dualism was probably very much on Ṭabarī's mind, but what is meant here is not dualism as such but polytheism.

positing two. If they differ, it would be impossible to find the existence of the creation perfect and (its) administration continuous. For each one of two who differ does what is different from what his fellow does. If one gives life, the other causes death. If one of them produces existence, the other produces annihilation. It would thus be impossible for anything in creation to exist in the perfection and continuity it does. God's words: "If there were other gods except God in (heaven and earth), both would be ruined. Praised be God, Lord of the Throne, (who is above) what they describe";²¹⁰ and: "God has not taken to Himself a child, and there has been no god together with Him. Otherwise, each god would have gone off with what he created and risen over the others. Praised be God (who is above) what they describe. He knows what is unseen and what is observable, and He is exalted above their associating (other gods with Him)"²¹¹ —these words of God are the most eloquent evidence and the most concise explanation as well as the most effective proof for the falsehood of those falsehood-mongers who associate (other gods) with God. That is because, if there were another god except God in the heavens and the earth, the condition of the two as to agreement and disagreement would necessarily be the one I have described. Saying that there may be agreement implies that saying they are two is wrong. It confirms the oneness of God and is an absurd statement in as much as the one who makes it calls the one two. Saying that there may be disagreement indicates ruin for the heavens and the earth, as our Lord says: "If there were other gods except God in them, both would be ruined."²¹² For if one originates and creates something, it would be the other's business to put it out of existence and invalidate it. That is because the actions of two who differ are different, just as fire that warms and snow that cools what fire has warmed.

[28] Another argument (would be this): If it were (true) as those who associate other gods with God say, each one of the two whom they consider as eternal would necessarily be either strong or incapable. If both were incapable, each one, being incapable, would be defeatable and not be a god. If both were strong, each one of them, by virtue of being incapable of subduing the other, would

210. Qur. 21:22.

211. Qur. 23:91 f.

212. Qur. 21:22.

be incapable and being incapable would not be a god. If each one of them were strong enough to subdue the other, he, by virtue of the strength of the other to subdue him in turn, would be incapable. God is above the association of other gods with Him!

It has thus become clear that the Eternal One, the Creator and Maker of all things is the One Who existed before everything and Who will be after everything, the First before everything and the Last after everything. He existed when there was no momentary and extended time, no night and no day, no darkness and no light except the light of His noble face, no heaven and no earth, no sun and no moon and no stars. Everything but He is originated, administered and made. He alone by Himself created everything without an associate, helper, and assistant. Praised be He as powerful and forceful!

According to 'Alī b. Sahl al-Ramlī—Zayd b. Abī al-Zarqā'²¹³—Ja'far²¹⁴—Yazīd b. al-Aṣamm²¹⁵—Abū Hurayrah: The Prophet said: After my death, you all will be asked about everything, to the extent that someone might even say: God there created everything, but who created Him?²¹⁶

According to 'Alī—Zayd—Ja'far—Yazīd b. al-Aṣamm—Najabah b. Ṣabīgh²¹⁷: I was with Abū Hurayrah when he was asked about that. He exclaimed: God is great!, and said: My friend did not tell me anything unless I saw him and was looking at him.²¹⁸ Ja'far said: I have also heard that (Abū Hurayrah) said: If people ask you

213. He resided for some time in al-Ramlah and died there in 140/757[8]. See *Tahdhīb*, III, 413 f.

214. Ja'far b. Burqān died before or in 154/771. See *Tahdhīb*, II, 84–86; Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 2, 186.

215. Yazīd b. al-Aṣamm died seventy-three years old between 101 and 104/719–23. His maternal aunt was Maymūnah, a wife of the Prophet. See *Tahdhīb*, XI, 313 f.

216. The tradition appears with the same chain of transmitters (Ja'far b. Burqān to Abū Hurayrah) in Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, I, 97. See *Concordance*, II, 71a34 f.–b2.

217. See Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh*, IV, 2, 133, no. 2462.

218. That is, Abū Hurayrah claims that his contact with the Prophet was always strictly personal and direct, implying that he never heard the Prophet make such an awful statement, which is usually considered to go back to the machinations of Satan. A close version in Ibn Ḥanbal, II, 539, seems to confirm the reading *wa-anā* of the Leiden text against *aw anā* of the Cairo edition. A connection is made with the Jahmiyyah in Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, IV, 319.

about that, say: God "is the Creator of everything."²¹⁹ God is the One Who was before everything, and God will be after everything.

[29] Thus, the conclusion is that the Creator of all things existed while there was nothing but He. He originated all things and then administered them. He had created various kinds of beings before the creation of extended and momentary times and before the creation of the sun and the moon which He causes to run in their spheres. It is through them that moments and hours are known, eras are established, and night is separated from day.

Let us now discuss what that prior creation was and what was created first.

The Beginning of Creation: What Was Created First?

Sound indeed is the following report on the authority of the Messenger of God which I have received from Yūnus b. 'Abd al-A'la²²⁰ —('Abdallāh) b. Wahb (and also from 'Ubayd b. Ādam b. Abī Iyās al-'Asqalānī²²¹ —his father—al-Layth b. Sa'd²²²)—Mu'āwiyah b. Šālih—Ayyūb b. Ziyād²²³ —'Ubādah b. al-Walīd b. 'Ubādah b. al-Šāmit²²⁴ —his father: My father 'Ubādah b. al-Šāmit said: My dear son! I heard the Messenger of God say: The first (thing) created by God is the Pen. God said to it: Write!, and it proceeded at that very hour to [write] whatever is going to be.²²⁵

According to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb²²⁶ —'Alī b.

219. Qur. 6:102, etc.

220. Born in 170/787, Yūnus died in 264/877. See *Tahdhīb*, XI, 440 f.; Horst, 305, n. 1.

221. 'Ubayd died in 258/872. See *Tahdhīb*, VII, 58. His father Ādam died in 220 or 221/835–36 at the age of eighty-eight or ninety. See *TB*, VII, 27–30; *Tahdhīb*, I, 196.

222. Al-Layth was born in 93 or 94/711–13. He died in 175/December, 791. See *TB*, XIII, 3–14; *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 459–65; *El*², V, 711, s.v.; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 520.

223. See Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 1, 414 f.; Ibn Hajar, *Lisān*, I, 481.

224. For 'Ubādah, see *Tahdhīb*, V, 114. For his father, al-Walīd, who died during the caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik, see *Tahdhīb*, XI, 137. And for his famous grandfather, 'Ubādah b. al-Šāmit, who was present at Badr and died, seventy-two years old, in 34/654–5 in al-Ramlah, or perhaps later during the caliphate of Mu'āwiyah (?), and was buried in Jerusalem, see *Tahdhīb*, V, 111 f.

225. In *Tafsīr*, XXIX, 11 f., the tradition quoted here does not seem to have been accorded the prominence it has here. Much of the information quoted above also appears in *Tafsīr*, XXIX, 10–12.

226. See above, n. 127. The quotation of the tradition in *Tafsīr*, XXIX, 11, replaces

al-Ḥasan b. Shaqīq²²⁷ — 'Abdallāh b. al-Mubārak²²⁸ — Rabāḥ b. Zayd²²⁹ — 'Umar b. Ḥabīb²³⁰ — al-Qāsim b. Abī Bazzah²³¹ — Sa'īd b. Jubayr — Ibn 'Abbās who used to tell that the Messenger of God said: The first thing created by God is the Pen. God commanded it to write everything.

I was told the same by Mūsā b. Sahl al-Ramlī²³² — Nu'aym b. Hammād²³³ — Ibn al-Mubārak — Rabāḥ b. Zayd — 'Umar b. Ḥabīb — al-Qāsim b. Abī Bazzah — Sa'īd b. Jubayr — Ibn 'Abbās — the Messenger of God.

According to Muḥammad b. Mu'āwiyah al-Anmāṭī²³⁴ — 'Abbād b. al-'Awwām²³⁵ — 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Sulaym²³⁶ — 'Aṭā'²³⁷: I asked al-Walīd b. 'Ubādah b. al-Ṣāmit: What was your father's last exhortation to you when he was at the point of death? Al-Walīd replied: He called me and said: My dear son! Fear God, knowing that you shall not truly fear God and attain (religious) knowledge until you believe in God Unique and in predestination both good and bad. I heard the Messenger of God say: The first (thing) created by God was the Pen. God said to it: Write! The Pen asked: What shall I write? God replied: Write what is predestined (*al-qadar*)! He con-

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him with a certain Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Ṭūsi who also appears unidentifiable.

227. Born in 137/754[5], Ibn Shaqīq died in the first half of the 210s/826–30. See *TB*, XI, 370–72; *Tahdhīb*, VII, 298 f. His son Muḥammad (below, n. 758) was a direct informant of Tabarī.

228. Ibn al-Mubārak lived from 118 or 119/736–37 to 181/797. See *TB*, X, 152–69; *Tahdhīb*, V, 382–87; *EI*², III, 879, s. v. Ibn al-Mubārak; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 95.

229. Rabāḥ b. Zayd, as read correctly in the Cairo edition, died in 187/803 at the age of eighty-one. See *Tahdhīb*, III, 233 f.

230. See *Tahdhīb*, VII, 431.

231. Ibn Abī Bazzah died around 120/737[8]. See *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 310.

232. Died in 260 or 261/874–75. See *Tahdhīb*, X, 347; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 347.

233. Nu'aym b. Hammād died in 228/843, or, perhaps, in 227 or 229. See *TB*, XIII, 306–14; *Tahdhīb*, X, 458–63; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 104 f. A Tübingen dissertation of 1979 by Jorge Aguade deals with one of his works (not seen).

234. See *Tahdhīb*, IX, 463 f. *Tafsīr*, XXIX, 11, has Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ, presumably by mistake.

235. 'Abbād lived from 118/736 to ca. 185/801. See *TB*, XI, 104–6; *Tahdhīb*, V, 99 f.

236. See *Tahdhīb*, VI, 435 f.

237. Presumably, 'Aṭā' b. al-Sā'ib (above, n. 181).

The two versions in Ibn Ḥanbal, V, 317, make it abundantly clear that the thrust of the tradition is directed toward the inclusiveness of divine predestination with respect to both good and evil. See L. Gardet, in *EI*², IV, 365b, s. v. al-Ḳaḍā' wa 'l-ḳadar.

tinued: And the Pen proceeded at that very hour to (write) whatever was and whatever is going to be for all times.

The early (scholars) before us differed in this matter. We shall mention their statements and have that then followed by the (correct) explanation of it, if God wills.

Some of them said about the same as what has been transmitted on the authority of the Messenger of God.

Those who said this

According to Wāṣil b. 'Abd al-A'lā al-Asadī²³⁸ —Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl²³⁹ —al-A'mash—Abū Zabyān²⁴⁰ —Ibn 'Abbās: The first thing created by God is the Pen. God said to it: Write!, whereupon the Pen asked: What shall I write, my Lord? God replied: Write what is predestined! He continued. And the Pen proceeded to (write) whatever is predestined and going to be to the Coming of the Hour. Then, (God) lifted up the water vapor and split the heavens off from it.²⁴¹

We were told about the same by Wāṣil b. 'Abd al-A'lā—Wakī²⁴² —al-A'mash—Abū Zabyān—Ibn 'Abbās.

[31] According to Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā—Ibn Abī 'Adī²⁴³ —Shu'bah—Sulaymān²⁴⁴ —Abū Zabyān—Ibn 'Abbās: The first thing created by God is the Pen. It proceeded to (write) whatever is going to be.

We were told about the same by Tamīm b. al-Muntaṣir—Ishāq²⁴⁵ —Sharik—al-A'mash—Abū Zabyān or Mujāhid—Ibn 'Abbās.

238. Died in 244/858[9]. See *Tahdhīb*, XI, 104.

239. Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl b. Ghazwān died in 194-95/809-11. See *Tahdhīb*, IX, 405 f.

240. Abū Zabyān Ḥusayn b. Jundub died in 89 or 90/707-9. See *Tahdhīb*, II, 379 f.

241. Text below, I, 48, has an expanded text, which appears also in *Tafsīr*, XXIX, 10.

242. Wakī' b. al-Jarrāh b. Malih, who was born in 128-29/745-47, died in 197/812[3] or the following year on the return from the pilgrimage. See *TB*, XIII, 496-512; *Tahdhīb*, XI, 123-31; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 96 f.

243. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Abī 'Adī al-Qasmālī died between 192 and 194/807-10. See *Tahdhīb*, IX, 12 f.; Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 1, 23.

244. Al-A'mash?

245. Ishāq b. Yūsuf al-Azraq died in 194 or 195/809-11 during the caliphate of al-Amin. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 2, 62; Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 1, 406; Ibn Abī Hātim, I, 1, 238. He is named among the authorities of Tamīm and among the transmitters from Sharik (*Tahdhīb*), IV, 334), but one of his authorities is also said to be al-A'mash, and not Sharik, who was an authority of Ishāq b. 'Īsā b. al-Ṭabbā' (d. 214-15/829-30).

According to Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-A'lā—Ibn Thawr²⁴⁶ — Ma'mar²⁴⁷ —al-A'mash—Ibn 'Abbās: The first thing created is the Pen.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Jarīr²⁴⁸ —'Atā'—Abū al-Ḍuḥā Muslim b. Ṣubayḥ²⁴⁹ —Ibn 'Abbās: The first thing created by my Lord is the Pen. God said to it: Write!, and it wrote whatever is going to be to the Coming of the Hour.²⁵⁰

Others said: Rather, the first of the created things created by God is light and darkness.

Those who said this

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah b. al-Faḍl—Ibn Ishāq: The first (thing) created by God was light and darkness. He then distinguished between the two and made the darkness a night that is black and dark (so that one cannot see) and the light a day that illuminates and enables one to see.²⁵¹

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) says: In my opinion, of the two statements the one most likely to be correct is that of Ibn 'Abbās. That is because of the report, mentioned by me earlier, from the Messenger of God who said: The first thing created by God is the Pen.

Someone might say: You say that of the two statements—the one that the first of the created things created by God is the Pen, and the other that it is light and darkness—the statement most likely to be correct is: The first of the created things created by God is the Pen. What, then, is the patent meaning of the tradition transmitted from Ibn 'Abbās which you were told by Ibn Bashshār—'Abd al-Raḥmān²⁵² —Sufyān—Abū Hāshim²⁵³ —Mujāhid: I said to Ibn 'Abbās: There are people who consider

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246. Muḥammad b. Thawr al-Ṣan'ānī died around 190/805[6]. See *Tahdhib*, IX, 87; Horst, 296, n. 10. See also *Tafsīr*, XXIX, 10.

247. The important early historian Ma'mar b. Rāshid lived from ca. 96/714[5] to between 152 and 154/769-71. See *Tahdhib*, X, 243-46; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 290 f.; Horst, 296, n. 19.

248. Born in 107/725[6], Jarīr b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (b. Jarīr) b. Qurṭ al-Rāzī died in 188/804. See *TB*, VII, 253-61; *Tahdhib*, II, 75-77.

249. Abū al-Ḍuḥā died ca. 100/718[9] during the caliphate of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. See *Tahdhib*, X, 132 f.

250. See *Tafsīr*, XXIX, 10.

251. See *Tafsīr*, I, 151 (*ad Qur.* 2:29).

252. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī lived from 135/752[3] to 198/814. See *TB*, X, 240-48; *Tahdhib*, VI, 279-81; Horst, 296, n. 13.

253. The Cairo edition identifies him with Abū Hāshim Ismā'īl b. Kathīr. See *Tahdhib*, I, 326.

predestination untrue? He said: (Then), they consider the Book of God untrue! I shall seize one of them by the hair and shake him up. God was on His Throne before He created anything. The first (thing) created by God was the Pen. It proceeded to (write) whatever is going to be to the Day of Resurrection. People will proceed merely in accordance with what is a foregone conclusion (decided by predestination and written down by the Pen). And (what then is the meaning of the tradition reported) on the authority of Ibn Ishāq and transmitted to all of you by Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Ishāq? He continued (quoting) God's word: "It is He Who created the heavens and the earth in six days, while His Throne was upon the water."²⁵⁴ It was as He describes Himself. There was nothing except the water upon which was the Throne, and upon the Throne was God, Majestic and Venerable. And the first (thing) created by God was light and darkness.

The answer would be: The statement of Ibn 'Abbās that God was on His Throne upon the water before He created anything, and the first (thing) created by God was the Pen—if it is a sound (report) on his authority that he actually said that—would provide information that God created the Pen after He created His Throne. Shu'bah transmitted this report on the authority of Abū Hāshim but did not say what Sufyān said, namely, that God was on His Throne, and the first (thing) created by Him was the Pen. Rather, he transmitted this (report) as did all the other transmitters on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās mentioned by us, namely, that Ibn 'Abbās said: The first (thing) created by God is the Pen.

Those who said this

[33] According to al-Muthannā—'Abd al-Ṣamad—Shu'bah—Abū Hāshim—Mujāhid²⁵⁵—'Abdallāh (whether Ibn 'Umar or Ibn 'Abbās is not known): The first (thing) created by God is the Pen. God said to it: Proceed (to write)!, and the Pen proceeded to (write) whatever is going to be. People today merely carry out what is a foregone conclusion.

The same applies to the statement of Ibn Ishāq mentioned by us which implies that God created light and darkness after He created His Throne and the water upon which the Throne was.

254. Qur. 11:7. *Tafsīr*, XII, 3-5, deals with much of the traditional material on creation.

255. See Mujāhid, *Tafsīr*, I, 687, which, however, is rather different.

The statement of the Messenger of God on the subject which we have transmitted from him is the one most likely to be correct, because he was most knowledgeable of the truth and soundness of any statement he would make on the subject. We have transmitted on the Prophet's authority that he said: The first thing created by God is the Pen—making no exception for anything whose creation might have preceded God's creation of the Pen. Rather, the Prophet's statement: The first thing created by God is the Pen, includes generally everything and indicates that the Pen was created before everything without making any exception for the Throne or water or anything else.

The tradition we have transmitted on the authority of Abū Zabyān and Abū al-Ḍuḥā—Ibn 'Abbās, is more likely to be sound on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās than the report of Mujāhid on (the latter's) authority which Abū Hāshim transmitted, since Shu'bah and Sufyān differed with respect to this transmission on (Ibn 'Abbās') authority, as I have already mentioned.

Ibn Ishāq's statement indicates no authority from whom he transmitted it.

Here we have one of the things that cannot be known except through information from God or from the Messenger of God. I have already mentioned the tradition(s) with respect to this subject on the authority of the Messenger of God.

Those Who Put the Creation of the Pen in Second Place

After the Pen, and after God had commanded it to write whatever is going to be to the Coming of the Hour, God created fine clouds (*saḥāb*). It is the *ghamām* which God mentions in the unambiguous parts of His Book, saying: "Do they have [anything] to look for but that God will come to them under a cover of clouds (*al-ghamām*)?"²⁵⁶ That was before He created His Throne. This appears in reports from the Messenger of God:

According to Ibn Wakī' and Muḥammad b. Hārūn al-Qaṭṭān²⁵⁷

256. Qur. 2:210. "Unambiguous" (*muḥkam*), in contrast to *mutashābih*, refers to Qur'ānic passages assumed to be not susceptible to divergent interpretations.

257. He is further called al-Rāziqī (?) in *Tafsir*, XII, 4, 1. 14, but apparently cannot be identified with any certainty. He is hardly identical with Abū Nashīṭ Muḥammad b. Hārūn al-Bazzāz who died ca. 258/872. See *TB*, III, 352 f.; *Tahdhīb*,

—Yazīd b. Hārūn—Ḥammād b. Salamah—Ya'lā b. 'Aṭā'²⁵⁸—Wakī' b. Ḥudus²⁵⁹—his paternal uncle Abū Razīn²⁶⁰: I asked the Messenger of God: Where was our Lord before He created His creation? The Prophet replied: He was in a cloud ('*amā*') with no air underneath or above it. Then He created His Throne upon the water.²⁶¹

According to al-Muthannā b. Ibrāhīm—al-Ḥajjāj—Ḥammād—Ya'lā b. 'Aṭā'—Wakī' b. Ḥudus—his paternal uncle Abū Razīn al-'Aqīlī: I asked the Messenger of God: Where was our Lord before He created the heavens and the earth? The Prophet replied: In a cloud with air above and underneath it.²⁶² Then He created His Throne upon the water.

According to Khallād b. Aslam—al-Nadr b. Shumayl—al-Mas'ūdī—Jāmi' b. Shaddād²⁶³—Ṣafwān b. Muḥriz²⁶⁴—Ibn Ḥuṣayn,²⁶⁵ one of the companions of the Messenger of God: Some people came to the Messenger of God. They entered into his presence, and he began to give them glad tidings,²⁶⁶ while they kept saying: Give us (gifts)! This continued until it annoyed the Messenger of God. Then they left. Some other people came in and said: We have come to greet the Messenger of God and become knowledgeable about the religion and ask about the beginning of this matter (the world). He said: So, accept the glad tidings, since those who have (just) left did not accept them. They said: We have done so. Whereupon the Messenger of God said: God existed while there was nothing else. His Throne was upon the water, and (all

[35]

IX, 493 f.

258. According to *Tahdhīb*, XI, 403 f., Ya'lā b. 'Aṭā' died in 120/737[8] in Wāsiṭ.

259. See *Tahdhīb*, XI, 131. His father's name is also given as 'Udu/as.

260. See *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 456 f.; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Isti'āb*, IV, 1657. Abū Razīn's name supposedly was Laqīṭ. For the vocalization 'Aqīlī, instead of 'Uqaylī, see *Tahdhīb*, XI, 131 (editor's footnote).

261. See *Concordance*, IV, 388a11–13, and *Tafsīr*, XII, 4 (*ad* Qur. 11:7).

262. This statement is hardly correct. In *Tafsīr*, XII, 4, the negations are found as in the preceding tradition. In this case, the only difference between this and the preceding tradition is the two links of the chain of transmitters between Ṭabari and Ḥammād b. Salamah.

263. Died, apparently, in the 120s/738–747. See *Tahdhīb*, II, 56 f.

264. Ṣafwān died in 74/693[4]. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 430 f.

265. Imrān b. Ḥuṣayn died in 52 or 53/672–73 in al-Baṣrah. See *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 125 f.

266. According to *Tafsīr*, XII, 4, the glad tidings are that Muslims would not stay in Hell eternally. A mixture of the two traditions mentioned here is to be found in Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath*, VII, 96 ff., and XVII, 179 ff.

that was going to be) was written on the memorial (Tablet) before anything (else was created).²⁶⁷ Then God created seven heavens. Just then, someone came to me (Ibn Ḥuṣayn) and said: That camel of yours is gone. I went out (and found that) she was out of sight. I surely wish that I would have let her go (so that I would not have missed the rest of the Prophet's remarks).²⁶⁸

According to Abū Kurayb—Abū Mu'āwiyah—al-A'mash—Jāmi' b. Shaddād—Ṣafwān b. Muḥriz—'Imrān b. al-Ḥuṣayn: The Messenger of God said: Accept the glad tidings, Banū Tamim! They replied: You gave the glad tidings to us. So now give us (gifts)! The Prophet said: Accept the glad tidings, Yemenites! They said: We did so. Now inform us how that matter was! Whereupon the Messenger of God said: God was upon the Throne. He was before everything, and He wrote everything that was going to be on the Tablet. ('Imrān) continued: Someone came to me and said: 'Imrān, that camel of yours has become untethered. I got up and found that she was out of sight. Therefore, I do not know what took place afterwards.

Then, there were differences about what God created after the cloud. Some said: Thereafter He created His Throne.²⁶⁹

Those who said this

According to Muḥammad b. Sinān—Abū Salamah²⁷⁰—Ḥayyān b. 'Ubaydallāh²⁷¹—al-Daḥḥāk b. Muzāḥim²⁷²—Ibn 'Abbās: God created the Throne as the first thing He created. Then He sat straight on it.

Others said: God created the water before the Throne. Then He created His Throne and placed it upon the water.

267. The construction is simplified in Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* where the preposition "before" is omitted.

268. See *Tafsīr*, XII, 4.

269. On the preexistent divine throne, see, for instance, Speyer, *Biblische Erzählungen*, 21 ff.

270. He may be identical with Abū Salamah Mūsā b. Ismā'il al-Minqarī al-Tabūdhakī who died in 223/838. He appears elsewhere as an authority of Muḥammad b. Sinān. See *Tahdhīb*, X, 333-35.

271. Not Ḥayyān—Ubaydallāh, as in the Leiden edition. The correct text is found in the Cairo edition. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān*, II, 370; Ibn Abī Hātim, I, 2, 246.

272. Al-Daḥḥāk died between 102 and 106/720-25. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 453 f.; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 29 f.; Horst, 304, n. 10.

Those who said this

[36] According to Mūsā b. Hārūn al-Hamdānī²⁷³—‘Amr b. Hammād²⁷⁴ —Asbāt b. Naṣr²⁷⁵ —al-Suddī²⁷⁶ —Abū Mālik²⁷⁷ and Abū Šāliḥ²⁷⁸ —Ibn ‘Abbās. Also (al-Suddī)—Murrah al-Hamdānī²⁷⁹ —‘Abdallāh b. Mas‘ūd²⁸⁰ and some (other) companions of the Messenger of God: God’s Throne was upon the water. He had created nothing except that which He created before the water.²⁸¹

According to Muḥammad b. Sahl b. ‘Askar—Ismā‘il b. ‘Abd al-Karīm—‘Abd al-Šamad b. Ma‘qil—Wahb b. Munabbih: Before He created the heavens and the earth, the Throne was upon the water. When He wanted to create the heavens and the earth, He grabbed a fistful of small rocks²⁸² in the water. He then opened the fist (with the rocks), and they rose in (the form of) smoke. Then he fashioned (the heavens into) seven heavens²⁸³ and extended²⁸⁴ the earth in two days. He finished the creation on the seventh day.

According to another statement, it was the Footstool (*kursī*) that our Lord created after the Pen. After the Footstool, He created the Throne. Thereafter He created the air and darkness. He then created the water and placed His Throne upon it.

Abū Ja‘far (al-Ṭabarī) says: In my opinion, of the two statements the one most likely to be correct is that God created the water before the Throne, because of the soundness of the report mentioned by me earlier from Abū Razīn al-‘Aqīlī: When the Messenger of God was asked: Where was our Lord before He created His cre-

273. He appears to be unidentifiable, see Horst, 302, n. 3.

274. Died in 222/837. See *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 22 f.; Horst, 302, n. 6.

275. For Asbāt, see *Tahdhīb*, I, 211 f.; Horst, 302, n. 7.

276. Ismā‘il b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Suddī died in 127/744[5]. See *Tahdhīb*, I, 313 f.; Horst, 302, n. 8.

277. For Abū Mālik Ghazwān al-Ghifārī, see *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 254 f.; Horst, 302, n. 10.

278. For Abū Šāliḥ Bādhām/n, known as *mawlā* of Umm Hānī’, see *Tahdhīb*, I, 416; Horst, 302, n. 9.

279. Murrah b. Sharāḥil died in 76/695[6] or after the battle of Dayr al-Jamājim (82/701). See *Tahdhīb*, X, 88 f.; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, IV, 1, 366; Horst, 302, n. 11.

280. The famous Qur’ān reader Ibn Mas‘ūd died in 32/652[3]. See *Tahdhīb*, VI, 27 f.; *Et²*, III, 873–75, s. v. Ibn Mas‘ūd, Horst, 202, n. 13.

281. For the full text of the tradition, see text below, I, 49, and *Tafsīr*, I, 152 (*ad Qur.* 2:29).

282. The plural seems indicated here, but see also text below, I, 50.

283. Cf. Qur. 41:12.

284. Cf. Qur. 79:30.

ation? he said: He was in a cloud with no air underneath or above it. Then He created His Throne upon the water. Thus, the Messenger of God reported that God created His Throne upon the water. It is impossible to assume that, seeing that He created it upon the water, He would have done so upon something nonexistent either before or simultaneously with it. If this is so, the Throne must necessarily have been created either after God created the water or simultaneously with it. That its creation should have been before the creation of the water cannot possibly be sound according to the tradition transmitted on the authority of Abū Razīn—the Prophet.

[37]

It has been said that the water was upon the back of the wind when God created His Throne upon it. If this is so, the water and the wind were created before the Throne.

Those who say that the water was upon the back of the wind

According to Ibn Wakī'—his father—Sufyān—al-A'mash—al-Minhāl b. 'Amr²⁸⁵—Sa'īd b. Jubayr: When Ibn 'Abbās was asked in connection with God's word: "His Throne was upon the water":²⁸⁶ Upon what was the water? he replied: Upon the back of the wind.²⁸⁷

According to Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-A'lā—Muḥammad b. Thawr—Ma'mar—al-A'mash—Sa'īd b. Jubayr: When Ibn 'Abbās was asked in connection with God's word: "His Throne was upon the water": Upon what was the water? he replied: Upon the back of the wind.

We were told the same by al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan—al-Ḥusayn b. Dāwūd—Hajjāj—Ibn Jurayj—Sa'īd b. Jubayr—Ibn 'Abbās.

He said²⁸⁸: The heavens and the earth and everything in them are encompassed by the oceans, and all of that is encompassed by the *haykal*,²⁸⁹ and the *haykal* reportedly is encompassed by the Footstool.

Those who said this

According to Muḥammad b. Sahl b. 'Askar—Ismā'il b. 'Abd al-

[38]

285. See *Tahdhīb*, X, 319-21.

286. Qur. 11:7.

287. For this and the two following traditions, see *Tafsīr*, XII, 4.

288. The subject is hardly Ṭabarī, but it seems not clear who might be meant.

289. The meaning of *haykal* assumed here cannot easily be explained from the ordinary meanings of the word (anything stout, body, temple). It could be "gigantic body."

Karīm—'Abd al-Ṣamad—Wahb, mentioning some of His majesty (as being describable as follows): The heavens and the earth and the oceans are in the *haykal*, and the *haykal* is in the Footstool. God's feet are upon the Footstool. He carries the Footstool. It became like a sandal on His feet. When Wahb was asked: What is the *haykal*? he replied: Something on the heavens' extremities that surrounds the earth and the oceans like the ropes that are used to fasten a tent. And when Wahb was asked how the earths are (constituted), he replied: They are seven earths that are flat and islands. Between each two earths, there is an ocean. All that is surrounded by the (surrounding) ocean,²⁹⁰ and the *haykal* is behind the ocean.

It has been said that there are a thousand years between God's creation of the Pen and His creation of all the rest.

Those who said this

According to al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan—al-Ḥusayn b. Dāwūd—Mubashshir al-Ḥalabī²⁹¹ —Arṭāh b. al-Mundhir²⁹² —Ḍamrah²⁹³ : God created the Pen and then wrote down with it whatever He was creating and all His creation that was going to be. This writing then praised and glorified God for a thousand years before He created anything else in His creation. Then, when God wanted to create the heavens and the earth, He reportedly created six days and called everyone of them by a different name. The name of one of those days reportedly is *a-b-j-d*, that of another *h-w-z*, that of the third *h-ṭ-y*, that of the fourth *k-l-m-n*, that of the fifth *s-'-f-ṣ*, and that of the sixth *q-r-sh-t*.²⁹⁴

Those who said this

According to al-Ḥadramī²⁹⁵ —Muṣarrif b. 'Amr al-Yāmī²⁹⁶ —

290. "Surrounding" (*muḥīṭ*) is the name of the ocean that surrounds the earth in the world view of medieval Muslim geographers.

291. Mubashshir b. Ismā'īl al-Ḥalabī died in 200/815[6]. See *Tahdhīb*, X, 31 f.

292. Arṭāh died in 162 or 163/778–80. See *Tahdhīb*, I, 198.

293. Ḍamrah b. Ḥabīb al-Ḥimṣī died in 130/747[8]. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 459 f.

294. That is, the letters of the alphabet as they are arranged in the old Jewish/Christian order. The last two sentences do not appear in the quotation of this tradition in *Tafsīr*, XII, 4.

295. Unidentified.

296. Muṣarrif al-Yāmī died in 240/854[5]. See *Tahdhīb*, X, 158.

Hafṣ b. Ghiyāth²⁹⁷ —al-'Alā' b. al-Musayyab²⁹⁸ —a man from the Kindah—al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Muzāḥim: God created the heavens and the earth in six days. There is no day that does not have a name: *a-b-j-z*, *h-w-z*, *ḥ-ṭ-y*, *k-l-m-n*, *s-'-f-ṣ*, and *q-r-sh-t*. [39]

According to (al-Ḥaḍramī), omitting Muṣarrif—Hafṣ—al-'Alā' b. al-Musayyab—a shaykh of the Kindah—al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Muzāḥim—Zayd b. Arqam²⁹⁹: God created the heavens and the earth in six days. Each day has a name: *a-b-j-d*, *h-w-z*, *ḥ-ṭ-y*, *k-l-m-n*, *s-'-f-ṣ*, and *q-r-sh-t*.

Others say: Rather, God created one (day) and called it "Sunday," a second and called it "Monday," a third and called it "Tuesday," a fourth and called it "Wednesday," and a fifth and called it "Thursday."³⁰⁰

Those who said this

According to Tamīm b. al-Muntaṣir—Ishāq (b. Yūsuf)—Sharīk (b. 'Abdallāh al-Nakha'ī)—Ghālib b. Ghallāb³⁰¹ —'Atā' b. Abī Rabāḥ³⁰² —Ibn 'Abbās: God created one day and called it "Sunday." Then He created a second and called it "Monday." Then He created a third and called it "Tuesday." Then He created a fourth and called it "Wednesday." Then He created a fifth and called it "Thursday."³⁰³

These two statements are not contradictory, since it is possible that the names of those days were in the language of the Arabs as stated by 'Atā', and in the language of others as stated by al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Muzāḥim.

It has been said that the days were seven, not six.

Those who said this

297. Born in 117/735, Hafṣ b. Ghiyāth died between 194 and 196/809-12. See *TB*, VIII, 188-200, *Tahdhīb*, II, 415-18.

298. See *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 192 f.

299. Zayd b. Arqam died in the second half of the sixties/684-88. See *Tahdhīb*, III, 394 f.

300. The inventor of this idea played on the fact that the days of the week from Sunday to Thursday are expressed in Arabic, as well as in Aramaic, by special numerals for one to five. This places Friday and Saturday in a category apart, since they are not expressed numerically.

301. Apparently not identifiable.

302. Born in the second year of the caliphate of 'Uthmān or in 27/647[8], 'Atā' b. Abī Rabāḥ died ca. 115/733. See *Tahdhīb*, VII, 199-203; *El²*, I, 730, s. v.; Horst, 295, n. 8.

303. See *Tafsīr*, XXIV, 61.

[40] According to Muḥammad b. Sahl b. 'Askar—Ismā'il b. 'Abd al-Karīm—'Abd al-Ṣamad b. Ma'qil—Wahb b. Munabbih: The days are seven.

Both statements—the one, transmitted by us from al-Ḍaḥḥāk and 'Atā', that God created six days, and the other from Wahb b. Munabbih that the days are seven—are sound and can be combined and are not contradictory. That is because the statement here by 'Atā' and al-Ḍaḥḥāk means that the days on which God created the creation from the time (*ḥīn*) He began the creation of heaven and earth and everything in them until He finished are six days, as God says: "It is He Who created the heavens and the earth in six days."³⁰⁴ The statement of Wahb b. Munabbih, on the other hand, means that the number of days constituting a week is seven, not six.

The early (scholars) differed with respect to the day on which God created the heavens and the earth. Some of them said: He began with it on Sunday.

Those who said this

According to Ishāq b. Shāhīn³⁰⁵ —Khālid b. 'Abdallāh³⁰⁶ —al-Shaybānī³⁰⁷ —'Awn b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Utbah³⁰⁸ —his brother 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Utbah³⁰⁹ —'Abdallāh b. Salām: God began the creation by creating the earth on Sunday and Monday.

According to al-Muthannā b. Ibrāhīm—'Abdallāh b. Ṣāliḥ³¹⁰ —Abū Ma'shar³¹¹ —Sa'īd b. Abī Sa'īd³¹² —'Abdallāh b. Salām: God

304. Qur. 11:7.

305. See *Tahdhīb*, I, 236 f.

306. Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Ṭaḥḥān lived from about 110/728[9] (or 115/733[4]) to about 179-82/795-98. See *TB*, VIII, 294 f.; *Tahdhīb*, III, 100 f.

307. Abū Ishāq Sulaymān b. Abī Sulaymān al-Shaybānī died ca. 140/757[8]. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 197 f.

308. See *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 171-73.

309. Died in the nineties/708-18. See *Tahdhīb*, VII, 23 f. *Tahdhīb* quotes Ṭabarī's highly favorable opinion of him.

310. Presumably, Abū Ṣāliḥ 'Abdallāh b. Ṣāliḥ, the secretary of al-Layth, who was born in 137 or 139/754-56 and died in 222 or 223/836-38. See *TB*, IX, 478-91; *Tahdhīb*, V, 256-61; Horst, 293, n. 3.

311. The author of a work on *maghāzī* ("raids"), Abū Ma'shar Najīḥ b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān died in 170/787. See *TB*, XIII, 457-62; *Tahdhīb*, X, 419-22; *EI*², I, 140, 8. v. Abū Ma'shar; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 191 f. Ṭabarī still knew his son Muhammad who died, ninety-nine years old, in 244 or 247/858-62. See *Tafsīr*, II, 182 (*ad Qur.* 2:204); *TB*, III, 326 f.; *Tahdhīb*, IX, 487 f.

312. Sa'īd b. Abī Sa'īd al-Maqburi appears to have died in the 120s/740-44. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 38-40.

began the creation by creating the earth on Sunday and Monday.³¹³

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Jarīr (b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd)—al-A'mash—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ka'b: God began with the creation of the heavens and the earth on Sunday and Monday.

[41]

According to Muḥammad b. Abī Mansūr al-Āmulī³¹⁴ —'Alī b. al-Haytham³¹⁵ —al-Musayyab b. Sharik³¹⁶ —Abū Rawq³¹⁷ —al-Ḍaḥḥāk, commenting on God's word: "It is He Who created the heavens and the earth in six days"³¹⁸ —of the other world where the extent of each day is a thousand years. He began the creation on Sunday.

According to al-Muthannā—al-Ḥajjāj³¹⁹ —Abū 'Awānah³²⁰ —Abū Bishr³²¹ —Mujāhid: He began the creation on Sunday.

Others said: The day on which God began with the creation is Saturday.

Those who said this

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah b. al-Faḍl—Muḥammad b. Ishāq: The people of the Torah say: God began the creation on Sunday, while the people of the Gospel say: God began the creation on Monday. We Muslims say, in accordance with what has come down to us from the Messenger of God: God began the creation on Saturday.

The statements of each of these two groups—the one saying that God began the creation on Sunday, and the other that God began the creation on Saturday—have been transmitted on the authority of the Messenger of God. We have mentioned both reports before

313. For the complete text of the tradition, see text below, I, 44, and *Tafsīr*, I, 153 (*ad Qur.* 2:29).

314. Unidentified.

315. None of the 'Alī b. al-Haytham listed in *TB*, XII, 118 f. and *Tahdhīb*, VII, 394, can be identified as the one meant here.

316. Al-Musayyab b. Sharik died during the caliphate of Hārūn al-Rashīd, in 185 or 186/801-2. See *TB*, XIII, 137-41; Ibn Hajar, *Lisān*, VI, 38 f.

317. For Abū Rawq 'Aṭīyyah b. al-Ḥārith, see *Tahdhīb*, VII, 224.

318. *Qur.* 11:7.

319. This is al-Ḥajjāj b. (al-)Minhāl who died in 216 or 217/831-32. See *Tahdhīb*, II, 206 f. He occurs, for instance, in *Tafsīr*, I, 168, l. 29, and XIV, 62, ll. 15 f. (*ad Qur.* 2:30 and 16:15).

320. Abū 'Awānah al-Waḍḍāḥ died in 176/792. See *Tahdhīb*, XI, 116-20; Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh*, IV, 2, 181.

321. Abū Bishr Ja'far b. Iyās died in the 120s/740-48. See *Tahdhīb*, II, 83 f.; Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 2, 186.

but shall repeat here some of the proofs for the soundness of the statements made by each of the two groups.

[42] The report on the Prophet's authority verifying the statement that the beginning of creation was on Sunday is what we were told by Hannād b. al-Sarī, who also said that he read all the *ḥadīth*³²² — Abū Bakr b. 'Ayyāsh—Abū Sa'd al-Baqqāl—'Ikrimah—Ibn 'Abbās: The Jews came to the Prophet and asked him about the creation of the heavens and the earth. He replied: God created the earth on Sunday and Monday.

The report on the Prophet's authority verifying the statement that the beginning of God's creation was on Saturday, is what I was told by al-Qāsim b. Bishr b. Ma'rūf and al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī al-Ṣudā'ī—Hajjāj—Ibn Jurayj—Ismā'īl b. Umayyah—Ayyūb b. Khālid—'Abdallāh b. Rāfi', the *mawlā* of Umm Salamah—Abū Hurayrah: The Messenger of God took me by the hand and said: God created the soil on Saturday. He created the mountains on Sunday.³²³

In my opinion, the statement here most likely to be correct is: The day on which God began the creation of the heavens and the earth is Sunday, because the early Muslim scholars agree on it.

[43] In his statement, Ibn Ishāq argued that it is as (he states, namely, that God began the creation on Saturday), on the basis of the assumption that God finished all His creation on Friday. It is the seventh day; on it, He sat straight on the Throne, and He made this day a festival for the Muslims. But as reported by us from him, Ibn Ishāq's proof by which, he assumed, he argued for the soundness of his statement, proves precisely that he made a mistake here. That is because God informed His servants in more than one passage of His revelation³²⁴ that He created the heavens and the earth and what is between them in six days. He says: "It is God Who created the heavens and the earth and what is between them in six days. Then He sat straight on the Throne. You have no friend or intercessor apart from Him. Will you not be mindful?"³²⁵ God also says: "Say: Do you really not believe in the One Who created the earth in two days, and set up others like him? That is the

322. See text above, I, 19, n. 159.

323. See text above, I, 20.

324. The Cairo edition reads: the unambiguous parts of His revelation.

325. Qur. 32:4.

Lord of the worlds. He made in it firmly anchored (mountains) above it and blessed it and decreed that it contain the amount of food it provides, (all) in four days, equally for those asking. Then He stretched out straight toward heaven, which was smoke, and said to it and to the earth: Come willingly or unwillingly! They said: We come willingly. He fashioned (heaven into) seven heavens in two days and revealed (in every heaven its command.³²⁶ We adorned the lower heaven with lamps, and for guarding. This is the decree of the One Mighty and Knowing.)³²⁷

There is no difference of opinion among all the scholars that the two days mentioned in God's word, "He fashioned it (into) seven heavens in two days," are included in the six days mentioned by Him before. Now then, God created the heavens and the earths and what is in them in six days. In addition, the reports on the authority of the Messenger of God that Adam was created last in God's creation and that He created him on Friday, clearly support each other. The conclusion is that Friday, on which God finished His creation, is included in the six days in which, God informs (us), He created His creation, for, if it were not included in the six days, He would have created His creation in seven days, and not in six. This is contrary to what is found in the divine revelation. Thus, since the matter is as we have described it, it is clear that the first day on which God began the creation of the heavens and the earth and what is in them was Sunday, since the last day was Friday. This makes six days as our Lord says.

[44]

The reports coming down from the Messenger of God and his companions that the creation was finished on Friday will be mentioned by us in their proper places, if God wills.

What God Created on Each of the Six Days on Which, as He Mentions in His Book, He Created the Heavens and the Earth and What Is between Them

The early Muslim scholars differed in this respect. Some of them say, as I was told by al-Muthannā b. Ibrāhīm—'Abdallāh b. Šāliḥ—Abū Ma'shar—Sa'īd b. Abī Sa'īd—'Abdallāh b. Salām: God began

³²⁶. See above, n. 199. The text enclosed in parentheses is supplied in the Cairo edition.

³²⁷. Qur. 41:9-12.

with the creation on Sunday. He created the earths on Sunday and Monday. He created food and the firmly anchored (mountains) on Tuesday and Wednesday. He created the heavens on Thursday and Friday, and He finished in the last hour of Friday, in which He created Adam in haste.³²⁸ That is the hour in which the Hour will come.³²⁹

According to Mūsā b. Hārūn—'Amr b. Hammād—Asbāt—al-Suddī—Abū Mālik and Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās. Also (al-Suddī)—Murrah al-Hamdānī—Ibn Mas'ūd and some (other) companions of the Prophet: He—meaning our Lord—made seven earths in two days, Sunday and Monday. He made on them "firmly anchored (mountains), lest (the earth) shake you up."³³⁰ He created the mountains on the earth and the food to provide for its inhabitants and its trees and whatever is required for it, on two days, Tuesday and Wednesday. "Then He stretched out straight toward heaven, which was smoke,"³³¹ and made it into one heaven. Then He split (this one heaven) up into seven heavens on two days, Thursday and Friday.

[45] According to Tamīm b. al-Muntaṣir—Ishāq (b. Yūsuf)—Sharīk (b. 'Abdallāh al-Nakha'ī)—Ghālīb b. Ghallāb—'Aṭā' b. Abī Rabāḥ—Ibn 'Abbās: God created the earth on two days, Sunday and Monday.

According to these statements, the earth was created before heaven, because, in their opinion, it was created on Sunday and Monday.

Others said: God created the earth with the food it provides before heaven, without spreading it out. "Then He stretched out straight toward heaven and fashioned it into seven heavens."³³² Thereafter, He spread out the earth.

Those who said this

According to 'Alī b. Dāwūd³³³ —Abū Ṣāliḥ ('Abdallāh b. Ṣāliḥ)—

328. Cf. Qur. 21:37. See below, n. 607.

329. See text above, I, 40, and *Tafsīr*, I, 153 (*ad Qur.* 2:29).

330. Qur. 16:15 and 31:10.

331. Qur. 41:11.

332. Qur. 2:29. The use of the same word "fashioned" for *sawwāhunna* here and *qaḏāhunna* in Qur. 41:12 (above, n. 327, etc.) appears justified.

333. 'Alī b. Dāwūd died in or before 272/885[6]. See *TB*, XI, 424 f.; *Tahdhīb*, VII, 317. In *Tafsīr*, I, 153 (*ad Qur.* 2:29), al-Muthannā takes his place in the *isnād*, but 'Alī b. Dāwūd appears in *Tafsīr*, XXX, 29 (*ad Qur.* 79:29–32).

Mu'āwiyah (b. Ṣāliḥ)—'Alī b. Abī Ṭalḥah³³⁴ —Ibn 'Abbās, commenting on God's word when He mentioned the creation of the earth before heaven and then mentioned heaven before earth: (It is explained by the fact that) He created the earth with the food it provides before heaven, without spreading it out. "Then He stretched out straight toward heaven and fashioned it into seven heavens."³³⁵ Thereafter, He spread out the earth. This is (meant by) God's word: "And it was the earth that He spread out thereafter."³³⁶

According to Muḥammad b. Sa'd³³⁷ —his father—his paternal uncle—his father—his father—Ibn 'Abbās, commenting on: "And it was the earth that He spread out thereafter. He brought forth from it its water and its pasture, and the mountains He anchored firmly."³³⁸ It means that He created the heavens and the earth. When He had finished with heaven before creating food of the earth, He spread the food on it after creating heaven. And He firmly anchored the mountains. This is meant by "spreading it out." The food and the plants of the earth used to be good only on the night and the day.³³⁹ This is (meant by) God's word: "And it was the earth that He spread out thereafter." Have you not heard that He continues: "He brought forth from it its water and its pasture"³⁴⁰ ?

334. According to Khalifah, *Ṭabaqāt*, 312, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalḥah died in 120/737[8]. According to the lost History of Himṣ by Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Isā (see Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*², 467), he died in 143/760[1]. *Tahdhīb*, VII, 339–41, prefers the latter date, but also refers to Khalifah. Bukhārī, *Ta'riḥ*, III, 2, 281 f., states that he visited the caliph Abū al-'Abbās (al-Saffāḥ), who died in 754. A plausible date for Ibn Abī Ṭalḥah's death would seemingly be ca. 750, if one also takes into account the surrounding authorities in the chain of transmitters. See also Horst, 293, n. 5.

335. Qur. 2:29.

336. Qur. 79:30. For the quotations in *Tafsīr*, see above, n. 333.

337. As indicated in *IE*², III, 922b, s. v. Ibn Sa'd, with reference to Horst, 294, this is not the author of the *Ṭabaqāt*. It is Muḥammad b. Sa'd b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Aṭīyyah b. Sa'd b. Junādah al-'Awfī, who died in 276/889 (*TB*, V, 322 f.). His father Sa'd b. Muḥammad is listed in *TB*, IX, 126. Sa'd's paternal uncle al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan died in 201 or 202/816–18 (*TB*, VIII, 29–32). Al-Ḥusayn's father al-Ḥasan b. 'Aṭīyyah died in 181/797 (*Tahdhīb*, II, 294), and 'Aṭīyyah b. Sa'd died in 111/729[30] (*Tahdhīb*, VII, 224–26). A family *isnād* as complete as this is most remarkable.

338. Qur. 79:30–32.

339. Only when the heaven and the sun and the moon were in existence could the food-producing plants really prosper.

340. Qur. 79:30 f. See *Tafsīr*, XXX, 29.

[46] Abū Ja'far (al-Tabarī) says: Regarding this, the correct statement, in our opinion, is the one of those who said: God created the earth on Sunday. He created the heaven on Thursday, and He created the stars and the sun and the moon on Friday. (We consider it correct) because of the soundness of the report mentioned by us earlier on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās from the Messenger of God. The tradition transmitted to us on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās is not impossible. It says that God created the earth but did not spread it out. Then He created the heavens "and fashioned them (into seven heavens),"³⁴¹ and thereafter "spread out" the earth. "He then brought forth from it its water and its pasture, and the mountains He anchored firmly." Indeed, in my opinion this is the correct statement. That is because the meaning of "spreading out" is different from that of "creating." God says: "Are you more difficult to create than the heaven He constructed? He raised high its roof and fashioned it. He darkened its night and brought forth its morning. And it was the earth He spread out thereafter. He brought forth from it its water and its pasture, and the mountains He anchored firmly."³⁴²

Someone might say: You realize that a number of interpreters have considered God's word: "And it was the earth that He spread out *thereafter*," to mean: "He spread out *simultaneously*" (attributing to the preposition *ba'da* "after" the meaning of *ma'a* "together [simultaneous] with"). Now, what is your evidence for the soundness of your statement that we have here the meaning of "after," the opposite of "before"? The reply would be: The meaning of "after" generally known in Arab speech, as we have said, is that of the opposite of "before," and not "simultaneous with." Now, word meanings considered applicable are those that are preponderant and generally known among speakers (of a language), and no others are.³⁴³

It has been said that God created the Ancient House (the Ka'bah) upon the water on four pillars. He did this two thousand years

341. Qur. 2:29.

342. Qur. 79:27-32.

343. See *Tafsīr*, XXX, 30 (*ad* Qur. 79:30). It is one of Tabarī's exegetical principles that, unless there are reasons to the contrary, the most common and best-known meanings of words as used by the Arabs are applicable to the speech of God. See, for instance, *Tafsīr*, XII, 25 (*ad* Qur. 11:40). See also text below, I, 56.

before He created this world, and the earth was then spread out underneath it.

Those who said this

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Ya'qūb al-Qummī³⁴⁴ —Ja'far³⁴⁵ —'Ikrimah—Ibn 'Abbās: The House was founded upon the water on four pillars two thousand years before (God) created this world. The earth was then spread out underneath the House.³⁴⁶

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Mihrān³⁴⁷ —Sufyān (al-Thawrī)—al-A'mash—Bukayr b. al-Akhnas³⁴⁸ —Mujāhid—'Abdallāh b. 'Umar: God created the House two thousand years before the earth, and from it, the earth was spread out.

If this is so, the earth was created before the heavens were created, and the earth "spread out"—*d-h-w* in the sense of *b-s-t* — with its food, its pastures, and its plants after the creation of the heavens, as mentioned by us on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Mihrān—Abū Sinān³⁴⁹ —Abū Bakr³⁵⁰ : The Jews came to the Prophet and said: Muḥammad, inform us about the creation created by God in these six days! The Prophet replied: He created the earth on Sunday and Monday. He created the mountains on Tuesday. He created the cities, food, the rivers, and the cultivated and barren land on Wednesday. He created the heavens and the angels on Thursday continuing to the last three hours of Friday. In the first of these three hours, He created the terms (of human life), in the second, harm, and in the

344. Ya'qūb b. 'Abdallāh al-Qummī died in 174/790–91. See *Tahdhīb*, XI, 390 f.; Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh*, IV, 2, 391; Abū Nu'aym, *Akhbār Iṣbahān*, II, 351 f. Ya'qūb is mentioned as one of Ibn Ḥumayd's authorities in *TB*, II, 259, 1. 3.

345. Ja'far b. Abī al-Mughīrah al-Qummī is listed *Tahdhīb*, II, 108.

346. For this and the following tradition, see *Tafsīr*, XXX, 29 (*ad Qur.* 79:30–32). Cf. also *Tafsīr*, IV, 7 (*ad Qur.* 3:96).

347. For Abū 'Abdallāh Mihrān b. Abī 'Umar al-'Aṭṭār al-Rāzī, see *Tahdhīb*, X, 327; Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh*, IV, 1, 429; Horst, 296, n. 12.

348. See *Tahdhīb*, I, 489 f.

349. Abū Sinān has the gentile al-Shaybānī and is equated in the index of Ṭabarī with Abū Sinān Ḍirār b. Murrah al-Shaybānī, who died in 132/749[50]. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 457; Khalīfah, *Ṭabaqāt*, 165.

350. The available data seem consistent with the possible equation of this person with Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallāh, who was a transmitter of 'Ikrimah and Shahr b. Hawshab. See text below, I, 1006, and I, 245 f. Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallāh could possibly be the best-known bearer of the name, Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Maryam, who died in 156/773. See Bukhārī, *Kunā*, 9, no. 55; *Tahdhīb*, XII, 28–30, who has 256. He may, however, be just another unidentified individual.

[48] third, Adam. The Jews said: You speak the truth, if you finish (the statement). The Prophet realized what they had in mind. He got angry, and God revealed: "And fatigue did not touch Us. So be patient with what they say."³⁵¹

Someone might say: If it is as you have described, namely, that God created the earth before heaven, then what is the meaning of the statement of Ibn 'Abbās told all of you by Wāṣil b. 'Abd al-A'lā al-Asadī—Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl—al-A'mash—Abū Zabyān—Ibn 'Abbās: The first thing created by God is the Pen. God then said to it: Write!, whereupon the Pen asked: What shall I write, my lord? God replied: Write what is predestined! He continued. And the Pen proceeded to (write) whatever is predestined and going to be to the Coming of the Hour. God then lifted up the water vapor and split the heavens off from it. Then God created the fish (*nūn*), and the earth was spread out upon its back. The fish became agitated, with the result that the earth was shaken up. It was steadied by means of the mountains, for they indeed proudly (tower) over the earth.³⁵²

I was told about the same by Wāṣil—Wakī'—al-A'mash—Abū Zabyān—Ibn 'Abbās.

According to Ibn al-Muthannā—Ibn Abī 'Adī—Shu'bah—Sulaymān (al-A'mash ?)—Abū Zabyān—Ibn 'Abbās: The first (thing) created by God is the Pen. It proceeded to (write) whatever is going to be. (God) then lifted up the water vapor, and the heavens were created from it. Then He created the fish, and the earth was spread out on its back. The fish moved, with the result that the earth was shaken up. It was steadied by means of the mountains, for the mountains indeed proudly (tower) over the earth. So he said, and he recited: "Nūn. By the Pen and what they write."³⁵³

I was told the same by Tamīm b. al-Muntaṣir—Ishāq (b. Yūsuf)—Sharīk (b. 'Abdallāh al-Nakha'ī)—al-A'mash—Abū Zabyān or Mujāhid³⁵⁴—Ibn 'Abbās, with the exception, however, that he

351. Qur. 50:38 f. See also text above, I, 19 ff.

352. For the first half of this tradition, see text above, I, 30, and n. 241, referring to *Tafsīr*, XXIX, 10 (*ad* Qur. 68:1-3), where this tradition as well as the following *isnād* occurs.

353. Qur. 68:1; *Tafsīr*, XXIX, 9. See also text above, I, 30 f.

354. For "or" the Leiden edition has "on the authority of," which may not be impossible, but the evidence seems to be against it. See text above, I, 31, and *Tafsīr*, XXIX, 9.

said: And the heavens were split off from it (instead of: were created).

According to Ibn Bashshār—Yaḥyā³⁵⁵—Sufyān—Sulaymān (al-A'mash ?)—Abū Zabyān—Ibn 'Abbās: The first (thing) created by God is the Pen. God said: Write!, whereupon the Pen asked: What shall I write? God replied: Write what is predestined! He continued. And (the Pen) proceeded to (write) whatever is predestined and going to be from that day on to the Coming of the Hour. Then God created the fish. He lifted up the water vapor, and heaven was split off from it, and the earth was spread out upon the back of the fish. The fish became agitated, and as a result, the earth was shaken up. It was steadied by means of the mountains, he continued, for they proudly (tower) over the the earth. [49]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Jarīr (b. 'Abd al-Ḥamid)—'Aṭā' b. al-Sā'ib—Abū al-Ḍuḥā Muslim b. Ṣubayḥ—Ibn 'Abbās: The first thing created by God is the Pen. God said to it: Write!, and it wrote whatever is going to be until the Coming of the Hour. Then God created the fish upon the water. Then he heaped up the earth upon it.³⁵⁶

This reportedly is a sound tradition as transmitted on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās and on the authority of others in the sense commented upon and explained and does not contradict anything transmitted by us from him on this subject.

Should someone³⁵⁷ ask: What comment on his authority and that of others proves the soundness of what you have transmitted to us in this sense on his authority? he should be referred to what I have been told by Mūsā b. Hārūn al-Ḥamdānī and others—'Amr b. Ḥammād—Asbāṭ b. Naṣr—al-Suddī—Abū Mālik and Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās. Also (al-Suddī)—Murrah al-Ḥamdānī—'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd and some (other) companions of the Messenger of God (commenting on): "He is the One Who created for you all that is on earth. Then He stretched out straight toward the heaven and fashioned it into seven heavens."³⁵⁸ God's Throne was upon the water. He had not created anything except what He created before

355. Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd b. Farrūkh al-Qaṭṭān was born at the beginning of the year 120/Dec. 737-Jan. 738. He died in 198/313. See *TB*, XIV, 135-44; *Tahdhīb*, XI, 216-20.

356. See text above, I, 31.

357. Lit., "he," possibly referring to a particular individual (?).

358. Qur. 2:29.

[50] the water.³⁵⁹ When He wanted to create the creation, He brought forth smoke from the water. The smoke rose above the water and hovered loftily over it. He therefore called it "heaven."³⁶⁰ Then He dried out the water, and thus made it one earth. He split it and made it into seven earths on Sunday and Monday. He created the earth upon a (big) fish (*ḥūt*), that being the fish (*nūn*) mentioned by God in the Qur'ān: "*Nūn*. By the Pen."³⁶¹ The fish was in the water. The water was upon the back of a (small) rock. The rock was upon the back of an angel. The angel was upon a (big) rock. The (big) rock—the one mentioned by Luqmān³⁶²—was in the wind, neither in heaven nor on earth. The fish moved and became agitated. As a result, the earth quaked, whereupon He firmly anchored the mountains on it, and it was stable. The mountains proudly (tower) over the earth. This is stated in God's word that He made for the earth "firmly anchored (mountains), lest it shake you up."³⁶³

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) says: The statement of those mentioned by me that God brought forth smoke from the water when He wanted to create the heavens and earth, that the smoke hovered loftily over it, by which is meant that it was high over the water, since everything that is high above another thing is its "heaven"; that He then dried out the water and made it one earth, indicates that God created heaven unfashioned before the earth and then created the earth. If it is as they say, it is not impossible that God stirred up smoke from the water and raised it high over the water, so that it became a heaven for it. Then He dried out the water, and the smoke that hovered loftily over it became an earth. But God did not spread it out and did not decree that it contain the food it provides, nor did He bring forth from it its water and its pasture, until He stretched out straight toward the heaven which was the smoke stirring from the water and rising high above it,

359. See text above, I, 36.

360. The verb *samā* means "to hover loftily," and the noun *samā'* means "heaven." If there is an etymological connection between them, it probably was in the opposite direction, that is, the verb was derived from the noun.

361. Qur. 68:1. *Ḥūt* appears in the Qur'ān also in connection with Jonah. There is no discernible distinction in meaning between *ḥūt* and *nūn*, the latter being the ancient Semitic word.

362. See Qur. 31:16 and *Tafsīr*, XXI, 46, on this verse.

363. Qur. 16:15. For the tradition in *Tafsīr*, see above, n. 281.

and He fashioned it into seven heavens. Then He spread out the earth which was water and dried the water out. Then He split the earth, making it into seven earths, and decreed that it contain the amount of food it provides and "brought forth from it its water and its pasture, and the mountains He anchored firmly," as God says.³⁶⁴ Thus, everything transmitted by us concerning this subject on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās has a sound meaning. [51]

Monday: We have mentioned before the difference of opinion among scholars as to what He created on it and what has been transmitted concerning the subject on the authority of the Messenger of God.³⁶⁵

What God created on Tuesday and Wednesday: We have also mentioned some of the information that has been transmitted concerning this subject. Here we shall mention some information not mentioned by us before. In our opinion, the sound report in this connection is what I was told by Mūsā b. Hārūn—'Amr b. Ḥammād—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī—Abū Mālik and Abū Šāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās. Also (al-Suddī)—Murrah al-Hamdānī—'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd and some (other) companions of the Messenger of God: God created the mountains on it—meaning the earth—and the food it provides for its inhabitants and its trees and whatever else is required for it on two days, Tuesday and Wednesday. That is when God says: "Say: Do you really not believe in the One Who created the earth in two days, and set up others like Him? That is the Lord of the worlds. He made in it firmly anchored (mountains) above it and blessed it and decreed that it contain the amount of food it provides, all in four days, equally for those asking"—that is, those who ask (will find that) it is so.³⁶⁶ "Then He stretched out straight toward heaven, which was smoke"³⁶⁷—that smoke came from the water's breathing—and made it into one heaven. Then He split (this one heaven) up into seven heavens on two days, Thursday and Friday.

According to al-Muthannā—Abū Šāliḥ—Abū Ma'shar—Sa'īd b. Abī Sa'īd—'Abdallāh b. Salām: God created food and the firmly

364. Qur. 79:31 f.

365. The reference may be to text above, I, 47.

366. See above, n. 163.

367. Qur. 41:9-11.

anchored (mountains) on Tuesday and Wednesday.³⁶⁸

[52] According to Tamīm b. al-Muntaṣir—Ishāq (b. Yūsuf) —Sharīk (b. ‘Abdallāh al-Nakha‘ī)—Ghālib b. Ghallāb—‘Aṭā’ b. Abī Rabāḥ—Ibn ‘Abbās: God created the mountains on Tuesday. That is why people say: It is a heavy day.³⁶⁹

Abū Ja‘far (al-Ṭabarī) says: In our opinion, the sound statement concerning this subject is the tradition transmitted by us on the authority of the Prophet who said: God created the mountains and the uses they possess on Tuesday. On Wednesday, He created trees, water, cities, and the cultivated and barren land. We were told this by Hannād—Abū Bakr b. ‘Ayyāsh—Abū Sa‘d al-Baqqāl—Ṭkrimah—Ibn ‘Abbās—the Prophet.³⁷⁰

It has been transmitted on the authority of the Prophet that God created the mountains on Sunday. He created the trees on Monday. He created evil on Tuesday. He created the light on Wednesday. I was told this by al-Qāsim b. Bishr b. Ma‘rūf and al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī al-Ṣudā‘ī—Ḥajjāj—Ibn Surayj—Ismā‘īl b. Umayyah—Ayyūb b. Khālid—‘Abdallāh b. Rāfi‘, the *mawlā* of Umm Salamah—Abū Hurayrah—the Prophet.³⁷¹

The first report³⁷² is sounder with respect to the source situation (*makhrajan*) and more likely to be true, because it is what most of the early (scholars) say.

Thursday: He created on it the heavens, which were compressed but then were split,³⁷³ as I was told by Mūsā b. Hārūn—‘Amr b. Hammād—Asbāt—al-Suddī—Abū Mālik and Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn ‘Abbās. Also (al-Suddī)—Murrah al-Hamdānī—‘Abdallāh b. Mas‘ūd and some (other) companions of the Prophet (commenting on): “Then He stretched out straight toward heaven, which was smoke”³⁷⁴—that smoke came from the water’s breathing—and made it into one heaven. Then He split (this one heaven) into seven heavens on two days, Thursday and Friday.

368. See text above, I, 44.

369. See *Tafsīr*, XXIV, 61, ll. 26 f. (*ad Qur.* 41:6), and above, n. 174. “Heavy” may not be intended to refer to the great weight of mountains but rather to the evil character of Tuesday.

370. See text above, I, 19.

371. See text above, I, 20.

372. That is, the one of Mūsā b. Hārūn; see text above, I, 51.

373. Cf. *Qur.* 21:30.

374. *Qur.* 41:11.

Friday—*yawm al-jum'ah* —is thus called because on it, God put together (*j-m-'*) the creation of the heavens and the earth and "revealed in every heaven its command."³⁷⁵ He continued: In every heaven, He created its (special) angels as well as its (special) oceans, the mountains with hail,³⁷⁶ and what (man) does not know.³⁷⁷ He then adorned the lower heaven with the stars and made them an ornament and guard to guard against the Satans.³⁷⁸ When He completed creating whatever He pleased, He sat straight on the Throne. That is when He says: "He created the heavens and the earth in six days,"³⁷⁹ and: "The two were compressed, and We split them apart."³⁸⁰

According to al-Muthannā—Abū Šāliḥ ('Abdallāh b. Šāliḥ) —Abū Ma'shar—Sa'īd b. Abī Sa'īd—'Abdallāh b. Salām: God created the heavens on Thursday and Friday, and He finished in the last hour of Friday, in which He created Adam in haste. This is the hour in which the Hour will come.³⁸¹

According to Tamīm b. al-Muntaṣir—Ishāq (b. Yūsuf)—Sharīk (b. 'Abdallāh al-Nakha'ī)—Ghālib b. Ghallāb—'Aṭā' b. Abī Rabāḥ—Ibn 'Abbās: God created the places for rivers and trees on Wednesday. He created the birds, the wild animals, reptiles, and beasts of prey on Thursday, and He created man on Friday. He finished creating everything on Friday.

In our opinion, the sound view is represented by the statement of those mentioned by us that God created the heavens, the angels, and Adam on Thursday and Friday. That is because of the report told us by Hannād b. al-Sarī, who also said that he read all of the *ḥadīth*³⁸² —Abū Bakr b. 'Ayyāsh—Abū Sa'īd (!) al-Baqqāl—'Ikrimah—Ibn 'Abbās—the Prophet: On Thursday He created heaven. On Friday He created the stars, the sun, the moon, and the angels, until three hours remained of it. In the first of these three hours, He created the terms (of human life), who would live

[54]

375. Qur. 41:12, see above, n. 199. For the etymology of "Friday" involved here, see text below, I, 113–15. Cf. also Mas'ūdi, *Murūj*, I, 48.

376. Cf. Qur. 24:43.

377. Cf. Qur. 96:5.

378. Cf. Qur. 37:6 f. and 41:12.

379. Qur. 11:7.

380. Qur. 21:30.

381. See text above, I, 44.

382. See above, n. 159.

and who would die. In the second, He cast harm upon everything that is useful for mankind. And in the third, He (created) Adam and had him dwell in Paradise. He commanded Iblīs to prostrate himself (before Adam), and He drove Adam out of Paradise at the end of the hour.³⁸³

According to al-Qāsim b. Bishr and al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī al-Ṣudā'ī—Ḥajjāj—Ibn Jurayj—Ismā'īl b. Umayyah—Ayyūb b. Khālid—'Abd-allāh b. Rāfi', the *mawlā* of Umm Salamah—Abū Hurayrah: The Messenger of God took me by the hand and said: He scattered on it—meaning the earth—the animals on Thursday, and He created Adam after (the time of) the afternoon prayer of Friday as the last of His creatures in the last hour of Friday, in the time between the afternoon prayer and night(fall).³⁸⁴

[55] Now then, God created the creation in six days, from the beginning of the creation of the heavens and the earth to the time He finished creating all creatures. Each day of the six in which He created them corresponds to a thousand of the years of this world. Between His beginning His creation of (all) that and the creation of the Pen, which He commanded to write whatever is going to be to the Coming of the Hour, there are a thousand years—one of the days of the other world, each of which corresponds to a thousand years of this world. The conclusion is that the time elapsed from when our Lord first began creating His creatures to when He finished the last of them is seven thousand years, give, if God wills, or take a little. That is according to the traditions and reports transmitted by us which we have mentioned.³⁸⁵ We have omitted many of them, because we do not like the book to become too long by mentioning (all this information).

If this is so, and if it is sound that, as proved by us earlier with the help of evidential statements, there is a duration of seven thousand years, give or take a little, from (the time) when our Lord finished His creation of all His creatures to the moment of the annihilation of all of them, the conclusion must be drawn that the time elapsed from when God first created His creation to the Coming of the Hour and the annihilation of the entire world extends over fourteen thousand of the years of this world, or fourteen of

383. See text above, I, 19 f.

384. See text above, I, 20.

385. See text above, I, 8 ff.

the days of the other world. Seven of these days—that is, seven thousand of the years of this world—represent the time elapsed from when God first began creating His first creatures to when He finished the creation of the last of them—namely, Adam, the father of mankind. The other seven days—that is, seven thousand of the years of this world—represent the period from when God finished the creation of His last creature—that is, Adam—to the annihilation of all His creatures and the Coming of the Hour and the return of everything to the state in which it was before there was anyone except the Eternal One, the Creator, Whose “are the creation and the command,”³⁸⁶ Who was before everything, and there was nothing before Him, and Who will be after everything, and nothing will remain except His noble face.

Someone might say: What proof do you have for stating that each of the six days in which God created His creation corresponds to a thousand of the years of this world, and none (of those days) is like the days of the inhabitants of this world commonly known among them (as “days”) ? God merely says: “The One Who created the heavens and the earth and what is between them in six days.”³⁸⁷ He gave us no information that it is as you say. Rather, He informed us that He created that in six days, and the days commonly known (as “days”) among those addressed here are the days that begin with sunrise and last until sunset. You also say that whatever God says in addressing His servants in His revelation is meant to be understood according to its most common and preponderant meaning, but now you propose to understand the information given by God in His Book concerning the creation of the heavens and the earth and what is between them in six days according to a meaning of “day” that is not commonly known. When God wants to bring something into being, His command is completely effective, and thus it cannot be said that He created the heavens and the earth and what is between them in six days whose measure is six thousand of the years of this world. When He wants something to be, He commands it to be by just saying: “Be! And it is.”³⁸⁸ This is as our Lord says: “And Our command is

[56]

386. Qur. 7:54.

387. Qur. 25:59.

388. Qur. 2:117, etc.

but one³⁸⁹ like a glance of the eye."³⁹⁰

The reply would be: Earlier in this book of ours we said that with respect to most of what we set down in it, we rely upon the traditions and reports on the authority of our Prophet and that of the righteous early Muslims before us, and we do not use reason and thinking for producing (the book), for most of its contents is information about past matters and events that are going to be. Knowledge of this sort cannot be produced and obtained by the use of reason.³⁹¹

Should he ask whether there is proof from reported information (*khabar*) for the soundness of (the equation of "day" with a thousand years), the answer would be: It is something that according to our knowledge has not been contradicted by any leading religious authority.

Should he ask whether there is information transmitted on the authority of one of the leading scholars, the answer would be: Knowledge of it among early Muslim scholars is too common to require transmission attributed to one individual among them personally. It has been transmitted on the authority of a number of them mentioned personally by name. If he then asks to mention some of them, the answer is:

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Hakkām³⁹² —'Anbasah³⁹³ —Simāk³⁹⁴ —'Ikrimah—Ibn 'Abbās, commenting on: God "created the heavens and the earth in six days"³⁹⁵ —of which each day is like "one thousand years of your counting."³⁹⁶

According to Ibn Wakī'—his father—Isrā'īl³⁹⁷ —Simāk—'Ikri-

389. The feminine *wāḥidah* ("one") has no explicit referent, but it seems fairly certain that the referent is intended to be *lamḥah* ("glance") in the singular, anticipating the following collective *lamḥ*. Thus, it means: (as quick) as a single glance of the eye. *Tafsīr*, XXVII, 66 (*ad Qur.* 54:50) explains: "a single irrefutable utterance (*qawlah*) as quick and immediate (as a glance of the eye)." Among the modern translators of the Qur'ān, A. J. Arberry follows Ṭabarī and translates "one word." R. Paret has "one action," and R. Bell offers the preferable "one flash."

390. *Qur.* 54:50.

391. See text above, I, 6 ff.

392. Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān Hakkām b. Salm al-Rāzī died after 190/805[6] in Mecca. See *TB*, VIII, 281 f.; *Tahdhīb*, II, 422, f.; Horst, 299, n. 7.

393. According to *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 155, he was 'Anbasah b. Sa'īd b. al-Ḍurays.

394. Simāk b. Harb died in 123/740[1]. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 232-34.

395. *Qur.* II:7.

396. See *Tafsīr*, XXI, 58 (*ad Qur.* 32:5).

397. Born in 100/718[9], Isrā'īl b. Yūnus died in the early 160s/776-799. See *TB*, VII, 20-25; *Tahdhīb*, I, 261-63.

mah—Ibn 'Abbās, commenting on: "In a day whose measure is a thousand years of your counting,"³⁹⁸ as follows: The six days on which God created the heavens and the earth.

According to 'Abdah³⁹⁹ —al-Husayn b. al-Faraj⁴⁰⁰ —Abū Mu'ādh⁴⁰¹ —'Ubayd⁴⁰² —al-Ḍaḥḥāk concerning God's word: "In a day whose measure is a thousand years of your counting": He means the day of the six days in which God created the heavens and the earth and what is between them.

According to al-Muthannā—'Alī (b. al-Haytham)—al-Musayyab b. Sharīk—Abū Rawq—al-Ḍaḥḥāk, commenting on: "And He is the One Who created the heavens and the earth in six days"⁴⁰³ —of the days of the other world. The measure of each day is a thousand years. He began with the creation on Sunday, and the creation was all together on Friday (*ijtima'a - jum'ah*).⁴⁰⁴

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Jarīr (b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd)—al-A'mash—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ka'b: God began the creation of the heavens and the earth on Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday. He finished on Friday. He continued: God made each day equal to a thousand years.

According to al-Muthannā—al-Ḥajjāj—Abū 'Awānah—Abū Bishr—Mujāhid: One of the six days is "like a thousand years of your counting."⁴⁰⁵

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398. Qur. 32:5. See *Tafsīr*, XXI, 58.

399. *Tafsīr*, XXI, 58 starts the *isnād* with: "I was told by al-Husayn b. al-Faraj," as is commonly found in *Tafsīr*. Elsewhere, we find 'Abdān al-Marwazī instead of 'Abdah (see text below, I, 80); further 'Abdah al-Marwazī (I, 96), 'Abdān b. Muḥammad al-Marwazī (I, 117), and 'Abdān al-Marwazī (I, 312), apparently all referring to the same individual. However, he appears unidentifiable under any form of the name. *TB*, XI, 135 f., has a certain 'Abdān b. Muḥammad al-Marwazī (b. 220/835, d. 293/906), a transmitter of Muqātil's *Tafsīr*, but he belonged to the generation of Ṭabarī and was himself a student of Abū Kurayb and an authority of the Ṭabarī biographer Ibn Kāmil. He could hardly be meant here. See also Horst, 304.

400. Al-Husayn b. al-Faraj does not seem to be safely identifiable with al-Husayn b. al-Faraj al-Khayyāṭ. See *TB*, VIII, 84–86; Ibn Abi Ḥātim, I, 2, 62; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān*, II, 307; Horst, 304, n. 7.

401. As indicated by Horst, 304, n. 8, Abū Mu'ādh al-Faḍl b. Khālid (see text below, I, 80) died around 211/826[7]. See Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyah*, II, 9; Ibn Abi Ḥātim, III, 2, 61.

402. 'Ubayd (wrongly, it seems, 'Ubaydallāh, see text below, I, 80) b. Sulaymān is briefly listed in *Tahdhīb*, VII, 67; Ibn Abi Ḥātim, II, 2, 408; Horst, 304, n. 9.

403. Qur. 11:7.

404. *Tafsīr*, XII, 4 (*ad* Qur. 11:7) contains a version of the tradition whose *isnād* omits the first two links mentioned above.

405. Qur. 32:5.

So it is. There is no point to someone's asking: How can God be described as having created the heavens and the earth and what is between them in six days, seeing that when He wants something to be, He commands it to be just by saying: "Be! And it is." (The reason why such a question would be pointless is) because whatever can be imagined as covered by such a statement is also covered by a statement such as: He created all of that in six days whose duration corresponds to that of six days of this world, because when He wants something to be, He commands it to be just by saying: "Be! And it is."⁴⁰⁶

*Night and Day: Which Was Created before the
Other? The Beginning of the Creation of the Sun
and the Moon and a Description of Them, as
Time Is Known Through Them*

Regarding God's creation, we have mentioned the things which He created before He created momentary and extended time. We have explained that momentary and created time is but the hours of night and day, and that is but the traversal by the sun and the moon of the degrees of the sphere.⁴⁰⁷ Now, let us ask which came first, night or day? Differences of opinion exist among those who speculate on the subject. Some say that God created night before day, using as evidence for the truth of this statement that when the sun sets and its luminosity, which is identical with daytime, is gone, night comes suddenly with its darkness. It must be concluded that the luminosity (of the sun) is what descends upon the night and that, without the day descending upon the night and obliterating it, the night would be stable. This being the case with regard to night and day is proof that the night was created first and that the sun was created later. This is expressed in a statement transmitted on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās. According to

[59]

406. Qur. 2:117, etc. Ṭabarī argues here that the creation word of God is timeless and leaves open the question of how much time in human terms might be involved in any particular aspect of creation. Thus, if there is a tradition about "days" meaning thousands of years, it is not irreconcilable with God's immediacy of creation and is as acceptable as any other tradition or chronological framework may be.

407. See text above, I, 18.

Ibn Bashshār—'Abd al-Rahmān (b. Maḥdī)—Sufyān (al-Thawrī)—his father⁴⁰⁸—'Ikrimah—Ibn 'Abbās: Asked whether the night existed before the day, (Ibn 'Abbās?) replied: Don't you see! When the heavens and the earth were compressed,⁴⁰⁹ was there anything but darkness between them? This is meant for you to realize that the night existed before the day.

According to al-Hasan b. Yaḥyā⁴¹⁰—'Abd al-Razzāq⁴¹¹—(Sufyān) al-Thawrī—his father—'Ikrimah—Ibn 'Abbās: The night is before the day. Then he said: "The two were compressed, and We then split them apart."⁴¹²

According to Muḥammad b. Bashshār—Wahb b. Jarīr—his father⁴¹³—Yaḥyā b. Ayyūb⁴¹⁴—Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb⁴¹⁵—Marthad b. 'Abdallāh al-Yazānī⁴¹⁶: Whenever 'Uqbah b. 'Āmir⁴¹⁷ saw the new moon, that is, the new moon of Ramaḍān, he did not spend that very night in prayer (but waited) until he had fasted the following day and thereafter spent the nights in prayer. When I mentioned this to Ibn Ḥujayrah,⁴¹⁸ he said: The night before the day or the day before the night?⁴¹⁹

Others said: Day was before night. For the soundness of this statement of theirs they used as evidence (the argument) that God existed while there was neither night nor day and nothing at all except Him, and that it was His light with which He illuminated everything He created after having created it, until He created night.

408. Sa'īd b. Masrūq died between 126 and 128/743-746. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 82.

409. Cf. Qur. 21:30. In commenting on this Qur'ānic passage, Ṭabarī decided in favor of another interpretation. See *Tafsīr*, XVII, 15.

410. Died in 263/877 in his eighties. See *Tahdhīb*, II, 324 f.; Horst, 296, n. 2.

411. 'Abd al-Razzāq b. Hammām lived from 126/743[4] to 211/827. See *Tahdhīb*, VI, 310-15; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 99; Horst, 296, n. 11.

412. Qur. 21:30. The tradition appears in *Tafsīr*, XVII, 15.

413. Jarīr b. Ḥāzīm died in 175/791[2] in his eighties. See *Tahdhīb*, II, 69-72.

414. Died in 168/784 [5]. See *Tahdhīb*, XI, 186-88.

415. Born in 53/672[3], Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb died in 128/745[6]. See *Tahdhīb*, XI, 318 f.

416. Died in 90/708[9]. See *Tahdhīb*, X, 82.

417. 'Uqbah died at the end of Mu'āwiyah's caliphate in 58/677[8]. See *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 242-44; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istī'āb*, III, 1073 f.

418. Apparently, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ḥujayrah, who died in the early eighties/699-702, rather than his son 'Abdallāh. See *Tahdhīb*, VI, 160.

419. 'Uqbah's action with respect to the nightly prayers during Ramaḍān (*tarāwīḥ*) could be interpreted either way as to the question of precedence of night over day or vice versa.

Those who said this

According to 'Alī b. Sahl—al-Ḥasan b. Bilāl⁴²⁰—Ḥammād b. Salamah—Abū 'Abd al-Salām al-Zubayr⁴²¹—Ayyūb b. 'Abdallāh al-Fihri⁴²²—Ibn Mas'ūd: With your Lord there is neither night nor day. The light of the heavens comes from the light of His face. The measure of each of those days of yours is twelve hours with Him.

[60] Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) says: Of the two statements on this subject the one which, in my opinion, is most likely to be correct is that night was before day. For day comes, as I have mentioned, from the luminosity of the sun, and God created the sun and made it run in the sphere only after He had spread the earth and laid it out, as He says: "Are you more difficult to create than the heaven He constructed? He raised high its roof and fashioned it. He darkened its night and brought forth its morning."⁴²³ If the sun was created after the heaven was made a roof and its night darkened, it must be concluded that before the sun was created and before God brought forth morning from heaven, (the heaven) was dark and not luminous. Now, if our observation about night and day contains clear proof that day is what comes suddenly upon the night, because it is at night that the sun sets and its luminosity is gone,⁴²⁴ so that the air becomes dark, then the day is what comes suddenly upon the night with its luminosity and light. God knows best!

The report(s) on the authority of the Messenger of God differ as to the moment when God's creation of the sun and the moon began. As transmitted on (Ibn 'Abbās') authority, (the Prophet) said: God created the sun, the moon, the stars, and the angels on Friday, until three hours remained of it.⁴²⁵ This we were told by Hannād b. al-Sarī—Abū Bakr b. 'Ayyāsh—Abū Sa'd al-Baqqāl—'Ikrimah—Ibn 'Abbās—the Prophet.

As transmitted by Abū Hurayrah, the Prophet said: God cre-

420. See *Tahdhīb*, II, 258, and below, n. 601.

421. In the sparse references to Abū 'Abd al-Salām al-Zubayr, he is also connected with Ayyūb (b. 'Abdallāh) b. Mu'ikraz. See Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 1, 378; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, I, 2, 584. Also *Tahdhīb*, I, 407.

422. See *Tahdhīb*, I, 407 f.; Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 1, 419, no. 1343; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, I, 1, 251, no. 898. It seems that he is nowhere given the gentilic al-Fihri, *Tahdhīb* has al-'Amiri.

423. Qur. 79:27-29.

424. The Cairo edition has: the sun sets and its luminosity is gone, be it at night or during the day.

425. See text above, I, 20.

ated light on Wednesday.⁴²⁶ This I was told by al-Qāsim b. Bishr and al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī—Ḥajjāj b. Muḥammad—Ibn Jurayj—Ismā'īl b. Umayyah—Ayyūb b. Khālid—'Abdallāh b. Rāfi'—Abū Hurayrah—the Prophet: God created light on Wednesday.

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However this may be, God created many other creatures before He created (the sun and the moon). He then created them in consequence of His superior knowledge of what is beneficial for His creation. He gave them constant movement. Then He distinguished between the two, making one of them the sign of night and the other the sign of day. He blotted out the sign of night and made the sign of day something to see by.⁴²⁷

Concerning the reason for the difference between the conditions of the sign of night and the sign of day, there are reports transmitted on the authority of the Messenger of God. I shall mention some of these reports which I have, as well as similar reports transmitted on the authority of a number of early (scholars).

Among the traditions transmitted from the Messenger of God on this subject is what I have been told by Muḥammad b. Abī Maṣṣūr al-Āmulī—Khalaf b. Wāsil⁴²⁸—Abū Nu'aym 'Umar b. Ṣubḥ al-Balkhī⁴²⁹—Muqātil b. Ḥayyān⁴³⁰—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abzā⁴³¹—Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī⁴³²: I walked hand in hand with the Prophet around evening when the sun was about to set. We did not stop looking at it until it had set. He continued. I asked the Messenger of God: Where does it set? He replied: It sets in the heaven and is then raised from heaven to heaven until it is raised to the highest, seventh heaven. Eventually, when it is underneath the Throne, it falls down and prostrates itself, and the angels who are in charge of it prostrate themselves together with it. The sun then says: My Lord, whence do You command me to rise, from where I set or from where I rise? He continued. This is

426. See text above, I, 20.

427. Cf. Qur. 17:12.

428. Unidentified. The *isnād* is considered dubious, see below, n. 436.

429. For 'Umar b. (al-)Ṣubḥ, see *Tahdhīb*, VII, 463 f.

430. The Qur'ān commentator Muqātil b. Ḥayyān died ca. 150/767. See *Tahdhīb*, X, 277-79; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 36.

431. See *Tahdhīb*, VI, 132 f.

432. Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī died in 31 or 32/651-53. See *Tahdhīb*, XII, 90 f., *EI*², I, 114, f., s. v.; A. J. Cameron, *Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī* (London, 1973). A very different brief version of the tradition in Abū Dharr's name is mentioned in *Tafsīr*, XXIII, 5.

(meant by) God's word: "And the sun: It runs to a place where it is to reside (at night)"—where it is held underneath the Throne—"That is decreed by One Mighty and Knowing"⁴³³—by "this" is meant the procedure of the "mighty" Lord in His royal authority, the Lord Who is "knowing" about His creation. He continued. [62] Gabriel brings to the sun a garment of luminosity from the light of the Throne, according to the measure of the hours of the day. It is longer in the summer and shorter in the winter, and of intermediate length in autumn and spring. He continued. The sun puts on that garment, as one of you here puts on his garment. Then, it is set free to roam in the air of heaven until it rises whence it does. The Prophet said: It is as if it had been held for three nights. Then it will not be covered with luminosity and will be commanded to rise from where it sets. This is (meant by) God's word: "When the sun shall be rolled up."⁴³⁴ He continued. The same course is followed by the moon in its rising, its running on the horizon of the heaven, its setting, its rising to the highest, seventh heaven, its being held underneath the Throne, its prostration, and its asking for permission. But Gabriel brings it a garment from the light of the Footstool. He continued. This is (meant by) God's word: "He made the sun a luminosity and the moon a light."⁴³⁵ Abū Dharr concluded: Then I went away together with the Messenger of God, and we prayed the evening prayer. This report from the Messenger of God indicates that the only difference between the condition of the sun and that of the moon is that the luminosity of the sun comes from the wrap of the luminosity of the Throne with which the sun was covered, while the light of the moon comes from a wrap of the light of the Footstool with which the moon was covered.

The other report,⁴³⁶ referring to a different concept, is what I was told by Muḥammad b. Abī Maṣṣūr—Khalaf b. Waṣīl—

433. Qur. 36:38.

434. Qur. 81:1.

435. Qur. 10:5.

436. This tradition of Ibn 'Abbās extends to text below, I, 74. The Cairo edition refers to the noteworthy criticism of Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, I, 17: The story contradicts reason, it is not a sound *ḥadīth*, and something of such importance should not be accepted into books if the *isnād* is so weak. It is, of course, understandable that writers on the stories of the prophets such as al-Tha'labī gave it prominent play.

Abū Nu'aym—Muqātil b. Ḥayyān—'Ikrimah: One day when Ibn 'Abbās was sitting (at home or in the mosque), a man came to him and said: Ibn 'Abbās, I heard Ka'b, the Rabbi, tell a marvelous story about the sun and the moon. He continued. Ibn 'Abbās who had been reclining sat up and asked what it was. The man said: He suggested that on the Day of Resurrection, the sun and the moon will be brought as if they were two hamstrung oxen, and flung into Hell. 'Ikrimah continued. Ibn 'Abbās became contorted with anger and exclaimed three times: Ka'b is lying! Ka'b is lying! Ka'b is lying! This is something Jewish he wants to inject into Islam. God is too majestic and noble to mete out punishment where there is obedience to Him. Have you not heard God's word: "And He subjected to you the sun and the moon, being constant"⁴³⁷ — referring to their constant obedience. How would He punish two servants that are praised for constant obedience? May God curse that rabbi and his rabbinate! How insolent is he toward God and what a tremendous fabrication has he told about those two servants that are obedient to God! He continued. Then he said several times: We return to God.⁴³⁸ He took a little piece of wood from the ground and started to hit the ground with it. He did that for some time, then lifting his head he threw away the little piece of wood and said: You want me to tell you what I heard the Messenger of God say about the sun and the moon and the beginning of their creation and how things went with them? We said: We would, indeed, May God show mercy unto you. He said: When the Messenger of God was asked about that, he replied: When God was done with His creation and only Adam remained to be created, He created two suns from the light of His Throne. His foreknowledge told Him that He would leave here one sun,⁴³⁹ so He created it as (large as) this world is from east to west. His foreknowledge also told Him that He would efface it and change it to a moon, so the moon is smaller in size than the sun. But both are seen as small because of the sun's altitude and remoteness from the earth.

He continued: If God had left the two suns as He created them

437. Qur. 14:33.

438. Cf. Qur. 2:156. The use of the phrase here characterizes the statement as a sin and misfortune.

439. That is, not two suns but a sun and a moon derived from it. Possibly, it should be the dual: ... leave the two of them one sun.

[64] in the beginning, night would not have been distinguishable from day. A hired man then would not know until when he should labor and when he should receive his wages. A person fasting would not know until when he must fast. A woman would not know how to reckon the period of her impurity.⁴⁴⁰ The Muslims would not know the time of the pilgrimage. Debtors would not know when their debts become due. People in general would not know when to work for a livelihood and when to stop for resting their bodies. The Lord was too concerned with His servants and too merciful to them (to do such a thing). He thus sent Gabriel to drag his wing three times over the face of the moon, which at the time was a sun. He effaced its luminosity and left the light in it. This is (meant by) God's word: "And We have made the night and the day two signs. We have blotted out the sign of the night, and We have made the sign of the day something to see by."⁴⁴¹ He continued. The blackness you can see as lines on the moon is a trace of the blotting. God then created for the sun a chariot with 360 handholds from the luminosity of the light of the Throne and entrusted 360 of the angels inhabiting the lower heaven with the sun and its chariot, each of them gripping one of those handholds. He entrusted 360 of the angels inhabiting (the lower?) heaven with the moon and its chariot, each of them gripping one of those handholds.

Then he said: For the sun and the moon, He created easts and wests (positions to rise and set) on the two sides of the earth and the two rims of heaven, 180 springs in the west of black clay—this is (meant by) God's word: "He found it setting in a muddy spring,"⁴⁴² meaning by "muddy (*ḥami'ah*)" black clay—and 180 springs in the east likewise of black clay, bubbling and boiling like a pot when it boils furiously. He continued. Every day and night, [65] the sun has a new place where it rises and a new place where it sets. The interval between them from beginning to end is longest for the day in summer and shortest in winter. This is (meant by) God's word: "The Lord of the two easts and the Lord of the two wests,"⁴⁴³ meaning the last (position) of the sun here and the last

440. See *El*², III, 1010-13, s. v. 'idda.

441. Qur. 17:12.

442. Qur. 18:86. See *Tafsir*, XVI, 9 f., on this verse. Tabarī argues that either the interpretation of the adjective *ḥami'ah* as "black clay" favored by Ibn 'Abbās or its interpretation as *ḥāmīyah* "hot" is possible.

443. Qur. 55:17. See *Tafsir*, XXVIX, 74 f., on this verse for much comparable

there. He omitted the positions in the east and the west (for the rising and setting of the sun) in between them. Then He referred to east and west in the plural, saying: "(By) the Lord of the easts and the wests."⁴⁴⁴ He mentioned the number of all those springs (as above).

He continued. God created an ocean three *farsakhs* (18 kilometers) removed from heaven. Waves contained,⁴⁴⁵ it stands in the air by the command of God. No drop of it is spilled. All the oceans are motionless, but that ocean flows at the rate of the speed of an arrow. It is set free to move in the air evenly, as if it were a rope stretched out in the area between east and west. The sun, the moon, and the retrograde stars⁴⁴⁶ run in its deep swell. This is (meant by) God's word: "Each swims in a sphere."⁴⁴⁷ "The sphere" is the circulation of the chariot in the deep swell of that ocean. By Him Who holds the soul of Muḥammad in His hand! If the sun were to emerge from that ocean, it would burn everything on earth, including even rocks and stones, and if the moon were to emerge from it, it would afflict (by its heat)⁴⁴⁸ the inhabitants of the earth to such an extent that they would worship gods other than God. The exception would be those of God's friends whom He would want to keep free from sin.

Ibn 'Abbās said that 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib said to the Messenger of God: You are like my father and my mother! You have mentioned the course of the retrograde stars (*al-khunnas*) by which God swears in the Qur'ān,⁴⁴⁹ together with the sun and the moon, and the rest. Now, what are *al-khunnas*? The Prophet replied: 'Alī, they are five stars: Jupiter (*al-birjīs*), Saturn (*zuḥal*), Mercury (*'uṭārid*), Mars (*bahrām*), and Venus (*al-zuḥrah*). These five stars rise and run like the sun and the moon and race⁴⁵⁰ with them to-

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material.

444. Qur. 70:40. *Tafsīr*, XXIX, 55, on this verse, refers to Ibn 'Abbās as reporting on the theory of 360 different "windows" (*kūwah*) for sunrises and sunsets.

445. *Saqfan mahfūzan* in Qur. 21:32 was explained by Qatādah as "waves contained" (*mawj makfūf*), see *Tafsīr*, XVII, 17, on the verse. It is also used as an explanation of *falak* ("sphere").

446. For the problem of *al-khunnas* in Qur. 81:15, see below, n. 449.

447. Qur. 21:33 and 36:40. See *Tafsīr*, XVII, 16 ff., on the former verse.

448. For the transitive use of *f-t-n*, see Lane, 2334 f.

449. Qur. 81:15. For the various attempted explanations, see *Tafsīr*, XXX, 47 f., on the verse. Here, it is explained as referring to the five planets.

450. Cf. Qur. 100:1.

gether. All the other stars are suspended from heaven as lamps are from mosques, and circulate together with heaven praising and sanctifying God with prayer. The Prophet then said: If you wish to have this made clear, look to the circulation of the sphere alternately here and there. It is the circulation of heaven and the circulation of all the stars together with it except those five. Their⁴⁵¹ circulation today is what you see, and that is their prayer. Their circulation to the Day of Resurrection is as quick as the circulation of a mill⁴⁵² because of the dangers and tremors of the Day of Resurrection. This is (meant by) God's word: "On a day when the heaven sways to and fro and the mountains move. Woe on that day unto those who declare false (the Prophet's divine message)."⁴⁵³

[67] He continued. When the sun rises, it rises upon its chariot from one of those springs accompanied by 360 angels with outspread wings. They draw it along the sphere, praising and sanctifying God with prayer, according to the extent of the hours of night and the hours of day, be it night or day. When God wishes to test the sun and the moon, showing His servants a sign and thereby asking them to stop disobeying Him and to start to obey, the sun tumbles from the chariot and falls into the deep of that ocean, which is the sphere. When God wants to increase the significance of the sign and frighten His servants severely, all of the sun falls, and nothing of it remains upon the chariot. That is a total eclipse of the sun, when the day darkens and the stars come out. When God wants to make a partial sign, half or a third or two-thirds of it fall into the water, while the rest remains upon the chariot, this being a partial eclipse. It is a misfortune for the sun or for the moon. It frightens His servants and constitutes a request from the Lord (for them to repent). However this may be, the angels entrusted with the chariot of the sun divide into two groups, one that goes to the sun and pulls it toward the chariot, and another that goes to the chariot and pulls it toward the sun, while at the same time they keep it steady in the sphere, praising and sanctifying God with prayer, according to the extent of the hours of day or the hours of night, be it night or day, summer or winter, autumn or spring

451. Referring, it seems, to heaven and the stars.

452. For a different combination of "mill" with "sphere," see *Tafsīr*, XVII, 17 f. (*ad Qur.* 21:33).

453. *Qur.* 52:9-11.

between summer and winter, lest the length of night and day be increased in any way. God has given them knowledge of that by inspiration and also the power for it. The gradual emergence of the sun or the moon from the deep of that ocean covering them which you observe after an eclipse (is accomplished by) all the angels together who, after having brought out all of it, carry it (back) and put it upon the chariot. They praise God that He gave them the power to do that. They grip the handholds of the chariot and draw it in the sphere, praising and sanctifying God with prayer. Finally, they bring the sun to the west. Having done so, they put it into the spring there, and the sun falls from the horizon of the sphere into the spring.

Then the Prophet said, expressing wonder at God's creation: How wonderful is the divine power with respect to something than which nothing more wonderful has ever been created!⁴⁵⁴ This is (meant by) what Gabriel said to Sarah: "Do you wonder about God's command?"⁴⁵⁵ It is as follows: God created two cities, one in the east, and the other in the west. The inhabitants of the city in the east belong to the remnants of the 'Ād and are descendants of those 'Ād who were believers, while the inhabitants of the city in the west belong to the remnants of the Thamūd and are descendants of those who believed in Šāliḥ.⁴⁵⁶ The name of the city in the east is Marqīsiyā in Syriac and Jābalq in Arabic, and the name of the city in the west is Barjīsiyā in Syriac and Jābars in Arabic.⁴⁵⁷ Each city has ten thousand gates, each a *farsakh* (6 kilometers) distant from the other. Ten thousand guards equipped with weapons alternate each day as guards for each of these gates; after that (one day, those guards) will have no (more) guard duty until the day the Trumpet will be blown.⁴⁵⁸ By Him Who holds the soul of Muḥammad in His hand! Were those people not so many

454. The Cairo edition has: we have never seen anything more wonderful.

455. Qur. 11:73. The names of Gabriel and Sarah are not mentioned in the Qur'ān in this connection.

456. On the pre-Islamic peoples of 'Ād and the historically more tangible Thamūd mentioned in the Qur'ān as having been in conflict with the prophets Hūd and Šāliḥ, see, for instance, *Et*², I, 169, s.v. 'Ād.

457. The Arabic names of the legendary cities are listed in Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 2 f. A historic Jābalq near Iṣfahān occurs in Ṭabarī, text below, III, 6. The Aramaic names appear to admit of no plausible Aramaic explanation, except for the final -ā imitating the Aramaic definite article.

458. Cf. Qur. 6:73, etc.

and so noisy, all the inhabitants of this world would hear the loud crash made by the sun falling when it rises and when it sets. Behind them are three nations, Mansak, Tāfil, and Tāris, and before them are Yājūj and Mājūj.⁴⁵⁹ Gabriel took me to them during my night journey from the Sacred Mosque to the Farthest Mosque.⁴⁶⁰ I called on Yājūj and Mājūj to worship God, but they refused to listen to me. Gabriel then took me to the inhabitants of the two cities. I called on them to follow the religion of God and to worship Him. They agreed and repented. They are our brothers in the (true) religion. Those of them who do good are together with those of you who do good, and those of them who do evil are together with those of you who do evil. Gabriel then took me to the three nations. I called on them to follow the religion of God and to worship Him. They disapproved of my doing so. They did not believe in God and considered His messengers liars. They are in the Fire together with Yājūj and Mājūj and all those who were disobedient to God. Whenever the sun sets, it is raised from heaven to heaven by the angels' fast flight, until it is brought to the highest, seventh heaven, and eventually is underneath the Throne. It falls down in prostration, and the angels entrusted with it prostrate themselves together with it. Then it is brought down from heaven to heaven. When it reaches this heaven, dawn breaks. When it comes down from one of those springs, morning becomes luminous. And when it reaches this face of heaven, the day becomes luminous.

He continued. In the east, God places a veil of darkness on the seventh ocean according to the number of nights from the day God created this world until the day when this world will be cut off. At sunset, an angel entrusted with the night comes and grabs a handful of the veil's darkness. He then moves toward the west, all the time gradually releasing some of the darkness through the

459. While the role of Gog and Magog and their famous dam is derived from the Qur'ān and is well defined in the Islamic geographical view of the world, the "three nations" appear to be an insignificant embellishment, and the forms of their names are anything but certain. As indicated here, the two cities are located behind Gog and Magog, and the three nations behind the two cities. "Mansak" and "Tāris" appear among the Japhetite successor nations, that is, seven brothers that also include the Turks, Khazars, Slavs, Kamārā, and Chinese. See Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, ed. Guirgass, 4; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 53. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 304, describes Kamārā as a village near Bukhārā.

460. Cf. Qur. 17:1.

interstices of his fingers, watching out for the twilight. When the twilight has disappeared, the angel releases all the darkness. He then spreads out his two wings. They reach the two sides of the earth and the two rims of heaven and pass outside in the air as far as God wishes. The angel drives the darkness of the night with his wings, praising and sanctifying God with prayer, until he reaches the west. When he has reached the west, morning dawns from the east. The angel puts together his wings, then puts together the parts of the darkness one by one in his palms, then grabs in one palm as much of the darkness as he had taken from the veil (of darkness) in the east, and places it in the west on the seventh ocean. From there comes the darkness of the night.

When the veil is transported (completely) from east to west, the Trumpet is blown, and this world comes to its end. The luminosity of the day comes from the east, and the darkness of the night comes from that veil. The sun and the moon always continue this way from rising to setting, and on to their being raised to the highest, seventh heaven and their being held underneath the Throne. They will continue so until the moment comes that was fixed by God for the repentance of His servants. Sins will become more numerous on earth. Goodness will be gone, and nobody will command it (be done). That which is disapproved will spread, and nobody will prohibit it.

When this takes place, the sun will be held underneath the Throne for one night. Whenever it prostrates itself and asks for permission (to proceed to) whence it should rise, it is given no answer until the moon joins it and prostrates itself together with the sun and asks for permission (to proceed to) whence it should rise. The moon, too, is not given an answer. Finally, (the angel?) will hold the sun for three nights and the moon for two nights. The length of that night is known only to those who pray during the night while on earth. They will be a small group found in every Muslim locality. They are held in contempt by others while feeling humble themselves. Any (individual belonging to this select group) will sleep that night as he slept the nights before. He then will rise, perform the ritual ablutions, enter his place of prayer, and say his special prayer (*wird*) just as before. Then he will go outside but will not see the morning. He will dislike that and feel that something bad is about to happen. He will say: Perhaps I have

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shortened my recitation (of the Qur'ān) too much, or cut short my prayer, or got up before my time. He continued. Then, during the second night, he will again say his *wird* prayer as before. Again, he will go outside but will not see the morning. This will add to his annoyance, which will become mixed with fear. Feeling that something bad is about to happen, he will say: Perhaps I have shortened my recitation, or cut short my prayer, or got up at the beginning of the night. Afraid and apprehensive of what he anticipates might be the terror of the third night, he will again say his *wird* prayer as before. Then he will go outside and lo and behold! there is the night (still) in its place, while the stars had completed their revolution and reached their place at the beginning of the night. At that, he will become very apprehensive and fearful in the knowledge of the anticipated terror of that night. Fear will close in on him, and he will cry and become flustered.

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The people of the localities who were spending the nights in prayer used to know each other before and were in contact with one another. Now they will call out to one another. They will all come together in one of the mosques and implore God with tears and loud wailing for the rest of the night, while the negligent remain neglectful. Finally, when three nights are completed for the sun and two for the moon, Gabriel will go to the sun and the moon and say: The Lord commands you to return to your (positions in the) west and to rise there. We have no luminosity or light for you. He continued. At that, the sun and the moon will cry so loudly that the inhabitants of seven heavens below them and the inhabitants of the awnings of the Throne and the carriers of the Throne above them will hear it. They will cry because the sun and the moon are crying but also because they are pervaded by fear of death and fear of the Day of Resurrection.

He continued. While the people are waiting for the sun and the moon to rise from the east, they will notice that they had already risen from the west behind their necks, black and rolled up like sacks,⁴⁶¹ with the sun having no luminosity and the moon no light, as in the case of eclipses in earlier times. The inhabitants of this world will cry out loudly to one another. Mothers will neglect their children, and lovers the fruit of their hearts. Every soul will

461. "Two ravens" according to the Leiden edition.

be preoccupied with what is happening to it. He continued. The righteous and the pious will benefit from their crying on that day. It will be written down for them as an act of divine worship. The wicked and the immoral, on the other hand, will not benefit from their crying on that day. It will be written down against them as a loss. He continued. The sun and the moon will rise like two camels joined together.⁴⁶² Each of the two will compete and try to outrace the other. Eventually, when they have reached the navel—that is, the middle—of heaven, Gabriel will go to them and take hold of their horns and return them to the west. He will not permit them to set in those springs in the west where they used to set but will let them set in the Gate of Repentance. [72]

‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said (at this point): I and my family are your ransom,⁴⁶³ O Messenger of God, but may I ask what is the Gate of Repentance? The Prophet replied: ‘Umar, God created a gate for repentance behind the west with two doorleaves of gold encrusted with pearls and jewels, set apart a distance requiring a speeding rider forty years to traverse. That gate has been open since God created His creation (and will stay open) to the morning of that night when the sun and the moon rise from their (positions in the) west. The repentance of any human being that has repented sincerely, from Adam to the morning of that night, enters that gate and is then lifted up to God.

Mu‘ādh b. Jabal⁴⁶⁴ now said: You are like my father and my mother, O Messenger of God, but may I ask what is sincere repentance? The Prophet replied: It means that the sinner repents the sin he committed and apologizes to God and then never returns to it, just as milk does not return to the udder.

He continued. Gabriel will then put back the doorleaves and close them so tightly as if there had never been a cleft between them. Once the Gate of Repentance is closed, no repentance will

462. Cf. Ka'b's "two oxen," text above, I, 62 f. Here, racing animals are meant, and "camel" appears to be most likely as the intended meaning of *ba'ir*. No connection of "joined together" (*qarīn*) with the following "horns" (*qurūn*) needs to be assumed.

463. The formulas expressing devotion here and later have the purpose of mitigating the impertinence inherent in daring to address a question to the Prophet.

464. Among the young assistants of the Prophet the one closest to him, Mu‘ādh b. Jabal was born around 600 and died in 18/639. See *Tahdhib*, X, 186–88; Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *Istī‘āb*, III, 1402–7.

be accepted. If some Muslim does a good deed, he will no longer benefit from it, unless he used to do good deeds before, for all will receive the same credits and debits as before. He continued. This is (meant by) God's word: "On the day when one of the signs of your Lord comes, belief will not benefit a soul that did not believe before or acquired some good in his belief."⁴⁶⁵

[73] Ubayy b. Ka'b⁴⁶⁶ now said: You are like my father and my mother, O Messenger of God, but may I ask how will it be thereafter with the sun and the moon, and how will it be with mankind and this world? The Prophet replied: Ubayy, the sun and the moon will thereafter be covered with light and luminosity. They will rise and set over mankind as before. As for mankind, having looked at the awesomeness of the sign as they did, they will beset this world so hard that they will cause rivers to flow, plant trees, and build buildings. As to this world, if a man had produced a colt in it, he would not be able to mount it from the time the sun rises from its (position in the) west to the day the Trumpet is blown.⁴⁶⁷

Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān⁴⁶⁸ now said: I and my family are your ransom, O Messenger of God, but may I ask how will they be when the Trumpet is blown? The Prophet replied: Ḥudhayfah! By Him Who holds the soul of Muḥammad in His hand! Surely, the Hour will come and the Trumpet be blown while a man who just treated his water basin with clay will not (have time to) draw water from it. Surely, the Hour will come while two men holding a garment between them will not (have time to) fold it or sell it to one another. Surely, the Hour will come while a man, having lifted a morsel to his mouth, will not (have time to) eat it. Surely, the Hour will come while a man who leaves with the milk just

⁴⁶⁵. Qur. 6:158.

⁴⁶⁶. The early transmitter of a recension of the Qur'ān. Indications of Ubayy's date of death vary considerably, from the time of the caliphate of 'Umar to the later years of the caliphate of 'Uthmān, or even after 'Uthmān's death. See *Tahdhib*, I, 187 f.; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istī'āb*, I, 65-70; Ibn al-Jazārī, *Ghāyah*, I, 31 f.; Jeffery, *Materials*, 114 ff.

⁴⁶⁷. The end of the world will come suddenly, and human beings, noticing its approach, will rush to do something.

⁴⁶⁸. Ḥudhayfah died in 36/656. He is known as a special confidant of the Prophet, although his early history as a Muslim appears somewhat clouded. See *Tahdhib*, II, 219 f.; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istī'āb*, II, 334-36.

drawn from his camel will not (have time to) drink it. The Prophet then recited this verse of the Qur'ān: "Surely, it will come upon them suddenly when they are unaware."⁴⁶⁹

When the Trumpet is blown and the Hour comes and God distinguishes between the inhabitants of Paradise and the inhabitants of the Fire, who had not yet entered either, He will call for the sun and the moon. They are brought, black and rolled up, having fallen into quaking and confusion and being terribly afraid because of the terror of that day and their fear of the Merciful One. Finally, when they are around the Throne, they will fall down and prostrate themselves before God, saying: Our God! You know our obedience and our continuous worship of You. You know how quickly we executed Your command in the days of this world. Thus, do not punish us because the polytheists worshiped us. We did not call on them to worship us, nor did we neglect to worship You. The Lord will say: You have spoken the truth. Now I have taken it upon Myself to begin and to restore.⁴⁷⁰ I am restoring you to where I had you begin, Thus, return to what you were created from! The sun and the moon said: Our God, what did You create us from? God said: I created you from the light of My Throne. Thus, return to it! He continued. There will come forth from each of the two a flash of lightning so brilliant that it almost blinds the eye with its light. It will mingle with the light of the Throne. This is (meant by) God's word: "He begins and He restores."⁴⁷¹

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Ikrimah said: I got up with the individuals who were told the story, and we went to Ka'b and informed him about Ibn 'Abbās' emotional outburst at (hearing) his story and about the story Ibn 'Abbās had reported on the authority of the Messenger of God. Ka'b got up with us, and we went to Ibn 'Abbās. Ka'b said: I have learned about your emotional outburst at my story. I am asking God for forgiveness and I repent. I have told the story on the basis of a well-worn book that has passed through many hands. I do not

469. Qur. 29:53.

470. Cf. Qur. 85:13, see the following note.

471. *Tafsīr*, XXX, 88 (*ad* Qur. 85:13), shows Ṭabarī as expressing himself in favor of Ibn 'Abbās' interpretation that God originates and repeats punishment. Others refer the verse to God's creation and recreation of life in the other world.

know what alterations made by the Jews it may have contained. Now you have told a story on the basis of a new book recently revealed by the Merciful One and on the authority of the lord and best of the prophets. I would like you to tell it to me so that I can retain it in my memory as told on your authority. When I have been told it, it will replace my original story.

ʿIkrimah said: Ibn ʿAbbās repeated the story to Kaʿb, while I followed it in my heart paragraph by paragraph. He neither added nor omitted anything, nor did he change the sequence in any way. This added to my desire (to learn from) Ibn ʿAbbās and to retain the story in my memory.⁴⁷²

A tradition on the subject transmitted by the early (scholars) is what we were told by Ibn Ḥumayd—Jarīr (b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd)—ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Rufay⁴⁷³—Abū al-Ṭufayl:⁴⁷⁴ Ibn al-Kawwā⁴⁷⁵ asked ʿAlī: O Commander of the Faithful! What is that smudge in the moon? ʿAlī replied: Don't you read the Qurʾān? (It says): "We have blotted out the sign of the night."⁴⁷⁶ That smudge is (a trace of) the blotting.⁴⁷⁷

According to Abū Kurayb—Ṭalq⁴⁷⁸—Zāʿidah⁴⁷⁹—ʿĀṣim (b. Bahdalah)—ʿAlī b. Rabīʿah⁴⁸⁰: Ibn al-Kawwā asked what that blackness in the moon was, and ʿAlī replied: "We have blotted out the sign of the night, and We have made the sign of the day something to see by." That blackness is (a trace of) the blotting.

According to Ibn Bashshār—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (b. Maḥdī)—

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472. The phrase translated "to retain ...memory" could mean but hardly does in the context: "to become a *ḥadīth* expert."

473. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, the son of Abū Kathīrah Rufay (below, n. 484), died around 130/747[8] in his nineties. See *Tahdhīb*, VI, 337 f.

474. Abū al-Ṭufayl ʿĀmir b. Wāthilah was born in 622-23. He died as the last of the Prophet's companions in the first decade of the second century/719-28. See *Tahdhīb*, V, 82-84; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, II, 798 f.

475. Text below, II, 67 f. (ed. Cairo, V, 212) gives the full name of Ibn al-Kawwā' as ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Awfā, who died in 86 or 87/705[6] in al-Kūfah. See *Tahdhīb*, V, 151; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, III, 870 f. Neither author refers to ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Awfā as Ibn al-Kawwā'.

476. Qur. 17:12.

477. All the following traditions appear in the same order in *Tafsīr*, XV, 38 (*ad Qur.* 17:12).

478. Ṭalq b. Ghannām died in 211/826. See *Tahdhīb*, V, 33 f.

479. Zāʿidah b. Qudāmah died around 160 or 161/776-78. See *Tahdhīb*, III, 306 f.

480. See *Tahdhīb*, VII, 320 f.

Isrā'īl—Abū Ishāq⁴⁸¹ —'Ubayd b. 'Umayr:⁴⁸² I was with 'Alī when Ibn al-Kawwā' asked him about the blackness in the moon. 'Alī replied: That is the sign of the night blotted out.

According to Ibn Abī al-Shawārib⁴⁸³ —Yazīd b. Zuray'—'Imrān b. Ḥudayr^{483a} —Abū Kathīrah Rufay':⁴⁸⁴ When 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib told them to ask whatever they wished, Ibn al-Kawwā' got up and said: What is the darkness in the moon? 'Alī replied: Damn you! Why did you not ask about something concerning your religion and your (life in the) other world? But then he said: It is (a trace of) the blotting out of the night.

According to Zakariyyā' b. Yaḥyā b. Abān al-Miṣrī⁴⁸⁵ —Ibn 'Ufayr⁴⁸⁶ —Ibn Lahī'ah⁴⁸⁷ —Ḥuyayy b. 'Abdallāh⁴⁸⁸ —Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān⁴⁸⁹ —'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ:⁴⁹⁰ A man asked 'Alī what the blackness in the moon was. 'Alī replied: God says: "And We have made the night and the day two signs. We have blotted out the sign of the night, and We have made the sign of the day something to see by."⁴⁹¹

481. Abū Ishāq 'Amr b. 'Abdallāh al-Hamdāni, the grandfather of Isrā'īl b. Yūnus (above, n. 397), died between 126 and 129/743-47 at the age of ninety-six. See *Tahdhīb*, I, 261-63.

482. Died in 68/687[8]. See *Tahdhīb*, VII, 71. In *Tafsīr*, XV, 38, he is replaced by 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar.

483. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Abī al-Shawārib died in 244/858 in al-Baṣrah. See *TB*, II, 344 f.; *Tahdhīb*, IX, 316 f. For his son 'Alī, see text below, III, 2159.

483a. 'Imrān b. Ḥudayr died in 149/766. See *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 125.

484. For Rufay', the father of 'Abd al-'Azīz (above, n. 473), see *Tahdhīb*, III, 286; Bukhārī, *Tārīkh*, II, 1, 298 f.; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, I, 2, 510 f.

485. Zakariyyā' b. Yaḥyā is not identifiable among his numerous namesakes. Since he was an Egyptian and the entire chain of transmitters concerns Egyptians, Ṭabarī may have received this information in Egypt.

486. The historian of Egypt Sa'īd b. Kathīr b. 'Ufayr lived from 146/763[4] to 226/840[1]. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 174 f.; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 361.

487. 'Abdallāh b. Lahī'ah lived from ca. 96/714[5] to 174/709[1]. See *Tahdhīb*, V, 373-79; *EP*², III, 853 f., s. v. Ibn Lahī'a; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 94. The *isnād* of Ibn Lahī'ah is found in Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 257 f.

488. For Huyyay, see *Tahdhīb*, III, 72.

489. Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān 'Abdallāh b. Yazīd al-Ma'āfirī al-Ḥubulī was sent by 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz to Tunisia where he died and was buried in Tunis. See *Tahdhīb*, VI, 81 f.; Sam'āni, *Ansāb*, IV, 52-54.

490. A son of the conqueror of Egypt, 'Abdallāh appears to have died in the later sixties/685-90. See *Tahdhīb*, V, 337 f. Like the other links in this chain of transmitters, he frequently occurs as a transmitter in Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam's *Futūḥ Miṣr*, see, especially, 253 f.

491. Qur. 17:12.

According to Muḥammad b. Sa'd—his father—his paternal uncle—his father—his father—Ibn 'Abbās, commenting on: "And We have made the night and the day two signs. We have blotted out the sign of the night": It is the blackness in the night.

According to al-Qāsim⁴⁹²—al-Ḥusayn—Ḥajjāj—Ibn Jurayj—Ibn 'Abbās: The moon used to give luminosity just as the sun does, with the moon being the sign of the night and the sun being the sign of the day. "We have blotted out the sign of the night." (That is) the blackness in the moon.

[76] According to Abū Kurayb—Ibn Abī Zā'idah⁴⁹³—Ibn Jurayj—Mujāhid, commenting on God's word: "And We have made the night and the day two signs": The sun is the sign of the day, and the moon is the sign of the night. "We have blotted out the sign of the night": (That is) the blackness in the moon. Thus God created it.

According to al-Qāsim—al-Ḥusayn—Ḥajjāj—Ibn Jurayj—Mujāhid, commenting on: "And We have made the night and the day two signs": The night and the day. Thus God created the two. (Also) Ibn Jurayj—'Abdallāh b. Kathīr,⁴⁹⁴ commenting on: "We have blotted out the sign of the night, and We have made the day something to see by": The darkness of the night and the brightness (*sadaf*)⁴⁹⁵ of the day.

According to Bishr b. Mu'ādh—Yazīd b. Zuray'—Sa'id (b. Abī 'Arūbah)—Qatādah, commenting on God's word: "And We have made the night and the day two signs. We have blotted out the sign of the night": We used to be told⁴⁹⁶ that the blotting of the sign of the night is the blackness that is in the moon. "And We have made the sign of the day something to see by": Giving light. God created the sun having more light and being larger than the moon.

492. For this *isnād*, see text above, I, 23.

493. Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyā' Ibn Abī Zā'idah died between 182 and 184/798–800 at the age of sixty-three. See *TB*, XIV, 114–19; *Tahdhīb*, XI, 208–10.

494. The Qur'ān reader Ibn Kathīr lived from 45/665[6] to 120/738. See *Tahdhīb*, V, 367 f.; Ibn al-Jazari, *Ghāyah*, II, 443–45; *EI*², III, 817b, s. v. Ibn Kathīr; Horst, 295, n. 11.

495. The lexicographers ascribe to *sadaf* the meanings "darkness of night" or something like "early twilight," but also "luminosity" and, in particular, "whiteness (light) of day." See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, XI, 48, l. 6.

496. These words are not in *Tafsīr*, XV, 38.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Amr⁴⁹⁷ —Abū 'Āṣim⁴⁹⁸ —'Īsā⁴⁹⁹ — Ibn Abī Najīḥ⁵⁰⁰ —Mujāhid (commenting on): "And We have made the night and the day two signs": The night and the day. Thus, God created the two. Also (al-Ṭabarī)—al-Ḥārith⁵⁰¹ —al-Ḥasan⁵⁰² —Warqā'⁵⁰³ —Ibn Abī Najīḥ—Mujāhid.

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) says: In our opinion, the correct statement on this subject is that God created the sun of the day and the moon of the night as two signs, then made the sign of the day, which is the sun, something to see by and blotted out the sign of the night, which is the moon, through the blackness in it.

It is permissible (to say) that God created them as two suns from the light of His Throne and then blotted out the light of the moon in the night, as stated by some we have mentioned. This was the reason for the difference of the condition of the sun and the moon. It is (also) permissible (to say) that the sun receives its luminosity through the wrap of luminosity of the Throne, with which it is covered, and the moon receives its light from the wrap of light of the Footstool, with which it is covered.⁵⁰⁴

[77]

If the chain of transmitters of one of the two reports I have mentioned were sound, we would adopt that report, but the chains of transmitters of both reports are disputed. Thus, we have not con-

497. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. al-'Abbās al-Bāhili died in 249/863. See *TB*, III, 127; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 20, 29, 79; Horst, 297, n. 2.

498. Abū 'Āṣim al-Nābil, whose name was al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Makhlad and who lived from 122/740 to between 212 and 214/827–29, see *Tahdhīb*, IV, 450–53; *El²*, *Suppl.*, I, 17 f., s. v. Abū 'Āṣim al-Nābil; Horst, 297, n. 4.

499. 'Īsā b. Maymūn died around 170/786. See *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 235 f.; Sezgin, *GAS*, 820b (index); Horst, 297, n. 6.

500. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Najīḥ died in 131 or 132/748–50. See *Tahdhīb*, VI, 54 f.; Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh*, III, 1, 233; Horst, 297, n. 8.

501. Al-Ḥārith b. Muḥammad b. Abī Usāmah lived from 180/end of 796 to 282/end of 895. See *TB*, VIII, 218 f.; Horst, 294, n. 4.

502. Al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Ashyab died between 208 and 210/823–26. See *TB*, VII, 426–29; *Tahdhīb*, II, 323; Horst, 297, n. 5.

503. Warqā' b. Umar b. Kulayb, reputedly the author of a Qur'ān commentary and, in any case, an important link in the transmission of Mujāhid's commentary, died ca. 160/776. See *TB*, III, 515–18; *Tahdhīb*, XI, 113–15; Horst, 297, n. 7. In the published recension of Mujāhid's *Tafsīr*, Warqā' to Mujāhid is the last three links of the six-link chain there, but the text contains no comment on Qur. 17:12. Cf. F. Leemhuis, "Ms. 1075 *Tafsīr*"; G. Schoeler, *Überlieferung der Wissenschaften*, 202, 210, referring to G. Stauth's dissertation on Mujāhid (1969) and further literature.

504. See text above, I, 61 f.

sidered it permissible to decide on the soundness of the contents of the reports as regards the difference of condition between the sun and the moon. We know for certain, however, that God differentiated between their capacities for giving light because He knew through His superior knowledge that the difference was best for the well-being of His creation. Thus, He made a distinction between them and made the one something that gives light to see by, and the other something that has its luminosity blotted out.

In this book, we have refrained from mentioning (too) many reports and things about the sun and the moon, as we have also done in describing the beginning of God's creation of the heavens and the earth and by omitting all the many other things connected with God's creation. We have mentioned as much as we have in this book of ours only because it is our intention to fulfil the condition laid down by us in its beginning that we would mention time⁵⁰⁵ and the history of kings, prophets, and messengers. Dates and times are fixed as to their (precise) moments by the measurements of the hours indicated by the sun and the moon running in their spheres, as we have mentioned in the reports transmitted by us on the authority of the Messenger of God. Whatever took place before God created the sun and the moon, took place outside of moments and hours and night and day.

[78] We have explained with testimony adduced by us from traditions and reports the duration, expressed in years and time periods, of this world from the first beginning of God's production of what He wanted to produce to the time He finished producing all His creatures. For the period of time extending from God's completion of all creation to the annihilation of all of it, we have brought proofs from reports, used by us to prove the soundness of our statements, coming from the Messenger of God, his companions, and other scholars of the Muslim nation. The stated purpose of this book of ours is to mention the history of kings and tyrants, those who disobeyed their Lord and those who were obedient to Him, as well as the times of the prophets and messengers. We have discussed how chronological dates can be soundly established and how information about moments and hours can be ascertained. (Moments and hours are established by) the sun and the moon.

505. *Al-azminah* "the times" here may refer to Ṭabari's discussion of the concept of time or to time periods, as it does in the following sentence.

One makes it possible to learn about the hours and moments of the night, and the other, the hours and moments of the day.

(The Story of Iblīs)

Now, let us speak about the one who was the first to be given royal authority and was shown favor by God but was ungrateful for it. Having denied God's divine Lordship, he was proud and overbearing toward his Lord and was therefore deprived by God of His divine favor and shamed and humiliated. We shall continue and mention those who adopted his ways and followed in his footsteps and were therefore subjected by God to His divine revenge. Counted among the partisans of Iblis, they were made to share in his shame and humiliation. There were also their counterparts and successors⁵⁰⁶ among kings and messengers and prophets who obeyed their Lord and left praiseworthy memories. God willing, we shall mention them, too.

*First among the Ungrateful is Iblīs, Their Guide
(Imām), Their Leader, and Their Chief—
May God Curse Him!*

God had created Iblīs beautiful. He had ennobled and honored him and reportedly made him ruler over the lower heaven and the earth. In addition, He had made him one of the keepers of Paradise. But he became overbearing toward his Lord and claimed divine lordship for himself and reportedly called on those under his control to worship him. Therefore, God transformed him into a stoned Satan.⁵⁰⁷ He deformed him and deprived him of the benefits He had granted him. He cursed him and drove him out of His heavens in the fleeting present world and then gave to him and his followers and partisans the Fire of Hell as their place of residence in the other world. We take refuge in God for protection against His divine wrath and against whatever action brings a person close to His wrath and against getting into trouble.⁵⁰⁸

[79]

506. Hardly: his (Satan's) opponents and those after him.

507. Cf. Qur. 3:36 and 19:98.

508. The derivation of the idiom *al-hawr ba'd al-kawr* ("twisting after untwisting [!]"') is debated by the lexicographers. The meaning adopted here is the most likely one, though it is by no means certain. It means approximately getting into a

We shall begin with a summary of the reports that have come down to us from the early (scholars) about the honors given Iblīs by God before he became overbearing toward Him and claimed what was not his to claim. We hope to continue with mentioning the events in the days of his rule and royal authority until all of that ceased to be his, and to mention the reason why the earlier favors and beautiful benefits and other things God had bestowed on him ceased to be his—all of this in an abridged form.

The Received Reports about the Control and Rule of Iblīs over the Lower Heaven and the Earth and All in Between

According to al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan—al-Ḥusayn b. Dāwūd—Ḥajjāj—Ibn Jurayj—Ibn ‘Abbās: Iblīs was one of the noblest angels and belonged to the most honored tribe among them. He was a keeper of Paradise. He had the authority to rule over the lower heaven as well as the earth.⁵⁰⁹

According to al-Qāsim—al-Ḥusayn—Ḥajjāj—Ibn Jurayj—Ṣāliḥ, the *mawlā* of al-Taw‘amah⁵¹⁰ and Sharīk b. Abī Namir,⁵¹¹ either one or both of them—Ibn ‘Abbās: There was an angelic tribe of jinn, and Iblīs belonged to it. He governed all in between the heaven and the earth.⁵¹²

[80] According to Mūsā b. Hārūn al-Hamdānī—‘Amr b. Hammād—Asbāt—al-Suddī—Abū Mālīk and Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn ‘Abbās. Also (al-Suddī)—Murrah al-Hamdānī—Ibn Mas‘ūd and some (other) companions of the Prophet: Iblīs was made ruler over the lower heaven. He belonged to a tribe of angels called jinn. They were called jinn because they were the keepers of Paradise (*al-jannah*).

tight spot after having had it easy. See Lane, 665c, and the references in *Wörterbuch*, letter K, 428b.

509. See *Tafsīr*, I, 178 (*ad Qur.* 2:34), and XV, 169 f. (*ad Qur.* 18:50).

510. Ṣāliḥ b. Nabḥān died around 125/791[2]. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 405–7. Taw‘amah (“Twin”) was the daughter of Umayyah b. Khalaf, one of the Meccans killed at Badr.

511. Sharīk b. ‘Abdallāh b. Abī Namir died ca. 140/757. His grandfather participated in the battle of Badr on the side of the Meccans. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 337 f.; Bukhārī, *Tārīkh*, II, 2, 237 f.

512. This tradition, as well as the one at the end of this section, is part of a longer tradition quoted in *Tafsīr*, XV, 169 (*ad Qur.* 18:50). Cf. also *Tafsīr*, I, 178 f. (*ad Qur.* 2:34).

In addition to being ruler, Iblis was a keeper (of Paradise).⁵¹³

According to 'Abdān al-Marwazī⁵¹⁴ —al-Husayn b. al-Faraj—Abū Mu'adh al-Faḍl b. Khālid—'Ubaydallāh⁵¹⁵ b. Sulaymān—al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Muzāḥim, commenting on God's word: "They prostrated themselves, except Iblis. He was one of the jinn"⁵¹⁶: Ibn 'Abbās used to say: Iblis was one of the noblest angels and belonged to their most honored tribe. He was a keeper of Paradise, and his was the rule over the lower heaven as well as the earth.

According to Ibn Humayd—Salamah—Abū al-Azhar al-Mubārak b. Mujāhid⁵¹⁷ —Sharik b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Namir—Ṣāliḥ, the *mawlā* of al-Taw'amah—Ibn 'Abbās: There is an angelic tribe called jinn. Iblis belonged to them. He used to rule all in between heaven and earth. Then he became disobedient, and God therefore transformed him into a stoned Satan.⁵¹⁸

*The Ingratitude of the Enemy of God for His
Lord's Favor, His Overbearance Toward
God, and His Claiming Divine Lordship*

According to al-Qāsim—al-Ḥusayn—Ḥajjāj—Ibn Jurayj, commenting on: "And whoever among them says: I am a god besides Him"⁵¹⁹: Whichever angel says: "I am a god besides Him" calls to worship of himself, and only Iblis said that. Thus, this verse was revealed with reference to Iblis.

According to Bishr b. Mu'adh—Yazīd (b. Zuray')—Sa'īd (b. Abī 'Arūbah)—Qatādah, commenting on: "And whoever among them says: I am a god besides Him, will have Hell as his recompense from Us. So do We recompense the wrongdoers."⁵¹⁹ This verse (was revealed) specifically for Iblis, the enemy of God, when he said what he said, may God curse him and have him stoned! He thus continued: "will have Hell as his recompense from Us. So do We recompense the wrongdoers."

[81]

513. See *Tafsīr*, I, 160 and 178 (*ad* Qur. 2:30 and 34).

514. See above, n. 399. In *Tafsīr*, I, 178, his name is omitted.

515. *Tafsīr*, I, 178, has 'Ubayd. See above, n. 402.

516. Qur. 18:50.

517. Died a year or two before al-Thawrī, thus in 776[7]. See Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh*, IV, 1, 427; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, IV, 1, 340 f.; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān*, V, 12.

518. See above, n. 512.

519. Qur. 21:29.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-A'lā—Muḥammad b. Thawr—Ma'mar—Qatādah, commenting on: "And whoever among them says: I am a god besides Him, will have Hell as his recompense from Us." This verse (was revealed) specifically for Iblīs.⁵²⁰

The Events That Took Place During the Days of the Royal Authority and Rule of the Accursed Iblīs and the Reason Why He claimed Divine Authority and Perished

One of the events that took place during the rule of the enemy of God while he was (still) obedient to God is what was mentioned to us on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās in a report told us by Abū Kurayb—'Uthmān b. Sa'īd⁵²¹—Bishr b. 'Umārah⁵²²—Abū Rawq—al-Ḍaḥḥāk—Ibn 'Abbās: Iblīs belonged to a tribal group of angels called jinn. Among the angels it was they who were created from the fire of the simoom.⁵²³ He continued. His name was al-Ḥārith.⁵²⁴ He continued. He was one of the keepers of Paradise. He continued. All the angels except this tribal group were created from light. He continued. The jinn mentioned in the Qur'ān were created "from a bright flame (*mārij*) of fire"—(*mārij* being) a tongue of fire blazing on its side(s and top).⁵²⁵ He continued. And He created man from clay. The first to dwell on earth were the jinn. They caused corruption on it and shed blood⁵²⁶ and killed each other. He continued. God sent Iblīs to them with an army

520. The entire section consists of material from *Tafsīr*, XVII, 13 (*ad Qur.* 21:29).

521. Ibn Abī Ḥātim, III, 1, 152, no. 832, lists a certain 'Uthmān b. Sa'īd al-Zayyāt as a transmitter from Bishr b. 'Umārah and an authority of Abū Kurayb. He would seem to be the individual meant here. *Tahdhīb*, VII, 119, no. 255, indicates only that he is an authority of Abū Kurayb. A certain 'Uthmān b. Sa'īd al-Murri appears in *Tahdhīb*, VII, 119, no. 256, and Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh*, III, 2, 224, also as an authority of Abū Kurayb.

522. Bishr b. 'Umārah appears to have been known mainly as a transmitter from Abū Rawq. See *Tahdhīb*, I, 455; Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 2, 81; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, I, 1, 362.

523. The wind known as simoom presumably received its name from the Qur'ānic usage of *samūm* in connection with fire in Qur. 15:27. The passage appears in *Tafsīr*, XIV, 21, on this verse.

524. The preceding three sentences in *Tafsīr*, I, 178 (*ad Qur.* 2:34).

525. Qur. 55:15. The sentence appears in *Tafsīr*, XXVII, 74, on this verse. The tradition to this point is quoted in *Tafsīr*, I, 178.

526. Cf. Qur. 2:30.

of angels. They were that tribal group called jinn. Iblīs and those with him caused a bloodbath⁵²⁷ among them and eventually banished them to the islands in the oceans and the mountainsides.⁵²⁸ His success went to his head, and he said: I have done something nobody has ever done before. He continued. God was aware of how Iblīs felt, but the angels who were with him were not.⁵²⁹

[82]

According to al-Muthannā—Ishāq b. al-Hajjāj⁵³⁰ —‘Abdallāh b. Abī Ja‘far⁵³¹ —his father—al-Rabī‘ b. Anas⁵³²: God created the angels on Wednesday. He created the jinn on Thursday, and He created Adam on Friday. He continued. Some jinn disbelieved, and the angels went down to them on earth to fight them. Thus, bloodshed and corruption came into being on earth.

The Reason Why the Enemy of God Was Enticed to be Overbearing Toward His Lord and Thereby Perished

The early (scholars) among the Companions and Followers differed on this subject. We just mentioned one of the statements transmitted on the authority of Ibn ‘Abbās by al-Ḍaḥḥāk, namely, that when Iblīs caused a bloodbath among the jinn who disobeyed God and caused corruption on earth, and expelled them, he was pleased with himself and on account of it considered himself more excellent than anybody else.

The second statement on the subject transmitted on the authority of Ibn ‘Abbās is that Iblīs was the ruler and governor of the lower heaven as well as the governor of all in between the lower heaven and the earth and the keeper of Paradise and also zealously worshiped God, but then he became pleased with himself and therefore thought that he was superior. So he became over-

527. According to the reading suggested in the Cairo edition.

528. From "The first to dwell" to this point in *Tafsīr*, I, 156 f. (*ad Qur.* 2:30).

529. The entire text of the tradition is to be found in *Tafsīr*, I, 155, where it continues commenting on Qur. 2:30.

530. He is mentioned as a transmitter of ‘Abdallāh b. Abī Ja‘far in Ibn Abī Hātim, I, 1, 217. His *nisbah* being al-Ṭāhūnī, he is listed in Sam‘ānī, *Ansāb*, IX, 2 f. See also Horst, 298, n. 6.

531. For ‘Abdallāh b. Abī Ja‘far ʿĪsā b. Māhān, see *Tahdhīb*, V, 176 f., and for his father, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 56 f. See also Horst, 298, n. 7, and 299, n. 11.

532. Al-Rabī‘ b. Anas died in 139 or 140/756-58 during the caliphate of al-Manṣūr, See *Tahdhīb*, III, 238 f.; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 34; Horst, 299, n. 12. For the tradition, see *Tafsīr*, I, 157 and 163 (*ad Qur.* 2:30).

bearing toward his Lord.

The transmission of the report on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās

[83]

According to Mūsā b. Hārūn al-Hamdānī—'Amr b. Ḥammād—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī—Abū Mālik and Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās. Also (al-Suddī)—Murrah al-Hamdānī—Ibn Mas'ūd and some (other) companions of the Prophet: When God finished with the creation of whatever He liked, He sat straight upon the Throne. He made Iblīs ruler over the lower heaven. Iblīs belonged to a tribe of angels called jinn. They were called jinn because they were the keepers of Paradise. In addition to being ruler (of the lower heaven), Iblīs was a keeper (of Paradise). Then haughtiness affected him, and he said: God gave all that to me only because of some distinctive quality. So I was told by Mūsā b. Hārūn. I was (also) told this by Aḥmad b. Abī Khaythamah⁵³³—'Amr b. Ḥammād who commented: because of some distinctive quality of mine making me superior to the angels. When that haughtiness affected him, God was aware of it. He said to the angels: "I am placing on earth a vicegerent."⁵³⁴

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah b. al-Faḍl—Ibn Ishāq—Khallād b. 'Aṭā'⁵³⁵—Ṭāwūs⁵³⁶—Ibn 'Abbās: Before committing disobedience, Iblīs was one of the angels. His name was 'Azāzil. He was one of the dwellers on earth. He was one of the most zealous and knowledgeable of the angels. That led him to haughtiness. He belonged to a tribal group called jinn.⁵³⁷

Ibn Ḥumayd gave us about the same account again, reporting from Salamah—Ibn Ishāq—Khallād b. 'Aṭā'—Ṭāwūs or Abū al-Ḥajjāj Mujāhid—Ibn 'Abbās, and others. However, he said: (Iblīs) was an angel named 'Azāzil. He was one of the dwellers and cultivators on earth. The dwellers on earth from among the angels used to be called jinn.

According to Ibn al-Muthannā—Shaybān⁵³⁸—Sallām b. Mis-

533. The historian Aḥmad b. Abī Khaythamah died ninety-four years old in 279/872. See *Et*², III, 687, s.v. Ibn Abī Khaythama; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 319 f.

534. Qur. 2:30. The tradition is quoted in *Tafsīr*, I, 160, on this verse.

535. See Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 1, 170 f.; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, I, 2, 366. *Tafsīr*, I, 178, has the apparent mistake Khallād — 'Aṭā'.

536. Died about 106/724[5]. See *Tahdhīb*, V, 8–10.

537. This and the following tradition are quoted in *Tafsīr*, I, 178 (*ad* Qur. 2:34).

538. Apparently, Shaybān b. Farrūkh b. Abī Shaybah who lived from ca. 140/757[8] to 235 or 236/849–51. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 374 f.

kīn⁵³⁹ —Qatādah—Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab⁵⁴⁰ : Iblis was the chief of the angels of the lower heaven.⁵⁴¹

The third statement transmitted on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās is that he used to say: The reason for (what happened) is that Iblis belonged to a remnant of creatures created by God. He commanded them to do something, but they refused to be obedient to Him.

[84]

The transmission of the report on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās

According to Muḥammad b. Sinān al-Qazzāz—Abū 'Āṣim (al-Nabīl)—Shabīb⁵⁴² —'Ikrimah—Ibn 'Abbās: God created some creatures and said: "Prostrate yourselves before Adam!"⁵⁴³ They replied: We shall not do that. He continued. He sent a fire to consume them. He then created other creatures and said: "I am creating a human being from clay,"⁵⁴⁴ so prostrate yourselves before Adam! They refused, and God sent a fire to consume them. Then He created these and said: Will you not prostrate yourselves before Adam? They replied: Yes! Iblis belonged to those who refused to prostrate themselves before Adam.

Others said: Rather, the reason is that he belonged to the remnant of the jinn who were on earth. They shed blood and caused corruption on it. They were disobedient to their Lord. Therefore, the angels fought against them.

Those who said this

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Yahyā b. Wāḍih—Abū Sa'īd al-Yaḥmadī Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm⁵⁴⁵ —Sawwār b. al-Ja'd al-Yaḥmadī⁵⁴⁶ —Shahr b. Ḥawshab,⁵⁴⁷ commenting on God's word: "He was one of the jinn"⁵⁴⁸ : Iblis was one of the jinn whom the angels drove

539. Died between 164 and 167/780–84. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 286 f.

540. Depending on the age he is said to have reached, Ibn al-Musayyab was born between 634 and 639. He died about 93 or 94/711–13. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 84–88; Khalifah, *Ṭabaqāt*, 244; Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 1, 467 f.; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 276.

541. See *Tafsīr*, I, 178 (*ad Qur.* 2:34).

542. For Shabīb b. Bishr, see *Tahdhīb*, IV, 306. *Tafsīr*, I, 180 (*ad Qur.* 2:34), has Sharīk(!)—someone—'Ikrimah.

543. *Qur.* 2:34, etc. The entire tradition appears in *Tafsīr*, I, 180.

544. *Qur.* 38:71.

545. *Tafsīr*, I, 179, has an unlikely Abū Sa'īd al-Yaḥmadī—Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm. However, no identification seems possible.

546. Briefly listed in Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 2, 170; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, II, 1, 270, without al-Yaḥmadī.

547. Died early in the second century/ca. 719–29. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 369–72.

548. *Qur.* 18:50.

away. One of the angels captured him and took him to heaven.⁵⁴⁹

[85] According to 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan⁵⁵⁰ —Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Khallāl⁵⁵¹ —Sunayd b. Dāwūd—Hushaym⁵⁵² —'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yaḥyā⁵⁵³ —Mūsā b. Numayr and 'Uthmān b. Sa'īd b. Kāmil⁵⁵⁴ —Sa'd b. Mas'ūd⁵⁵⁵ : The angels used to fight the jinn, and Iblīs was taken captive. He was young and used to worship together with the angels. When they were commanded to prostrate themselves before Adam and Iblīs refused, God said: "Except Iblīs. He was one of the jinn."⁵⁵⁶

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) says: In my opinion, the statement most likely to be correct is one that agrees with God's word: "We said to the angels: Prostrate yourselves before Adam!, and they did, except Iblīs. He was one of the jinn. He wickedly disobeyed the command of his Lord."⁵⁵⁷ It is possible that his wickedness in disobeying the command of his Lord resulted from his being one of the jinn. It is (further) possible that it resulted from his being pleased with himself because he worshiped his Lord so zealously, possessed great knowledge, and had been entrusted with the rule over the lower heaven and the earth as well as the post of keeper of Paradise. (But) it is (also) possible that there was some other reason. Knowledge of this subject can be attained only through a report that provides valid proof, but we have no such report, and the differences with respect to the matter are as indicated by the reports transmitted by us.

It was (also) said that the reason why Iblīs perished was that before Adam, the jinn were on earth. God sent Iblīs to act among

549. See *Tafsīr*, I, 179 (*ad Qur.* 2:34).

550. His identity seems to be established by the fact that Muslim al-Jarmī is one of his authorities (see below, n. 632), and 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Abdawayh al-Khazzāz appears among Muslim al-Jarmī's transmitters in *TB*, XIII, 100. According to *TB*, XI, 374 f., that 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan died in 277/987[8]. *Tafsīr*, I, 179, has 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn.

551. He could possibly be identical with the Abū Naṣr mentioned above, n. 128.

552. Born in 104 or 105/722-24, Hushaym b. Bashīr died in 183/799. See *TB*, XIV, 85-94; *Tahdhīb*, XI, 59-64; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 38.

553. It is doubtful whether he could be identified with the individual listed in *Tahdhīb*, IV, 294.

554. Both Mūsā and 'Uthmān are unidentified.

555. He may possibly be the obscure Sa'd b. Mas'ūd briefly listed as a transmitter from Ibn 'Abbās. See Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 2, 64; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, II, 1, 94.

556. *Qur.* 18:50. The tradition is quoted in *Tafsīr*, I, 179 (*ad Qur.* 2:34).

557. *Qur.* 18:50.

them as judge. He did so conscientiously (*bi-al-ḥaqq*) for a thousand years, so that he eventually was called "arbiter" (*ḥakam*). God called him thus and revealed to him his name. At that, he became filled with haughtiness. He became self-important and caused terror, hostility, and hatred among those to whom God had sent him as arbiter. This is assumed to have caused them to fight so bitterly on earth for two thousand years that their horses waded in the blood of (those killed). They continued. This is (meant by) God's word: "Were We wearied by the first creation? No! Rather they are in uncertainty about a new creation (at the end of the world),"⁵⁵⁸ and (by) the statement of the angels: "Will You place on (earth) one who will cause corruption on it and shed blood?"⁵⁵⁹ At that, God sent a fire that consumed them. They continued. When Iblīs saw the punishment that had descended upon his people, he ascended to heaven. He stayed with the angels worshiping God in heaven as zealously as did no other creature. He continued to do so, until God created Adam and that well-known episode of Iblīs' disobedience to his Lord occurred.

[86]

(*The Story of Adam*)

One of the events that took place in the days of the rule and royal authority of Iblīs was God's creation of our father Adam, the father of mankind. That was as follows: As the angels did not know about Iblīs' involvement with haughtiness, God wanted to make them aware of it and to show them what had gone wrong with Iblīs when he was about to be ruined and lose his royal authority and rule. In this connection, God said to the angels: "I am placing on earth a vicegerent." They replied: "Will You place on it one who will cause corruption on it and shed blood?"⁵⁶⁰ It has been transmitted on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās that the angels said exactly that, noticing what the jinn, who were dwellers on earth before, were doing. When their Lord said to the angels: "I am placing on earth a vicegerent," they asked: Will You place on it one who will behave like the jinn who, when on earth, shed blood there and caused corruption and were disobedient to You, "whereas we

558. Qur. 50:15.

559. Qur. 2:30.

560. Qur. 2:30.

praise and sanctify You"? The Lord now said to them: "I know what you do not know."⁵⁶¹ He (means to) say: I know about Iblīs' involvement with overbearance which you do not know. I know that he intends to oppose my command and that he has been enticed to wrongdoing and futile self-deception. I am going to show you this attitude of his, so that you can see it with your own eyes. [87]

Many statements have been made on this subject. We have reported a number of them in our book entitled *The Complete Clarification of the Interpretation of the Verses of the Qur'ān*.⁵⁶² We hate to add to the length of our book by mentioning (all of) that here.

When God wanted to create Adam, He commanded that the soil from which Adam was to be made be taken from the earth, as we were told by Abū Kurayb—'Uthmān b. Sa'īd—Bishr b. 'Umārah—Abū Rawq—al-Ḍaḥḥāk—Ibn 'Abbās: He—meaning the Lord—then commanded to lift up Adam's soil. God created Adam "from sticky (*lāzib*) clay"⁵⁶³ —*lāzib* ("sticky") meaning viscous and sweet smelling— "from *masnūn* slime"⁵⁶⁴ —*masnūn* being "stinking." He continued. It became stinking slime after (having been compact) soil.⁵⁶⁵ He continued. God created Adam with His own hand.⁵⁶⁶

According to Mūsā b. Hārūn—'Amr b. Ḥammād—Asbāt—al-Suddī—Abū Mālik and Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās. Also (al-Suddī)—Murrāh al-Hamdānī—Ibn Mas'ūd and some (other) companions of the Prophet, commenting on the angels saying: "Will You place on it one who will cause corruption on it and shed blood, whereas we praise and sanctify You ? and (God) replied: I know what you do not know"⁵⁶⁷ —that is, of the affair of Iblīs. God then sent Gabriel to the earth to bring Him some of its clay. The earth said: I take refuge in God against your taking something away

561. Qur. 2:30.

562. This is the formal title of Ṭabari's *Tafsīr*, which is the source for the material used here.

563. Qur. 17:11.

564. Qur. 15:26, 28, and 33.

565. The suggestion of the Leiden edition, here and text below, I, 90, l. 2, to read *iltizāb* "after having become sticky," for "after ... soil," is hardly possible, as one would expect the definite article and *l-z-b* VIII is not listed in the dictionaries. "After ... soil" is also the reading of *Tafsīr*.

566. See *Tafsīr*, I, 158 f. (*ad* Qur. 2:34).

567. Qur. 2:30.

from me and mutilating me. So Gabriel returned without having taken (any clay) and said: My Lord, the earth took refuge in You, and I granted it its wish. God then sent Michael, and exactly the same thing happened. Then He sent the angel of death. When the earth took refuge in God against him, he said: I take refuge in God against returning without having executed His command. So he took (some soil) from the face of the earth and made a mixture. He did not take the soil from a single place but took red, white, and black soil.⁵⁶⁸ Therefore, the children of Adam came out different. He went up with the soil, then moistened it so it would become "sticky clay"—*lāzib* ("sticky") means something that adheres (*l-z-q*) to something else. Then (the moistened soil) was left to change and become stinking (*muntin*). That is where God says: "From *masnūn* slime." He commented: stinking.⁵⁶⁹

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Ya'qūb al-Qummī—Ja'far b. Abī al-Mughīrah—Sa'īd b. Jubayr—Ibn 'Abbās: The Lord Almighty sent Iblīs⁵⁷⁰ to take some skin (*adīm*) from the earth, both sweet and salty, and God created Adam from it. For this reason he was named Adam—that is, because he was created from the skin (*adīm*) of the earth. For the same reason Iblīs asked: "Shall I prostrate myself before one whom You have created from clay?"⁵⁷¹—that is, that clay brought by myself.

According to Ibn al-Muthannā—Abū Dāwūd⁵⁷²—Shu'bah—Abū Ḥaṣīn—Sa'īd b. Jubayr: He was named Adam just because he was created from the skin (*adīm*) of the earth.⁵⁷³

According to Aḥmad b. Ishāq al-Ahwāzī⁵⁷⁴—Abū Aḥmad⁵⁷⁵—

568. Cf. Targum Pseudo-Jonathan *ad* Genesis 2:7, and, without reference to color, Babylonian Talmud, Sanhedrin, 38a-b. See also *Tafsīr*, I, 169 (*ad* Qur. 2:31).

569. The tradition is found in *Tafsīr*, I, 160, and, in part, I, 169 (*ad* Qur. 2:29 and 31).

570. *Tafsīr*, I, 169, has "angel of death." According to the tradition's concluding words, this cannot be meant here.

571. Qur. 17:61.

572. Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān b. Dāwūd al-Tayālīsī lived from 133/750[1] to 203 or 204/818-20. See *TB*, IX, 24-29; *Tahdhīb*, IV, 182-87; Brockelmann, *GAL*, *Suppl.*, I, 257; Speight, in *The Muslim World*, 63 (1973), 249-68.

573. This, and the following two traditions, appear in reverse order in *Tafsīr*, I, 169 (*ad* Qur. 2:31).

574. Died in 250/864. See *Tahdhīb*, I, 14 f.

575. Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Zubayrī died in 203/818. See *TB*, V, 402-4; *Tahdhīb*, IX, 254-56.

Mis'ar⁵⁷⁶ —Abū Ḥasīn—Sa'īd b. Jubayr: Adam was created from the skin (*adīm*) of the earth and therefore called Adam.

According to Aḥmad b. Ishāq—Abū Aḥmad—'Amr b. Thābit⁵⁷⁷—his father—his grandfather—'Alī: Adam was created from the skin (*adīm*) of the earth, containing something pleasant (*ṭayyib*) and something good and something bad. All this can be seen in Adam's children, (who are) good and bad.

[89] According to Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm⁵⁷⁸ —Ibn 'Ulayyah⁵⁷⁹ —'Awf.⁵⁸⁰ Also Muḥammad b. Bashshār and 'Umar b. Shabbah⁵⁸¹ —Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd—'Awf. Also Ibn Bashshār—Ibn Abī 'Adī and Muḥammad b. Ja'far (Ghundar) and 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Thaqafī⁵⁸² —'Awf. Also Muḥammad b. 'Umārah al-Asadī⁵⁸³ —Ismā'il b. Abān⁵⁸⁴ —'Anbasah⁵⁸⁵ —'Awf al-A'rābī—Qasāmah b. Zuhayr⁵⁸⁶ —Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī⁵⁸⁷ —the Messenger of God: God created Adam from a handful (of soil) which He took from the entire earth. Thus, the children of Adam came to correspond to the earth in being red, black, white, or (colors) in between, and in being plain or rugged, unpleasant or pleasant.⁵⁸⁸ The clay from which Adam was made

576. Mis'ar b. Kidām died between 153 and 155/770–72. See *Tahdhīb*, X, 113–15.

577. 'Amr b. Thābit b. Abī Khālid Hurmuz al-Wālibī died in 172/788[9], his father is listed in *Tahdhīb*. See *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 9 f., and II, 16 f. For his grandfather Hurmuz, who is said to have transmitted from 'Alī indirectly, see above, n. 81.

578. Born in 166/782[3], Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm b. Kathīr al-Dawraqī died in 252/866. See *TB*, XIV, 277–80; *Tahdhīb*, XI, 381 f. For his brother Aḥmad, see Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 112.

579. Ibn 'Ulayyah Ismā'il b. Ibrāhīm b. Miqsam lived from 110/728[9] to 193 or 194/808–10. See *TB*, VI, 229–40; *Tahdhīb*, I, 275–79; Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*², 366, n. 4.

580. 'Awf b. Abī Jamīlah al-A'rābī lived from 59/678[9] to 146 or 147/763–64. See *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 166 f.

581. The historian Abū Zayd 'Umar b. Shabbah was born in 173/789 and died in 262/876. See *TB*, XI, 208–10; *Tahdhīb*, VII, 460; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 345.

582. Born about 108–10/726–29, 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Abd al-Majīd al-Thaqafī died in 194/809–10. See *TB*, XI, 18–21; *Tahdhīb*, VI, 449 f.

583. He occurs frequently in *History* and *Tafsīr* as well as *Ikhtilāf*, ed. Schacht, 227.

584. He may be either al-Warrāq (d. 216/831) or al-Ghanawī (d. 210/825[6]) who are both mentioned in *Tahdhīb*, I, 269–71.

585. He is probably identical with 'Anbasah, mentioned above, n. 393.

586. Died around 700. See *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 378.

587. The famous Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī supposedly died at the age of sixty-three between 42 and 53/662–73. See *Tahdhīb*, V, 362 f.; *EI*², I, 695 f., s. v. al-Ash'arī, Abū Mūsā.

588. The tradition is quoted to this point in *Tafsīr*, I, 169 f. (*ad Qur.* 2:31). Ibn Khuzaymah, 64, refers to Adam's creation from clay of various colors.

was moistened until it became "sticky clay," then was left to become stinking slime, and then *ṣalṣāl* ("dry clay" or "potter's clay"), as God says: "We created man from dry clay from stinking slime."⁵⁸⁹

According to Ibn Bashshār—Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Maḥdī—Sufyān—al-A'mash—Muslim al-Baṭīn⁵⁹⁰ — Sa'īd b. Jubayr—Ibn 'Abbās: Adam was created from three (kinds of clay): dry clay (*ṣalṣāl*), slime (*ḥama'*), and sticky clay. The "sticky" clay (*lāzib*) is the good clay. *Ḥama'* is *ḥami'ah*,⁵⁹¹ and *ṣalṣāl* is finely pounded soil. God means by "from *ṣalṣāl*" : from dry clay which has *ṣalṣalah*, that is, makes sounds.⁵⁹²

It has been mentioned that God caused Adam's clay to ferment. He left it lying around as a body (*jasad*) for forty nights, or, according to another statement, forty years.

Those who said this

According to Abū Kurayb—'Uthmān b. Sa'īd—Bishr b. 'Umārah—Abū Rawq—Daḥḥāk—Ibn 'Abbās: God commanded to lift up the soil from which Adam was to be made. He created Adam from sticky clay from stinking slime. He continued. It became stinking slime only after (having been compact) soil.⁵⁹³ He continued. He created Adam from it with His own hand. He continued. It remained lying around as a body (*jasad*) for forty nights. Iblis used to come to it and kick it with his foot, whereupon it made sounds. He continued. This is (meant by) God's word: "From *ṣalṣāl* like potter's clay."⁵⁹⁴ He means: like something separated that is not compact. He continued. Then (Iblis) entered Adam's mouth and left from his posterior, and he entered his posterior and left from his mouth. Then he said: You are not something for making sounds (*ṣalṣalah*). What, then, were you created for? If I am given authority over you, I shall ruin you, and if you are given authority over

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589. Qur. 15:26, etc.

590. For Muslim b. (Abī) 'Imrān al-Baṭīn, see *Tahdhīb*, X, 134.

591. The reading in *Tafsīr* (see n. 592) of *ḥam'ah* makes it even clearer that the Qur'ānic word is considered by Ibn 'Abbās as belonging to the root *ḥ-m-'* and not, as suggested by others, to the root *ḥ-m-y*.

592. See the slightly different versions in *Tafsīr*, XIV, 19 (ad Qur. 15:26), and XXIV, 73 (ad Qur. 55:14-16).

593. See above, n. 565.

594. Qur. 15:26, etc.

me, I shall disobey you.⁵⁹⁵

According to Mūsā b. Hārūn—'Amr b. Ḥammād—Asbāt—al-Suddī—Abū Mālik and Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās. Also (al-Suddī)—Murrah al-Ḥamdānī—Ibn Mas'ūd and some (other) companions of the Prophet: God said to the angels: "I am creating a human being from clay. When I have fashioned him and blown some of My spirit into him, fall down in prostration before him!"⁵⁹⁶ God created him with His own hands, lest Iblīs become overbearing toward (Adam), so that (God) could say to (Iblīs): You are overbearing toward something I have made with My own hand(s), which I Myself was not too haughty to make!? So God created Adam as a human being. He was a body of clay for forty years the extent of Friday(?).⁵⁹⁷ When the angels passed by him, they were frightened by what they saw. The angel most frightened was Iblīs. He would pass by him, kick him, and thus make the body produce a sound as potter's clay does. That is (meant) where God says: "From *ṣalṣāl* like potter's clay."⁵⁹⁸ Then he would say: What were you created for? He entered his mouth and left from his posterior. Then he said to the angels: Don't be afraid of that one, for your Lord is solid, whereas this one is hollow.⁵⁹⁹ When I am given authority over him, I shall ruin him.⁶⁰⁰

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We were told on the authority of al-Ḥasan b. Bilāl⁶⁰¹—Ḥammād b. Salamah—Sulaymān al-Taymī⁶⁰²—Abū 'Uthmān al-Nahdī⁶⁰³—Salmān al-Fārisī⁶⁰⁴: God caused Adam's clay to ferment for forty

595. The tradition appears in *Tafsīr*, I, 158 f. (*ad* Qur. 2:30) and, in part, XXIV, 73 (*ad* Qur. 55:14-16).

596. Qur. 38:71 f.

597. That is, the forty years were no longer than the hour on Friday during which Adam was created?

598. Qur. 15:26, etc.

599. This refers to an interpretation given *al-ṣamad* in Qur. 112:2, which, incidentally, is not the one preferred by Ṭabarī in *Tafsīr*, XXX, 224, on this verse.

600. See *Tafsīr*, I, 160.

601. See *Tahdhīb* II, 258. Elsewhere, 'Alī b. Sahl is mentioned as the transmitter between al-Ḥasan b. Bilāl and Ṭabarī. Both 'Alī and al-Ḥasan were from al-Ramlah.

602. See above, n. 102.

603. One of the legendary longevous men of early Islamic times who was said to have lived 130 or 140 years, Abū 'Uthmān al-Nahdī supposedly died in 95/713[4] or, using a round figure suggesting a mere guess, in 100/718[9]. See *Tahdhīb*, VI, 277 f.; Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, XIII, 217; Rosenthal, *Sweeter than Hope*, 82.

604. A famous legendary figure of early Islam, Salmān al-Fārisī may have died

days and then put him together with His own hands. His pleasant part came out in God's right hand, and his unpleasant part in God's left. God then wiped His hands one with the other and so mixed both (pleasant and unpleasant). That is why pleasant comes forth from unpleasant, and unpleasant from pleasant (in man's constitution).

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Ishāq: Reportedly—God knows best!—God created Adam, then put him down and looked at him for forty days before blowing the spirit into him, until he became *ṣalṣāl* like potter's clay untouched by fire. He continued. When, after that period during which Adam was *ṣalṣāl* like potter's clay, God wanted to blow the spirit into him, He went to the angels and said to them: "When I ... have blown some of My spirit into him, fall down in prostration before him!"⁶⁰⁵

When God blew the spirit into him, the spirit came to Adam by way of his head, as the early (scholars) are reported to have said.

Those who said this

According to Mūsā b. Hārūn—'Amr b. Hammād—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī—Abū Mālik and Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās. Also (al-Suddī)—Murrah al-Hamdānī—Ibn Mas'ūd and some (other) companions of the Prophet: At the time God wanted to blow the spirit into Adam, He said to the angels: When I blow some of My spirit into him, prostrate yourselves before him! Now, when He blew the spirit into him and the spirit entered his head, Adam sneezed. The angels said: Say: "Praise be to God!"⁶⁰⁶ and he did. Whereupon God said to him: May your Lord show mercy into you! When the spirit entered his eyes, he looked at the fruits of Paradise, and when it entered his belly, he craved food. So he jumped up, before the spirit reached his feet, in his haste to get at the fruits of Paradise. This is (meant) where God says: "Man was created of haste."⁶⁰⁷ So all the angels together prostrated themselves, "except Iblīs. He refused to be with those prostrating themselves."⁶⁰⁸ "He refused and was

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in the thirties/650s. See *Tahdhib*, IV, 137–39; Massignon, *Salmān Pāk*.

605. Qur. 38:72.

606. Qur. 1:1.

607. Qur. 21:37. "Of haste" is one of the interpretations given by the commentators. See also the following tradition. "In haste" is also recognized as possible.

608. Qur. 15:30 f.

overbearing, being one of the unbelievers."⁶⁰⁹ When God said to Iblis: "What prevented you from prostrating yourself, as I commanded you?"—before what I have created with My own hands— "(Iblīs) said: I am better than he."⁶¹⁰ I am not one to prostrate myself before a human being You have created from clay. Whereupon God said to him: "Fall down"⁶¹¹ from [Paradise]! It is not yours to—meaning, you must not—be overbearing in it. So leave! You are one of the mean beings."⁶¹² "Meanness" is humility.

According to Abū Kurayb—'Uthmān b. Sa'īd—Bishr b. 'Umārah—Abū Rawq—al-Daḥḥāk—Ibn 'Abbās: When God blew some of His spirit into him—meaning into Adam—it was by way of his head. Wherever something of God's spirit began to move in Adam's body, it became flesh and blood. When the blown spirit reached his navel, he looked at his body and was pleased to see its beauty. He attempted to get up but could not. This is (meant by) God's word: "Man was created of haste."⁶¹³ He commented (on "of haste"): Distressed, with no patience for either fortunate or unfortunate (events). He continued. When the blown spirit had completely pervaded his body, he sneezed and said, by divine inspiration: "Praise be to God, the Lord of the worlds!"⁶¹⁴ God said: May God show mercy unto you, Adam! Then He said to the particular angels who were with Iblīs, not those who were in the heavens: Prostrate yourselves before Adam, and all of them did, "except Iblīs who refused and was overbearing,"⁶¹⁵ because of the haughtiness and self-importance inspired by his soul. Iblīs said: I shall not prostrate myself, as I am older and better than he is as well as physically stronger. "You created me from fire, and You created him from clay,"⁶¹⁶ meaning that fire is stronger than clay. He continued. When Iblīs refused to prostrate himself, God "be-

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609. Qur. 2:34.

610. Qur. 7:12.

611. The Leiden edition has "Leave" as against the Qur'ānic text which may have been restored by the editor of the Cairo edition or some earlier copyist.

612. Qur. 7:13. The tradition appears in *Tafsīr*, I, 160 (*ad* Qur. 2:30), and also in part in *Tafsīr*, XVII, 19 (*ad* Qur. 21:37).

613. Qur. 21:37.

614. Qur. 1:1.

615. Qur. 2:34. This and the two following sentences are quoted in *Tafsīr*, VIII, 98 (*ad* Qur. 7:12).

616. Qur. 7:12 and 38:76.

deviled" him (*ablasahū*),⁶¹⁷ that is, He eliminated any hope for him to attain some good and made him a stoned Satan as punishment for his disobedience.⁶¹⁸

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Ishāq: Reportedly—God knows best!—when the spirit reached his head, he sneezed. Then he said: "Praise be to God!"⁶¹⁹ He continued. The Lord then said to him: May your Lord show mercy unto you! When Adam straightened up, the angels fell down in prostration before him, in order to live up to the agreement God had made with them and to indicate obedience to the command He had given them. But Iblīs, the enemy of God, remained standing (alone) among them and did not prostrate himself out of haughtiness, self-importance, iniquity, and envy. God said to him: "Iblīs, what prevented you from prostrating yourself before what I have created with My own hands?" to: "I shall certainly fill Hell with you and all those of them who follow you."⁶²⁰ He continued. When God was finished with censuring Iblīs, and Iblīs persisted in disobedience, God hurled a curse at him and drove him out of Paradise.

According to Muḥammad b. Khalaf⁶²¹ —Adam b. Abī Iyās—Abū Khālid Sulaymān b. Ḥayyān⁶²² —Muḥammad b. 'Amr—Abū Salamah—Abū Hurayrah—the Prophet. Also Abū Khālid—al-A'mash—Abū Šāliḥ—Abū Hurayrah—the Prophet.⁶²³ Also Abū Khālid—Dāwūd b. Abī Hind⁶²⁴ —al-Sha'bī—Abū Hurayrah—the Prophet. Also Abū Khālid—Ibn Abī Dhubāb al-Dawsī⁶²⁵ —

617. Arab scholars naturally combined Iblīs with the root *b-l-s*. The meaning of *ablasa* is indicated to be "to make someone despair, to eliminate one's hope." See *Tafsīr*, I, 180 (*ad Qur.* 2:34). This root meaning may be genuine, but it could have originated from etymological speculation on the name Iblīs, cf. "bedevil." See also text below, I, 151.

618. The complete text is to be found in *Tafsīr*, I, 159 (*ad Qur.* 2:30). For the last sentence, see also *Tafsīr*, I, 180 (*ad Qur.* 2:34).

619. *Qur.* 1:1.

620. *Qur.* 38:75–85.

621. Died in 260/873–74. See *Tahdhīb*, IX, 149.

622. Born in 114/732[3], Sulaymān b. Ḥayyān died in 189 or 190/804–6. See *TB*, IX, 21–24; *Tahdhīb*, IV, 181 f.

623. This *isnād* is found only in the Cairo edition.

624. Died between 139 and 141/757–59. See *Tahdhīb*, III, 204 f.

625. Al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abī Dhubāb al-Dawsī died in 146/763[4]. See *Tahdhīb*, XI, 369 f.

- [94] Sa'īd al-Maqburī and Yazīd b. Hurmuz⁶²⁶ —Abū Hurayrah—the Prophet: God created Adam with His own hand and blew some of His spirit into him. He commanded the multitude of angels to prostrate themselves before Adam, and they did. Adam sat down, then sneezed and said: "Praise be to God!" His Lord said to him: May your Lord show mercy unto you! Go to that multitude of angels and say to them: Peace be upon you! He went and said to them: Peace be upon you! and they responded: And upon you be peace and the mercy of God! Adam then returned to his Lord Who said to him: This is your greeting and the greeting for your progeny to use among themselves. When Iblīs showed the haughtiness and disobedience to his Lord which he had kept concealed in his soul—(as indicated in the Qur'ān) when the angels asked their Lord Who told them: "I am placing on earth a vicegerent": "Will You place on it one who will cause corruption on it and shed blood, whereas we praise and sanctify You?" and the Lord replied: "I know what you do not know"⁶²⁷ —the angels became fully aware of what had been concealed to them (about Iblīs), and they realized that among them there was one who was disobedient to God and opposed to His command.

(Adam Is Taught All the Names)

God then "taught Adam all the names."⁶²⁸ The early Muslim scholars before us differed with respect to the names that He taught Adam, whether it was some specific names he was taught or the names in general. Some said: He was taught the name of everything.

*Those who said this*⁶²⁹

- [95] According to Abū Kurayb—'Uthmān b. Sa'īd—Bishr b. 'Umārah—Abū Rawq—al-Ḍaḥḥāk—Ibn 'Abbās: "God taught Adam all the names." They are the names commonly known and used among men, (such as) man, animal, earth, plain, ocean, mountain, donkey, and similarly (the names of) nations and others.

626. Yazīd b. Hurmuz died during the caliphate of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. See *Tahdhib*, XI, 369 f.

627. Qur. 2:30.

628. Qur. 2:31.

629. All the following traditions are included in *Tafsīr*, I, 170 f. (*ad* Qur. 2:31).

According to Aḥmad b. Ishāq al-Ahwāzī—Abū Aḥmad—Sharīk (b. 'Abdallāh al-Nakha'ī)—'Aṣim b. Kulayb⁶³⁰—al-Ḥasan b. Sa'd⁶³¹—Ibn 'Abbās, commenting on: "And He taught Adam all the names," as follows: He taught him the name of everything, down to fart and little fart.

According to 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan—Muslim al-Jarmī⁶³²—Muḥammad b. Muṣ'ab⁶³³—Qays b. al-Rabī⁶³⁴—'Aṣim b. Kulayb—Sa'īd b. Ma'bad⁶³⁵—Ibn 'Abbās, commenting on God's word: "And He taught Adam all the names," as follows: He taught him the name of everything, down to bit and little bit, fart and wind.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Amr—Abū 'Aṣim (al-Nabīl)—'Isā b. Maymūn—Ibn Abī Najīḥ—Mujāhid, commenting on God's word: "And He taught Adam all the names," as follows: (The names of) all that God has created.⁶³⁶

According to Ibn Wakī—Sufyān—Khaṣīf⁶³⁷—Mujāhid, commenting on: "And He taught Adam all the names," as follows: He taught him the names of everything.

According to Sufyān (b. Wakī)—his father—Sharīk (b. 'Abdallāh al-Nakha'ī)—Sālim al-Aftas⁶³⁸—Sa'īd b. Jubayr: God taught him the name of everything down to camel (*ba'ir*), cow, and sheep.

According to al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā—'Abd al-Razzāq—Ma'mar—Qatādah, commenting on God's word: "And He taught Adam all the names," as follows: He taught him the name of everything

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630. Died in 137/754[5]. See *Tahdhīb*, V, 53 f.

631. See *Tahdhīb*, II, 279 f.

632. Muslim b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jarmī died in 240/855 in Tarsus. See *TB*, XIII, 100. Cf. also above, n. 550.

633. Muḥammad b. Muṣ'ab al-Qirqisānī apparently is the individual meant here. He is listed in *TB*, III, 276–79; *Tahdhīb*, IX, 458–60. The date of death indicated in *TB* and presumably copied from *TB* in *Tahdhīb* [280/893[4] or 288/901] is preposterous in view of his authorities. A date of 188/804 would fit into the chain of transmitters in text below, I, 2754.

634. Qays b. al-Rabī died in the second half of the 160s/781–85. See *TB*, XII, 456–62; *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 391–95.

635. Sa'īd b. Ma'bad appears to be the individual briefly listed in Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 1, 468, and Ibn Abī Ḥātim, II, 1, 63, as having been in contact with Ibn 'Abbās.

636. *Tafsīr*, I, 170, has two slightly different traditions with different *isnāds* which seem to have been combined here.

637. Khaṣīf b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān died between 136 and 138/753–56. See *Tahdhīb*, III, 143 f.; Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 1, 208; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, I, 2, 403 f.; Dhānabī, *Mizān*, I, 653 f. Khuṣayf seems to be the more commonly used vocalization, see, in particular, the footnote in the cited entry of *Tahdhīb*.

638. Sālim b. 'Ajlān al-Aftas died in 132/749[50]. See *Tahdhīb*, III, 441 f.

(saying): This is a mountain, this is such-and-such, and that is such-and-such. "Then he presented" those names⁶³⁹ "to the angels and said: Tell me the names of these, if you speak the truth!"

According to Bishr b. Mu'ādh—Yazīd b. Zuray'—Sa'īd (b. Abī 'Arūbah)—Qatādah, quoting God's word: "And He taught Adam all the names" to "You are knowing and wise,"⁶⁴⁰ and commenting: "Adam, tell them their names!" And Adam told each kind of creature about its name and referred it to its genus.

According to al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan—al-Ḥusayn b. Dāwūd—Ḥajjāj—Jarīr b. Ḥāzim and Mubārak⁶⁴¹—al-Ḥasan.⁶⁴² And (Ḥajjāj)—Abū Bakr⁶⁴³—al-Ḥasan and Qatādah: He taught him the name of everything (saying): These are horses, these are mules, and camels, jinn, wild animals. And he began to call everything by its name.

Others said: Rather, he was taught some specific names. They said: What God taught him was the names of the angels.

Those who said this

According to 'Abdah al-Marwazī—'Ammār b. al-Ḥasan⁶⁴⁴—'Abdallāh b. Abī Ja'far—his father—al-Rabī' (b. Anas), commenting on God's word: "He taught Adam all the names," as follows: The names of the angels.

Others said something similar, that the names He taught Adam were those for specific things. They said, however, that what he was taught was (not the names of the angels but) the names of his progeny.

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639. Qur. 2:31 has "them," and this wording is reestablished in the editions of Ṭabarī. *Tafsīr*, I, 171, has "those names" (and also, incorrectly, "those things"). The pronoun "them" referring to persons caused problems for the commentators. Ṭabarī, in the *Tafsīr*, I, 171, expressed preference for the specific interpretation of "them" as angels or progeny.

640. Qur. 2:31 f. and 33.

641. Al-Mubārak b. Faḍlāh, a transmitter from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, died between 164 and 166/780–83. See *TB*, XIII, 211–16; *Tahdhīb*, X, 28–31.

642. The great al-Ḥasan b. Abī al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī lived from ca. 21/642 to 110/728[9]. See *Tahdhīb*, II, 263–70, *ET*², III, 247 f., s. v. Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 591–94; Horst, 301, n. 13.

643. The same *isnād* occurs in text below, I, 101, and appears to have to be understood as indicated. Ḥajjāj is mentioned elsewhere as an authority of Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallāh, for whom see above, n. 350. Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Maryam is, however, not listed as a transmitter from either al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī or Qatādah.

644. 'Ammār b. al-Ḥasan lived from 159/775[6] to 242/856[7]. See *Tahdhīb*, VII, 399; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 34, 79, 243; Horst, 299, n. 5. *Tafsīr*, I, 171, has the *isnād* start: I was told by 'Ammār... For 'Abdah al-Marwazī, see above, n. 399.

Those who said this

According to Yūnus—Ibn Wahb—Ibn Zayd,⁶⁴⁵ commenting on God's word: "And He taught Adam all the names," as follows: The names of his progeny.⁶⁴⁶

When God taught Adam all the names, God presented those bearing names to the angels and said to them: "Tell Me the names of these, if you speak the truth." As mentioned, God said this to the angels only because, when He said to them: "I am placing on earth a vicegerent," they had said: "Will You place on it one who will cause corruption on it and shed blood, whereas we praise and sanctify You?" Thus, after having created Adam and having blown the spirit into him and having taught him the names of everything He had created, he presented (them) to the angels and said to them: "Tell Me the names of these, if you speak the truth," (which is) that if I place one of you as My vicegerent on earth, you will obey, praise, and sanctify Me and not be disobedient. If I place someone not belonging to you (as My vicegerent on earth), he will cause corruption and shed blood. Now, if you do not know their names, although you can observe and see them with your own eyes, it is more likely that you will not know what will happen with you, if I place one of you as My vicegerent on earth, or with others, if I place one of them as My vicegerent on earth, when they are out of your sight and you do not see them with your own eyes, and you have not been informed what you or they will do.

This is what a number of early Muslims have said, as transmitted on their authority. Some of them are

According to Mūsā b. Hārūn—'Amr b. Hammād—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī—Abū Mālik and Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās. Also (al-Suddī)—Murrah al-Hamdānī—'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd and some (other) companions of the Prophet commenting on: "If you speak the truth": The children of Adam will cause corruption on earth and shed blood.⁶⁴⁷

According to Abū Kurayb—'Uthmān b. Sa'īd—Bishr b. 'Umārah—Abū Rawq—al-Ḍaḥḥāk—Ibn 'Abbās, commenting on: "If you

645. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd b. Aslam died in 182/798. See *Tahdhib*, IV, 177-79; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 38; Horst, 305, n. 3.

646. *Tafsīr*, I, 171 (*ad Qur.* 2:31), adds: all of them.

647. *Tafsīr*, I, 172 f. (*ad Qur.* 2:31).

“speak the truth”: If you know why I place on earth a vicegerent.⁶⁴⁸

It has also been said that God said that to the angels, because when He began to create Adam, they said among themselves: Let God create whatever He wants to, but whatever creature He may create, we are more knowledgeable and more honored by God than that creature. Thus, when God created Adam and taught him the names of everything, He presented the things whose names He had taught Adam to the angels and said to them: “Tell Me the names of these, if you speak the truth” in your claim that whatever creature God has created (before), you were more knowledgeable and more honored by God than that creature.

Those who said this

According to Bishr b. Mu‘ādh—Yazīd b. Zuray’—Sa‘īd—Qatādah, commenting on God’s word: “And when your Lord said to the angels: I am placing on earth a vicegerent”⁶⁴⁹: He thus asked the angels for advice concerning the creation of Adam, and they said: “Will You place on it one who will cause corruption on it and shed blood?” The angels knew from the knowledge of God (given to them) that nothing was more detestable to God than shedding blood and causing corruption on earth. “Whereas we praise and sanctify You. God said: I know what you do not know.” It was in God’s knowledge that from that vicegerent, there would come forth prophets, messengers, righteous people, and the inhabitants of Paradise. He continued. It has been mentioned to us that Ibn ‘Abbās used to say: When God began to create Adam, the angels said: God would not create a creature more honored by Him and more knowledgeable than we are. They were tested by the creation of Adam, just as were the heavens and the earth through obedience, when God said: “Come willingly or unwillingly! They said: We come willingly.”⁶⁵⁰

According to al-Qāsīm—al-Ḥusayn b. Dāwūd—Ḥajjāj—Jarīr b. Ḥāzim and Mubārak—al-Ḥasan. Also (Ḥajjāj)—Abū Bakr—al-Ḥasan and Qatādah.⁶⁵¹ God said to the angles: “I am placing on earth a vicegerent,” (meaning that) He said to them: I am

648. *Tafsīr*, I, 172 (*ad Qur.* 2:31).

649. *Qur.* 2:30.

650. *Qur.* 41:11. See text above, I, 23.

651. See above, n. 643.

making ...⁶⁵² But they came forward with their opinion (as to the propriety of God's impending action). He had taught them some knowledge and withheld other knowledge that He knew but they did not. On the strength of the knowledge He had taught them, they asked: "Will you place on it one who will cause corruption on it and shed blood?" From the knowledge of God (given to them), the angels knew that no sin was greater in God's eyes than shedding blood. (Because of the knowledge they did not have, they continued:) "Whereas we praise and sanctify You. God said: I know what you do not know." Now, when God started to create Adam, the angels murmured among themselves saying: Let our Lord create whatever He wants, but whatever He may create, we are more knowledgeable and more honored by God than that creature. So when God created Adam and blew some of His spirit into him, He commanded the angels to prostrate themselves before Adam because of what they had said. He thus preferred Adam to them, and they realized that they were not better than he was. They then said: If we are not better than he is, we are (at least) more knowledgeable, because we existed before him, and the nations were created before him. When they thus boasted about their knowledge, they were tested. "God taught Adam all the names. Then He presented them to the angels and said: Tell Me the names of these, if you speak the truth"⁶⁵³ (in saying) that you are more knowledgeable than whatever else I have created. Thus, inform Me about the names of these, if you speak the truth! They⁶⁵⁴ continued. The angels hurriedly sought repentance, as is done by every believer. "They said: Glory be to You! We have no knowledge but what You have taught us. You are knowing and wise. He said: Adam, tell them their names! When he did, God said: Did I not say to you that I know the secret (things) of the heavens and the earth and that I know what you reveal and what you keep concealed."⁶⁵⁵ (God said that) because they had said: Let our Lord create whatever He wants, but He shall not create a creature more honored by Him and more knowledgeable than we. He continued. He taught

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652. One of the interpretations of *jā'ilun* in Qur. 2:30 is, as here, *fā'ilun*, see *Tafsīr*, I, 156, l. 10. The use of *fā'ilun*, it seems, was felt to convey God's determination to go through with the creation of Adam.

653. This and the following sentence occur in *Tafsīr*, I, 173 (*ad* Qur. 2:31).

654. The dual referring to al-Ḥasan and Qatādah is found in the Cairo edition.

655. Qur. 2:32 f.

him the names of everything (saying): These are horses, these are mules, and camels, jinn, wild animals. And he began to call everything by its name, and nation after nation was presented to Him. God says: "Did I not say to you that I know the secret (things) of the heavens and the earth and that I know what you reveal and what you keep concealed?" He continued. (The knowledge) they revealed (refers to) their saying: "Will you place on it one who will cause corruption on it and shed blood?" (The knowledge) they kept concealed (refers to) their saying to one another: We are better and more knowledgeable than he.⁶⁵⁶

We⁶⁵⁷ were told on the authority of 'Ammār b. al-Ḥasan—'Abd-allāh b. Abī Ja'far—his father—al-Rabī' b. Anas, commenting on: "Then He presented them to the angels and said: Tell Me the names of these, if you speak the truth" to "You are knowing and wise."⁶⁵⁸ That was when they said: "Will You place on it one who will cause corruption on it and shed blood" to "sanctify You."⁶⁵⁹ He continued. When they realized that He was placing on earth a vicegerent, they said among themselves: Whatever God may create, we are more knowledgeable and more honored by God than that creature. Now, God wanted to inform them that He preferred Adam to them. He taught him all the names and said to the angels: "Tell Me the names of these, if you speak the truth" to: "I know what you reveal and what you keep concealed."⁶⁶⁰ (The knowledge) they revealed (refers to) their saying: "Will You place on it one who will cause corruption on it and shed blood?" The knowledge they kept concealed among themselves (refers to): Whatever God may create, we are more knowledgeable and honored than that creature. (Yet,) they realized that God preferred Adam to them with respect to knowledge and honor.⁶⁶¹

When Iblis' haughtiness and opposition to the command of his Lord which had been concealed from the angels became apparent to them, and⁶⁶² the Lord censured Iblīs for the disobedience he

656. For the entire tradition, see *Tafsīr*, I, 162 f. (*ad Qur.* 2:30).

657. *Tafsīr*, I, 163: I was told.

658. *Qur.* 2:31 f.

659. *Qur.* 2:30.

660. *Qur.* 2:31-33.

661. See *Tafsīr* I, 163 (*ad Qur.* 2:30).

662. The omission of "and" in the Cairo edition, which greatly changes the text, seems a mistake.

had shown to Him by not prostrating himself before Adam, but Iblīs persisted in his disobedience and continued in his error and perversion, God cursed him and expelled him from Paradise. He deprived him of the rule that had been his over the lower heaven and the earth, and deposed him from his post as keeper of Paradise. God said to him: "Leave it!"—meaning Paradise—"for you are stoned. The curse will be upon you to the Day of Judgement."⁶⁶³ (God said this to Iblīs) while he was still in heaven and had not (yet) fallen to earth.

At the time, God had Adam dwell in His Paradise, as I was told by Muṣā b. Hārūn—ʿAmr b. Ḥammād—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī—Abū Mālik and Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn ʿAbbās. Also (al-Suddī)—Murrah al-Ḥamdānī—Ibn Masʿūd and some (other) companions of the Prophet: Iblīs was driven out of Paradise when he was cursed, and Adam was settled in Paradise. Adam used to go about there all alone, not having a spouse to dwell with.⁶⁶⁴ He fell asleep, and when he woke up, he found sitting at his head a woman who had been created by God from his rib. He asked her what she was, and she replied: A woman. He asked for what purpose she had been created, and she replied: For you to dwell with me. The angels, looking (to find out) the extent of Adam's knowledge, asked him her name. He replied: Eve (Ḥawwāʾ). When the angels asked why she was called Eve, he replied: Because she was created from a living (*ḥayy*) thing. God said: "Adam, dwell you and your spouse in Paradise! Eat freely of its plenty wherever you wish!"⁶⁶⁵

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According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Ishāq: When God finished with censuring Iblīs, He went to Adam, whom He had taught all the names, and said: "Adam, tell their names" to: "You are knowing and wise."⁶⁶⁶ He continued. He then cast slumber upon Adam, as we have heard from the people of the Torah among the people of the Book and other scholars on the authority of ʿAbd-

663. Qur. 15:34 f.

664. Cf. Qur. 7:189 (also 30:21). It should be kept in mind that *sakana ilā* is commonly used metaphorically, thus, in the Qurʾānic context, "supply his needs, be a comfort to him." See *sakana* in the following tradition.

665. *Tafsīr*, I, 182 (*ad* Qur. 2:35).

666. The mistake here, referring to Qur. 2:33-32 (!), may go back to Ṭabarī. The Leiden edition has "mighty" for "knowing." This compounds the error, as the combination "mighty and wise" first occurs in Qur. 2:129. *Tafsīr*, I, 182, has "knowing." The Cairo edition simply restores the text of Qur. 2:33.

allāh b. 'Abbās and others. Then He took one of Adam's ribs from his left side and replaced it with flesh, while Adam was asleep and did not stir, until God had created his spouse Eve from that rib of his. He fashioned her to be a woman for him to dwell with. When slumber was lifted from him and he woke, he saw her at his side. It has been assumed—God knows best!—that Adam said: My flesh and blood and spouse, and he dwelled with her. When God gave him a spouse and made for him a comfort (*sakan*) from his own person, He said to him face to face⁶⁶⁷: Adam, dwell you and your spouse in Paradise! Eat freely of its plenty wherever you wish, but do not go near this tree, or you will be wrongdoers."⁶⁶⁸

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According to Muḥammad b. 'Amr—Abū 'Āṣim (al-Nabīl)—'Īsā (b. Maymūn)—Ibn Abī Najīḥ—Mujāhid,⁶⁶⁹ commenting on God's word: "And He created from him his spouse,"⁶⁷⁰ as follows: Eve from Adam's lowest rib (*quṣayrā'*), while he was asleep. Then Adam woke up and said: *Attā!*, which is "woman" in Nabataean.⁶⁷¹

We were told the same by al-Muthannā—Abū Ḥudhayfah⁶⁷²—Shibl⁶⁷³—Ibn Abī Najīḥ—Mujāhid.

According to Bishr b. Mu'adh—Yazīd b. Zuray'—Sa'id (b. Abī 'Arūbah)—Qatādah, commenting on: "And He created from him his spouse": Meaning Eve who was created from one of Adam's ribs.

(God's Testing of Adam)

Now we shall discuss how God tested the obedience of our father

667. *Tafsīr*, I, 182, apparently incorrectly reads *fa-talā* "and recited." See again text below, I, 134, n. 841.

668. *Tafsīr*, I, 182 (*ad Qur.* 2:35).

669. See Mujāhid, *Tafsīr*, I, 143.

670. *Qur.* 4:1.

671. The aspirated *th* indicated in the Ṭabarī text seems unlikely, as the Eastern Aramaic pronunciation of the word for "woman" was *'attā* ('*ntt'*). However, the local origin of the Arabic tradition is, of course, uncertain. Modern Mandaic has *eththā*.

This and the following two traditions are to be found in *Tafsīr*, IV, 150 (*ad Qur.* 4:1).

672. Abū Ḥudhayfah Mūsā b. Mas'ūd died in 220 or 221/835–36 at the age of ninety-two. See *Tahdhīb*, X, 370 f.; Horst, 296, n. 14.

673. Shibl b. 'Abbād ('Uḅād ?) died in 148/765. See *Tahdhīb*, X, 370 f.; Horst, 296, n. 21 [where the wrong year is indicated].

Adam and afflicted him (for failing the test), how Adam was disobedient to his Lord after God had given him honor and high rank with Him and enabled him to enjoy wholesome plenty in God's Paradise, and how he lost all of that and went from the luxury and pleasurable and plentiful way of life in Paradise to the miserable way of life of the inhabitants of the earth: tilling, hoeing, and planting the soil.

When God settled Adam and his spouse in His Paradise, He permitted them to eat of whatever fruit they wished, except the fruit of one tree. This was to afflict them and have God's judgement on them and their progeny come to pass, as God says: "And [we said]: Adam, dwell you and your spouse in Paradise! Eat freely of its plenty wherever you wish, but do not go near this tree, or you will be wrongdoers."⁶⁷⁴ Satan whispered to them and eventually succeeded in making it appear good and desirable for them to eat of the fruit of the tree which their Lord had forbidden them to eat and thus to disobey God. They ate from it, and as a result, their secret parts that had been concealed from them became apparent to them.

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How Iblis, the enemy of God, managed to entice them to (eat of the fruit of the tree) is mentioned in the report I was told by Mūsā b. Hārūn al-Hamdānī—'Amr b. Ḥammād—Asbāt—al-Suddī—Abū Mālik and Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās. Also (al-Suddī)—Murrāh al-Hamdānī—Ibn Mas'ūd and some (other) companions of the Prophet: When God said to Adam: "Dwell you and your spouse in Paradise! Eat freely of its plenty wherever you wish, but do not go near this tree, or you will be wrongdoers," Iblis wanted to go and meet them in Paradise, but the keepers (of Paradise) prevented him from entering. He went to the snake, an animal with four feet as if it were a camel—it seemed like one of the most beautiful of animals. Iblis talked to it (trying to persuade it) to let him enter its mouth and take him in to Adam. The snake let him do it, passed by the keepers, and entered without their knowledge, because that was God's plan. Now, Iblis talked to Adam from the mouth of the snake, but Adam paid no attention to what he said. So Iblis went out to him and said: "Adam, may I lead you to the tree of eternity

⁶⁷⁴ Qur. 2:35. The addition from the Qur'ānic text of "And we said" in the Cairo edition is unjustified. The Leiden edition has "and" before "Adam" from the parallel text Qur. 7:19.

and a rule that never decays?"⁶⁷⁵ —meaning: May I lead you to a tree which, if you eat from it, you will be a ruler like God, or both you and (Eve) will have eternal life and will never die? Iblīs swore to them by God: "I am one of those who give you good advice."⁶⁷⁶

[105] But by tearing their clothes, Iblīs wanted to show them their secret parts, which had been concealed from them. From his reading of the books of the angels, he knew, what Adam did not, that they had secret parts. Their clothes were *al-ẓufr*.⁶⁷⁷ Adam refused to eat from the tree, but Eve came forward and ate. Then she said: Eat, Adam! For I have, and it has done me no harm. But when Adam ate, "their secret parts became apparent to them, and they started to cover themselves with leaves of Paradise stitched together."⁶⁷⁸

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Ishāq—Layth b. Abī Sulaym—Ṭāwūs al-Yamānī—Ibn 'Abbās: Iblīs, the enemy of God, proposed to the animals on earth that they⁶⁷⁹ should take him into Paradise, so that he could speak with Adam and his spouse, but every animal refused. Finally, he spoke to the snake and said to it: If you take me into Paradise, I shall shield you from the descendants of Adam, and you will be under my protection. The snake put him between two of its fangs and took him in. Iblīs talked to Adam and his spouse from the snake's mouth. The snake was dressed and walking on four feet, but God then undressed it and made it walk on its belly. He continued. Ibn 'Abbās says: Kill it wherever you find it, and break the (covenant of) protection

675. Qur. 20:120. The following portion of the tradition is found in part in *Tafsīr*, XVI, 162, on this verse.

676. Qur. 7:21.

677. That is, fingernails. This is explained by reference to Jewish literature. *Berēshīt Rabbā*, 196 (*ad* Genesis 3:21) refers in this connection to clothing "smooth as a fingernail, beautiful as a pearl." Targum Pseudo-Jonathan (*ad* Genesis 3:7 and 21) describes Adam and Eve as created with clothing of fingernails (*ṭuprā*), and says that "their fingernails (*ṭuprayhōn*)" were later replaced. Tha'labī, *Qiṣaṣ*, 32, describes Adam's original skin as being like fingernails. The use of the word in the tradition is explained by Muslim scholars as referring to the whiteness, sheerness (*ṣafā'*), and thickness (*kathāfah*) of fingernails. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāyah*, III, 61, cited in Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, VI, 192; Ṭabarī, *Introduction etc.*, CCCXVI. The description of the clothing of Adam and Eve in Paradise as a film of light or the like, which appears elsewhere in the Muslim sources, is also found in the quoted passages of the midrash.

678. Qur. 7:22. The entire tradition appears in *Tafsīr*, I, 187 (*ad* Qur. 2:36).

679. *Annahā*, according to *Tafsīr*, I, 188 (*ad* Qur. 2:36) and, it seems, some Ṭabarī manuscripts. The more difficult *ayyuhā* of the Ṭabarī editions would mean: ...made a proposition...and asked which one would...

granted it by the enemy of God!⁶⁸⁰

According to al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā—'Abd al-Razzāq—'Umar b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥrib⁶⁸¹—Wahb b. Munabbih: When God settled Adam and his spouse in Paradise, He forbade him that tree. The tree's branches were intertwined, and it bore fruit which the angels ate to live eternally. That was the fruit which God forbade Adam and his spouse to eat. Now, when Iblīs wanted to cause their downfall, he entered inside the snake. The snake had four feet as if it were a Bactrian camel and was one of the most beautiful animals created by God. When the snake had entered Paradise, Iblīs went out from inside of it. He picked some of (the fruit of) the tree which God had forbidden Adam and his spouse to eat, took it to Eve, and said: Look at this tree! How sweet does it smell! How good does it taste! How beautiful is its color! Eve took and ate of the (fruit offered to her). Then she went with it to Adam and said: Look at this tree! How sweet does it smell! How good does it taste! How beautiful is its color! Thus, Adam ate of it, and their secret parts became apparent to them. Adam went inside the tree (to hide). His Lord called out to him: Adam, where are you? Adam replied: I am here,⁶⁸² my Lord. God said: Will you not come out? Adam replied: I feel shame before You, my Lord. God said: Cursed is the earth from which you were created, with a curse which will change its fruits to thorns. He continued. Neither in Paradise nor on earth was there a tree more excellent than the acacia (*ṭalḥ*) and the lote-tree (*sidr*).⁶⁸³ Then God said: Eve, you are the one who inveigled My servant (Adam). Pregnancy will be difficult⁶⁸⁴ for you, and when you want to give birth to what is in your womb, you will often be in mortal danger. To the snake He said: You are the one who let the accursed Iblīs enter your belly, so that he was able to inveigle My servant. You are cursed with a curse that will have

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680. *Tafsīr*, I, 188 (*ad Qur.* 2:36).

681. The name is given in its correct form in the Cairo edition. See Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh*, III, 2, 173; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, III, 1, 121.

682. Lit., I am it.

683. *Ṭalḥ* and *sidr* are two kinds of tree mentioned in Qur. 56:28 f. The reference to them here appears to identify them as the original "tree" of Paradise. There was much speculation as to what that tree was. Already before Islam, it was identified with wheat, the vine, etc. For corresponding Jewish identifications, see Speyer, *Biblische Erzählungen*, 65. On *sidr*, see also below, n. 969.

684. The meaning of *kurhan* is determined as usual by its opposite, which here is "easy" (text below, I, 109). But it also suggests unwillingness or disgust.

the effect that your feet will be retracted into your belly, and only the soil will be your sustenance. You will be the enemy of the children of Adam, and they will be your enemies. Wherever you encounter one of them, you will hold on to his heel, and wherever he encounters you, he will crush your head. Wahb was asked: And what did the angels use to eat? He replied: God does whatever He wants.⁶⁸⁵

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According to al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan—al-Husayn b. Dāwūd—Ḥajjāj—Abū Ma'shar—Muḥammad b. Qays⁶⁸⁶: God forbade Adam and Eve to eat from one tree in Paradise, but (otherwise) they could freely eat of its plenty wherever they wished. Satan came and entered inside the snake. He spoke to Eve and whispered to Adam. He said: "Your Lord has only forbidden you this tree, lest you become angels or live eternally. And (Iblīs) assured them with an oath: I am one of those who give you good advice."⁶⁸⁷ He continued. Eve cut⁶⁸⁸ the tree, and it bled. The feathers⁶⁸⁹ that covered Adam and Eve dropped off, "and they started to cover themselves with leaves of Paradise stitched together. Their Lord called out to them: Did I not forbid you this tree, and did I not tell you that Satan is for you a clear enemy?"⁶⁹⁰ Why did you eat of it, when I have forbidden it to you? Adam said: My Lord, Eve made me eat of it. When God asked Eve: Why did you make him eat of it? she replied: The snake commanded me to do it. So God asked the snake: Why did you command Eve to do it? and the snake replied: Iblīs commanded me to do it. God said: Cursed and banished (is Iblīs).⁶⁹¹ Now, you, Eve, as you caused the tree to bleed, you will bleed every new moon, and you, snake, I shall cut off your feet and you will walk slithering on your face. Whoever encounters you, will crush your head with stones. "Fall down being one another's

685. Cf. Qur. 3:40 or 22:18. *Tafsīr*, I, 186 f. (*ad* Qur. 2:36), has the entire tradition.

686. Muḥammad b. Qays supposedly died during the turbulent reign of al-Walīd b. Yazīd (743–44). See *Tahdhīb*, IX, 414; Khalīfah, *Ṭabaqāt*, 259. In Ibn Abī Ḥātim, IV, 1, 63 (no. 282), and 64 (no. 286), he appears to have been split into two individuals; this might be correct.

687. Qur. 7:20 f.

688. *Tafsīr*, I, 189, 1, 3, reads "bit."

689. Cf. Qur. 7:26.

690. Qur. 7:22.

691. Cf. Qur. 7:18.

enemy!"⁶⁹²

According to 'Ammār b. al-Ḥasan—'Abdallāh b. Abī Ja'far—his father—al-Rabī' (b. Anas): Someone told me that Satan entered Paradise in the form of an animal with feet, thought to be a camel. He continued. He was cursed. As a result, his feet fell off, and he became a snake.⁶⁹³

I was told on the authority of 'Ammār—'Abdallāh b. Abī Ja'far—his father—al-Rabī' (b. Anas)—Abū al-'Āliyah ⁶⁹⁴: Some camels were originally jinn. He continued. All of Paradise was allowed to him—meaning Adam—except the tree. He and Eve were told: "Do not go near this tree, or you will be wrongdoers."⁶⁹⁵ He continued. Satan went to Eve to start with her. He said: Have you two been forbidden anything? Eve replied: Yes, this tree. Whereupon Satan said: "Your Lord has only forbidden you this tree, lest you become angels or live eternally."⁶⁹⁶ He continued. Eve ate first⁶⁹⁷ from the tree. She then commanded Adam to eat from it. He continued. It was a tree which made whoever ate from it defecate. He continued. But there must be no faeces in Paradise. He continued. "And Satan caused them to slip from Paradise and drove both of them out of what they were in."⁶⁹⁸ He continued. So he drove Adam out of Paradise.⁶⁹⁹

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According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Ishāq—some scholar(s): When Adam entered Paradise and saw the generous plenty there and the share of it given to him by God, he said: Would we could live eternally! When Satan heard him say that, he recognized it as Adam's weak spot, and he approached him by means of (the issue of) eternal life.⁷⁰⁰

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Ishāq: I was told that

692. Qur. 2:36 and 7:24. The entire tradition in *Tafsīr*, I, 188 f. (*ad Qur.* 2:36).

693. *Tafsīr*, I, 187 (*ad Qur.* 2:36).

694. Abū al-'Āliyah Rufay' b. Mihrān died, according to Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, VII, 1, 81–85, in 90/709, according to Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 1, 298, in 93/712, and according to *Tahdhīb*, III, 284–86, in or before or later than any one of these years. See also Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 34; Horst, 299, n. 13.

695. Qur. 2:35.

696. Qur. 7:20.

697. Following the reading *bada'at* of *Tafsīr*, I, 188, l. 1 (*ad Qur.* 2:36). The Ṭabari editions have "came forth to eat"({}).

698. Qur. 2:36.

699. *Tafsīr*, I, 187 f.

700. *Tafsīr*, I, 188.

Satan made his first attempt to trick Adam and Eve by mourning for them in a way that saddened them when they heard it. When they asked him what it was that made him cry, he replied: I am crying for you. You will die and be forced to give up the luxury and generous plenty you are enjoying. This remark made a deep impression on them. Next, he went to them and whispered, saying: "Adam, may I lead you to the tree of eternity and a rule that never decays?"⁷⁰¹ He (also) said: "Your Lord has only forbidden you this tree, lest you become angels or live eternally. And (Iblīs) assured them with an oath: I am one of those who give you good advice."⁷⁰² That is, you may become angels or live eternally, and that (alternative) means: If you do not become angels in the luxury of Paradise, you will (at least) not die. God says: "And he thus hooked them with deceit."⁷⁰³

[109] According to Yūnus—Ibn Wahb—Ibn Zayd (commenting on God's word: "And he whispered"⁷⁰⁴): Satan whispered to Eve about the tree and succeeded in taking her to it; then he made it seem good to Adam. He continued. When Adam felt a need for her and called her, she said: No! unless you go there. When he went, she said again: No! unless you eat from this tree. He continued. They both ate from it, and their secret parts became apparent to them. He continued. Adam then went about in Paradise in flight. His Lord called out to him: Adam, is it from Me that you are fleeing? Adam replied: No, my Lord, but I feel shame before You. When God asked what had caused his trouble, he replied: Eve, my Lord. Whereupon God said: Now it is My obligation to make her bleed once every month, as she made this tree bleed. I also must make her stupid, although I created her intelligent (*ḥalimah*), and must make her suffer pregnancy and birth with difficulty, although I made it easy for her to be pregnant and give birth. Ibn Zayd continued: Were it not for the affliction that af-

701. Qur. 20:120.

702. Qur. 7:20 f.

703. Qur. 7:22. The entire tradition is found in *Tafsīr*, I, 188 (*ad Qur.* 2:36).

704. This lemma from Qur. 7:20 and 20:120 is missing in some Ṭabarī manuscripts and *Tafsīr*, I, 188. It was no doubt supplied for the sake of clarity somewhere along the line of the textual tradition of the *History*.

fectured Eve, the women of this world would not menstruate, and they would be intelligent and, when pregnant, give birth easily.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Ishāq—Yazīd b. 'Abdallāh b. Qusayt⁷⁰⁵—Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab: I heard him swear by God unequivocally⁷⁰⁶: As long as Adam was in his right mind, he did not eat from the tree. Eve, however, gave him wine to drink, and when he was drunk, she led him to the tree, and he ate from it.⁷⁰⁷

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When Adam and Eve committed the sin (of eating from the forbidden tree), God drove them out of Paradise and deprived them of the luxury and generous plenty they had enjoyed. He threw them, their enemy Iblīs, and the snake down to earth. The Lord said to them: "Fall down being one another's enemy!"⁷⁰⁸

What we have stated about the subject was also stated by the early Muslim scholars

According to Yūnus—Ibn Wahb—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Maḥdī—Isrā'īl—Ismā'īl al-Suddī—someone who heard Ibn 'Abbās say commenting on: "Fall down being one another's enemy!" as follows: Adam, Eve, Iblīs, and the snake.⁷⁰⁹

According to Sufyān b. Wakī' and Mūsā b. Hārūn—'Amr b. Ḥammād—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī⁷¹⁰—Abū Mālik and Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās. Also (al-Suddī)—Murrah al-Hamdānī—Ibn Mas'ūd and some (other) companions of the Messenger of God (in connection with): "Fall down being one another's enemy!": And He cursed the snake, cut off its legs, left it to walk upon its belly, and made the soil its sustenance. He threw Adam, Eve, Iblīs, and the snake down.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Amr—Abū 'Āṣim (al-Nabil)—'Isā b. Maymūn—Ibn Abī Najīḥ—Mujāhid, commenting on God's word: "Fall down being one another's enemy!": Adam, Eve, Iblīs, and the snake.⁷¹¹

705. Died in 122/740 at the age of ninety. See *Tahdhib*, XI, 342 f.

706. Lit., without making allowance for an exception by saying, "if God wills."

707. *Tafsīr*, I, 188.

708. Mujāhid, *Tafsīr*, I, 73, mentions only Iblīs and Adam in this connection.

709. *Tafsīr*, I, 191 (ad Qur. 2:36).

710. *Tafsīr*, I, 190 f., and VIII, 107 (ad Qur. 7:24), omits the rest of the *isnād*.

711. *Tafsīr*, I, 191, omits Eve.

The Duration of Adam's Stay in Paradise. The Moment He Was Created by God and That of His Fall from Heaven to Earth Caused by God

[III] Various reports on the authority of the Messenger of God have confirmed that it was on Friday that God created Adam, and on Friday that he drove him out of Paradise and cast him down to earth. On Friday, too, God accepted his repentance, and on Friday, he let him die.

The reports on the authority of the Messenger of God on this (subject)

According to 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Ḥakam⁷¹² —'Alī b. Ma'bad⁷¹³ —'Ubaydallāh b. 'Amr⁷¹⁴ —'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Aqīl⁷¹⁵ —'Amr b. Shuraḥbīl b. Sa'īd b. Sa'd b. 'Ubādah⁷¹⁶ —Sa'd b. 'Ubādah⁷¹⁷ —the Messenger of God: There are five distinctions to Friday. On it, Adam was created, cast down to earth, and taken up by God. Also, there is an hour on Friday⁷¹⁸ during which God will give a human being everything he asks for, unless it be a crime or a severing (of family ties). And on Friday, the Hour will come. Every angel close to God, every heaven, mountain, earth, and wind—all are in awe of Friday.

According to Muḥammad b. Bashshār and Muḥammad b. Ma'mar⁷¹⁹—Abū 'Āmir⁷²⁰—Zuhayr b. Muḥammad⁷²¹—'Abdallāh

712. The Egyptian historian, who lived from ca. 182/798[9] to 257/871. Their contact goes back to Ṭabarī's visit to Egypt. See *Tahdhib*, VI, 208; *ET*², III, 674 f., s. v. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 355 f.

713. 'Alī b. Ma'bad died in 218/833. See *Tahdhib*, VII, 384 f. He appears as a transmitter from 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Amr in Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 231, 282, 293.

714. 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Amr died in his late seventies in 180/796[7] in al-Raqqah. See *Tahdhib*, VII, 42 f.

715. Died in the first half of the 140s/757-62 in Medina. See *Tahdhib*, VI, 13-15.

716. For 'Amr, his father Shuraḥbīl, and his grandfather Sa'īd, see *Tahdhib*, VIII, 46, IV, 322, and IV, 37. As in text below, I, 112, both his father and his grandfather should probably figure in the chain of transmitters.

717. Sa'd b. 'Ubādah is said to have died in the 630s. See *Tahdhib*, III, 475 f.; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istī'āb*, II, 594-99.

718. Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, I, 474 f., devotes a chapter to this special hour.

719. Muḥammad b. Ma'mar died after 250/864. See *Tahdhib*, IX, 466 f.

720. Abū 'Āmir 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Amr al-'Aqadī died in 204 or 205/819-21. See *Tahdhib*, VI, 409 f.

721. Died in or before 162/778. See *Tahdhib*, III, 348-50.

b. Muḥammad b. 'Aqīl—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd al-Anṣārī⁷²² — Abū Lubābah b. 'Abd al-Mundhir⁷²³ —the Prophet: The lord of the days (of the week) is Friday. It is the greatest of days and more revered in the eyes of God than the Day of Breaking the Fast and the Day of Slaughtering.⁷²⁴ There are five distinctions to Friday. On it, God created Adam, cast him down to earth, and took him up. Moreover, there is an hour on Friday during which God will give a human being everything he asks for, unless it be something forbidden. And on Friday, the Hour will come. All angels close to God, every heaven and earth, all mountains and winds, and every ocean—all are in awe of Friday, expecting the Hour to come on it. The wording is that of Ibn Bashshār.⁷²⁵

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According to Muḥammad b. Ma'mar—Abū 'Āmir—Zuhayr b. Muḥammad—'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Aqīl—'Amr b. Shuraḥbil b. Sa'īd b. Sa'd b. 'Ubādah—his father—his grandfather—Sa'd b. 'Ubādah: A man came to the Prophet and said: O Messenger of God, tell us what good happened on Friday. The Prophet replied: On it, Adam was created, cast down, and taken up by God. Moreover, there is an hour on Friday during which God gives a human being everything he asks for, unless it be something criminal or a severing (of family ties). On it, too, the Hour will come. Every angel close to God, every heaven and earth, all mountains, every wind—all are in awe of Friday.⁷²⁶

According to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Ḥakam—Abū Zur'ah⁷²⁷ —Yūnus⁷²⁸ —Ibn Shihāb⁷²⁹ —'Abd al-Raḥmān (b. Hurmuz) al-A'raj⁷³⁰ —Abū Hurayrah—the Messenger of God: The best day ever to see the sun rise is Friday. On it, Adam was created, brought into Paradise, and driven out of it.⁷³¹

722. Died between 93 and 98/711–17. See *Tahdhīb*, VI, 298 f.

723. See *Tahdhīb*, XII, 214; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istī'āb*, IV, 1740–42.

724. Shawwāl 1 and Dhū al-Ḥijjah 10.

725. For the tradition, see Ibn Mājah, I, 344; Ibn Ḥanbal, III, 430.

726. See Ibn Ḥanbal, V, 284.

727. Listed repeatedly as an authority in Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam's *Futūḥ Miṣr*, Abū Zur'ah Wahballāh b. Rāshid died in 211/826. See Ibn Hajar, *Lisān*, VI, 235.

728. Yūnus b. Yazīd died in 159/775[6]. See *Tahdhīb*, XI, 450–52.

729. The prominent early historian Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Shihāb al-Zuhri died between 123 and 125/740–43. See *Tahdhīb*, IX, 445–51; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 280–83; Horst, 301, n. 12.

730. Died between 110 and 117/728–35 in Alexandria. See *Tahdhīb*, VI, 290 f.

731. See the chapter on the excellence of Friday in Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, I, 475, where

[113] According to Baḥr b. Naṣr⁷³² —Ibn Wahb—Ibn Abī al-Zinād⁷³³ —his father—Mūsā b. Abī 'Uthmān⁷³⁴ —Abū Hurayrah—the Messenger of God: The lord of the days is Friday. On it, Adam was created, brought into Paradise, and driven out of it. And the Hour will come precisely on Friday.⁷³⁵

According to al-Rabī' b. Sulaymān⁷³⁶ —Shu'ayb b. al-Layth⁷³⁷ —al-Layth b. Sa'd—Ja'far b. Rabī'ah⁷³⁸ —'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Hurmuz (al-A'raj)—Abū Hurayrah—the Messenger of God: The sun has never risen over a day like Friday. On it, Adam was created, driven out of Paradise, and reestablished in it.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Jarīr (b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd)—Maṣūr⁷³⁹ and Muḡhīrah⁷⁴⁰ —Abū Ma'shar Ziyād b. Kulayb⁷⁴¹ —Ibrāhīm⁷⁴² —al-Qartha' al-Ḍabbī, one of the first Qur'ān readers⁷⁴³ —Salmān: The Messenger of God said to me: Salmān, do you know about Friday? I said: God and His messenger know better. (The Prophet) repeated (the question) three times: Salmān, do you know about Friday? (and always received the same answer. Then, he answered his own question): On it, your (sg.)—or your (pl.)—father was put together.⁷⁴⁴

the tradition is quoted.

732. Baḥr b. Naṣr lived from 180 or 181/796–97 to 267/881. See *Tahdhīb*, I, 420 f.

733. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abi Zinād 'Abdallāh b. Dhakwān died in 174/790[1] at the age of seventy-four. See *TB*, X, 228–30; *Tahdhīb*, VI, 170–73. His father died sixty-six years old between 130 and 132/747–50. See *Tahdhīb*, V, 203–5.

734. See *Tahdhīb*, X, 360; Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh*, IV, 1, 290, no. 1237 or 1238; Ibn Abi Ḥātim, IV, 1, 153, no. 689 or 690.

735. The tradition appears with a partly different *isnād* in Muslim, *Ṣaḥīh*, I, 475.

736. Al-Rabī' b. Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Jabbār was born in 174/790[1] and died in 270/884. See *Tahdhīb*, III, 245 f.; Subki, *Ṭabaqāt*, II, 132–39.

737. The son of al-Layth b. Sa'd [above, n. 222] lived from 135/752[3] to 199/814. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 355 f.

738. Died in 136/753[4]. See *Tahdhīb*, II, 90.

739. Maṣūr b. al-Mu'tamir died at the end of 132 or in 133/750–51. See *Tahdhīb*, X, 312–15; Khalifah, *Ṭabaqāt*, 164; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 235.

740. [al-]Muḡhīrah b. Miqsam died between 132 and 136/749–54. See *Tahdhīb*, X, 269–71.

741. Died in 119 or 120/737–38. See *Tahdhīb*, III, 182.

742. Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd al-Nakhaī lived between 50/670 (?) and 96/714. See *Tahdhīb*, I, 177–79.

743. For al-Qartha', see *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 367 f.; Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh*, IV, 1, 199 f.

744. For the intended meaning of *jumi'a* [hardly *jummi'a*], see above, n. 375; also Tabarī, *Introductio etc.*, CLXVIII and DLXXVI. The ordinary meaning of *jamma'a* "to set up the Friday service" or the like, could hardly be interpreted in such a way that it would apply here.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umārah al-Asadī—'Ubaydallāh b. Mūsā⁷⁴⁵ —Shaybān⁷⁴⁶ —Yaḥyā⁷⁴⁷ —Abū Salamah⁷⁴⁸ —Abū Hurayrah—Ka'b: The best day ever too see the sun rise is Friday. On it, Adam was created, entered Paradise, and was driven out of it. Moreover, the Hour will come on it. [114]

According to al-Ḥusayn b. Yazid al-Adamī⁷⁴⁹ —Rawḥ b. 'Ubādah⁷⁵⁰ —Zakariyyā' b. Ishāq⁷⁵¹ —'Amr b. Dīnār⁷⁵² —'Ubayd b. 'Umayr: The first day on which the sun rose is Friday. It is the most excellent of the days. On it, God created Adam in His likeness. When he finished, Adam sneezed. God inspired him to use (the formula of) praise, and then responded: May your Lord show mercy unto you!⁷⁵³

According to Abū Kurayb—Ishāq b. Manṣūr⁷⁵⁴ —Abū Kudaynah⁷⁵⁵ —Mughīrah—Ziyād—Ibrāhīm—'Alqamah⁷⁵⁶ —al-Qartha'—Salmān: The Messenger of God said: Do you know about Friday? It is a day on which your (sg.)—or your (pl.)—father Adam was put together.

According to Abū Kurayb—'Uthmān b. Sa'īd—Abū al-Aḥwaṣ—Mughīrah—Ibrāhīm—'Alqamah—Salmān: The Messenger of God

745. 'Ubaydallāh b. Mūsā b. Bādhām/Bādhān was born in 128/745[6] and died in 213 or 214/828–29. See *Tahdhīb*, VII, 50–53.

746. Shaybān b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Naḥwī died in 164/780[1]. See *TB*, IX, 271–74; *Tahdhīb*, IV, 373 f.

747. Yaḥyā b. Abī Kathīr died between 129 and 132/746–50. See *Tahdhīb*, XI, 268–70.

748. The son of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf (above, n. 177)?

749. The form of the name is uncertain. He could be identical with al-Ḥusayn b. Yazid al-Sabī'ī who is mentioned as an authority of Ṭabarī in *Tafsīr*, II, 91, l. 2. Al-Ḥusayn b. Yazid al-Anṣārī al-Qaṭṭān, who died in 244/Dec. 858–Jan. 859 (Ibn Abī Ḥātim, I, 2, 67; *Tahdhīb*, II, 376) would fit chronologically, but the identity is not certain. Al-Qaṭṭān is often mentioned in *Tafsīr*, as well as text below, I, 290.

750. Rawḥ b. 'Ubādah died between 205 and 207/820–23. See *TB*, VIII, 401–6; *Tahdhīb*, III, 293–96; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 39 f.

751. See *Tahdhīb*, III, 328 f.

752. 'Amr b. Dīnār died in 125 or 126/742–44. See *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 28–30; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 353 f.

753. See text above, I, 92 and 94.

754. Died in 204 or 205/819–21. See *Tahdhīb*, I, 250 f.

755. For Abū Kudaynah Yaḥyā b. al-Muhallab, see *Tahdhīb*, XI, 289.

756. 'Alqamah b. Qays al-Nakha'ī, an uncle of Ibrāhīm, was supposedly ninety years old when he died sometime between 61 and 63/680–83, although dates of death a decade later are also given. See *Tahdhīb*, VII, 276–78; Khalīfah, *Ṭabaqāt*, 147 f. Note that 'Alqamah does not appear in the almost identical *isnād* three traditions before.

said to me: Salmān, do you know about Friday? (repeating the question) two or three times (and then answering it himself): It is the day on which your (pl.) father Adam—or (simply) your (pl.) father—was put together.

According to Abū Kurayb—Ḥasan b. 'Aṭīyyah⁷⁵⁷—Qays (b. al-Rabī)—Al-A'mash—Ibrāhīm—al-Qartha'—Salmān: The Messenger of God said: Do you know about Friday? or something like that. On it, your (pl.) father Adam was put together.

[115] According to Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Shaqīq⁷⁵⁸—his father—Abū Ḥamzah⁷⁵⁹—Maṣṣūr—Ibrāhīm—al-Qartha'—Salmān: The Messenger of God said to me: Do you know about Friday? I said: No, whereupon he said: On it, your (sg.) father was put together.

The Moment on Friday When God Created Adam and the One When Adam Was Cast Down to Earth

There are different opinions on this subject. A tradition transmitted on the authority of 'Abdallāh b. Salām and others is the following which we were told by Abū Kurayb—Ibn Idrīs⁷⁶⁰—Muḥammad b. 'Amr⁷⁶¹—Abū Salamah—Abū Hurayrah—the Messenger of God: The best day ever to see the sun rise is Friday. On it, Adam was created, settled in Paradise, and cast down. On it, the Hour will come.⁷⁶² Moreover, on Friday there is an hour—indicating (by a gesture with his hand) that it would be a short one⁷⁶³—during which God will give a Muslim who happens (to

757. Died around 211/826[7]. See *Tahdhib*, II, 294, no. 525.

758. Ibn Shaqīq died in 250 or 251/864–65. See *Tahdhib*, IX, 349 f. For this father, see above, n. 227.

759. Abū Ḥamzah Muḥammad b. Maymūn al-Sukkārī died between 166 and 168/782–85. See *TB*, III, 266–69; *Tahdhib*, IX, 486 f.

760. 'Abdallāh b. Idrīs, judge of al-Kūfah, lived from ca. 115/733 to 192/807[8]. See *TB*, IX, 415–21; *Tahdhib*, V, 144–46. This Ibn Idrīs is not to be confused with 'Abd al-Mun'im b. Idrīs, a descendant of Wahb b. Munabbih and transmitter of his work, whose reputation for reliability was poor and who died ninety years old or older in 228/843, see *TB*, XI, 131–34; Ibn Hajar, *Lisān*, IV, 73 f.

761. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. 'Alqamah died in 144 or 145/761–63. See *Tahdhib*, IX, 375–77.

762. For the preceding portion of the tradition, see text above, I, 112 f. For the remainder, see *Tafsīr*, XVII, 21 (*ad Qur.* 21:37).

763. *Yuqalliluhā* appears to belong to Ṭabari's original text and is not a later adjustment to the text as found in the *ḥadīth* collections and in *Tafsīr*. For the

pray) on it everything good he asks for. 'Abdallāh b. Salām said: I know which hour it is. It is the last hour of daytime on Friday. God says: "Man was created of haste. I shall show you My signs, but do not ask Me to make haste."⁷⁶⁴

We were told about the same, including the approximate wording of 'Abdallāh b. Salām, by Abū Kurayb—al-Muḥārībī,⁷⁶⁵ —'Abdah b. Sulaymān,⁷⁶⁶ and Asad b. 'Amr⁷⁶⁷ —Muḥammad b. 'Amr—Abū Salamah—Abū Hurayrah.⁷⁶⁸

According to Muḥammad b. 'Amr (al-Bāhili)—Abū 'Āṣim (al-Nabil)—'Īsā (b. Maymūn)—Ibn Abī Najīh—Mujāhid,⁷⁶⁹ commenting on God's word: "Man was created of haste," as follows: (This refers to) Adam's statement when he was created after everything else at the end of daytime on the day of creation.⁷⁷⁰ When the spirit gave life to his eyes, his tongue, and his head, but had not yet reached the lower part of his body, he said: O my Lord, make haste with my creation before sunset!

[116]

I was told the same by al-Hārith (b. Muḥammad b. Usāmah)—al-Ḥasan (b. Mūsā al-Ashyab)—Warqā'—Ibn Abī Najīh—Mujāhid.⁷⁷¹

According to al-Qāsim (b. al-Ḥasan)—al-Ḥusayn (b. Dāwūd)—Ḥajjāj—Ibn Jurayj—Mujāhid, commenting on: "Man was created of haste," as follows: (This refers to) Adam when he was created after everything else. Then he mentioned about the same but said in his tradition: Make haste with my creation! The sun is already in the West.

According to Yūnus—Ibn Wahb—Ibn Zayd, commenting on God's word: "Man was created of haste," as follows: *In haste.* God created Adam at the end of that day of those two days—meaning Friday—and He created him hastily and made him hasty.

Some have assumed that God made Adam and his spouse dwell

explanation of the word, cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath*, III, 67-74.

764. Qur. 21:37.

765. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. Ziyād al-Muḥārībī died in 195/810[1]. See *Tahdhīb*, VI, 265 f.

766. Died in 187 or 188/803-4. See *Tahdhīb*, VI, 458 f.

767. He is very possibly Asad b. 'Amr b. 'Amir who died between 188 and 190/804-6. See *TB*, VII, 16-19; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, I, 1, 337 f.; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān*, I, 383-85.

768. See *Tafsīr*, XVII, 21 (*ad Qur.* 21:37).

769. See *Mujāhid*, *Tafsīr*, I, 410.

770. The addition of "Friday" in some manuscripts is not justified and is not found in *Tafsīr*, XVII, 20.

771. This and the following two paragraphs appear in *Tafsīr*, XVII, 20.

in Paradise after two hours had passed of Friday. It has also been said: After three hours. He cast him down to earth after seven hours had passed of that day. Thus, the duration of Adam and Eve's stay in Paradise was five hours of that day. It has also been said: Three hours.

Some said: Adam was driven out from Paradise in the ninth or tenth hour.

[117] *Those who said this*

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) says: Reading to him, I studied (this report)⁷⁷² with 'Abdān b. Muḥammad al-Marwazī—'Ammār b. al-Ḥasan—'Abdallāh b. Abī Ja'far—his father—al-Rabī' b. Anas⁷⁷³—Abū al-'Āliyah: Adam was driven out of Paradise in the ninth or tenth hour. Then ('Abdān) said to me: Yes, after five days had passed of Nisān.⁷⁷⁴

If someone making this statement means that God made Adam and his spouse dwell in Paradise after two hours of daytime had passed on Friday of the days of the inhabitants of this world, which are such that they constitute the (entire) day,⁷⁷⁵ his statement in this respect is not far off the mark. Reports have come down on the authority of the early Muslim scholars to the effect that Adam was created in the last hour of the sixth day of the days of which each measures a thousand of our years. The conclusion is that a single hour of the hours of that day was eighty-three of our years.⁷⁷⁶

Now we have mentioned⁷⁷⁷ that after our Lord caused Adam's clay to ferment, Adam remained forty years before God blew the spirit into him. "Of *our* years" is no doubt meant here. Then, the extent (of time) after the spirit was blown into him, until the entire process (of inspiriting) was completed and he was settled in Paradise and cast down to earth, can easily be assumed to have been thirty-five of our years. If, however, he means that Adam

772. Ṭabarī apparently studied with his authority the commentary of al-Rabī' b. Anas containing this tradition.

773. Al-Rabī' transmitted from both Anas b. Mālik and Abū al-'Āliyah, but the *isnād* is no doubt correct as given above, as against the Ṭabarī editions (see, however, Ṭabarī, *Introductio* etc., DLXXVI).

774. This would be the sixth of April, a Friday, assuming that the first of the month was a Sunday.

775. The omission of *hiya*, as suggested in the Leiden edition, is unnecessary. The simpler translation: such as they are today, is unlikely.

776. In fact, eighty-three years and four months, as correctly stated below.

777. Text above, I, 89 ff.

[118]

was settled in Paradise after two hours of daytime had passed on Friday of the days of which a single day measures a thousand years of our years, then the statement he has made is not true. That is because all the preserved statements of scholars say that the spirit was blown into Adam at the end of daytime on Friday before sunset. Then, various reports on the authority of the Messenger of God have confirmed that God had Adam dwell in Paradise on Friday and cast him down to earth on it. If this is sound, the conclusion is that the last hour of daytime on one of the days of the other world and of the days each of which measures a thousand years of our years is an hour (remaining) after eleven hours have passed; thus, one of twelve hours equivalent to eighty-three years and four months of our years. Now, if this is so, Adam was created after eleven daytime hours had passed on Friday of the days each of which is a thousand years of our years. He then remained a body left lying around for forty of our years without having the spirit blown into him. Then the spirit was blown into him. His stay in heaven afterwards and his sojourn in Paradise, until he committed the sin (of eating from the forbidden tree) and was cast down to earth, was forty-three of our years and four months, this (together with the forty years of Adam's inanimate state) being one of the hours of one of the six days on which God created the creation.⁷⁷⁸

⁷⁷⁸ Tabarī is confronted here with contradictory data. They can, of course, not be reconciled, but he tries anyway. He assumes that Adam was created on Friday in the last of the twelve hours of daytime. Now, since Adam's entire existence until his expulsion from Paradise took place on the same Friday, it could at best have covered only one entire hour of Friday. According to the traditions that equate an otherworldly day (of twelve hours) with one thousand ordinary years, Adam's one-hour existence until his expulsion equaled eighty-three years and four months. Now, in his inanimate state, Adam lived forty years. Thus, forty-three years and four months remain to his expulsion. Assuming, as Tabarī had just stated, that Adam's stay in Paradise covered a number of hours on Friday, those hours could not be full-fledged years of eighty-three years and four months but had to be adjusted (as suggested in a footnote in the Leiden edition) to hours of a complete twelve-hour day constituting those eighty-three years and four months. Taking the number of five hours, as mentioned, this would lead to eighty-three (or eighty-three and one-third) divided by twelve and multiplied by five, that is, 34.588 (or 34.722), which is very close to the number thirty-five given in the text. Adding the forty years of Adam's inanimate existence, we obtain seventy-five years, which may have seemed to Tabarī to be reasonably close to eighty-three years and four months. The discussion of the second alternative, which is rejected by Tabarī, fails to make clear its point. The hours mentioned could not be full otherworldly hours,

- [119] According to al-Ḥārith b. Muḥammad—Muḥammad b. Sa'd⁷⁷⁹—Hishām b. Muḥammad⁷⁸⁰—his father—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās: Adam left Paradise (during the time) between two prayers, the noon prayer and the afternoon prayer. He was brought down to earth. His stay in Paradise was half a day of the days of the other world—that is, five hundred years—of a day that measures twelve hours and a thousand years as counted by the inhabitants of this world. This, too, is a statement contradicting what has been reported on the authority of the Messenger of God and our early scholars.

*The Place on Earth to Which Adam and
Eve Came When They Were Cast Down*

Then, before sunset of the day—Friday—on which God had created Adam, He cast him down from heaven together with his spouse. According to the early scholars of our Prophet's nation, He brought him down in India.

This has been stated by some scholars, such as, for instance

- [120] According to al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā—'Abd al-Razzāq—Ma'mar—Qatādah: God cast Adam down to earth. The place where he fell down was the land of India.

According to 'Amr b. 'Alī⁷⁸¹—'Imrān b. 'Uyaynah⁷⁸²—'Aṭā' b. al-Sā'ib—Sa'īd b. Jubayr—Ibn 'Abbās: When God first cast Adam down, it was in Dahnā'⁷⁸³ of the land of India.

because, at best, forty-three years and four months were available. It could, however, be that Ṭabarī in fact intended to argue that if seven or eight hours, as in the tradition quoted, were involved, the scheme would not work.

779. The author of the *Tabaqāt*, Ibn Sa'd, died in 230/845 at the age of sixty-two. See *TB*, V, 321 f.; *Tahdhīb*, IX, 182 f.; *EI*², III, 922 f., s. v. Ibn Sa'd; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 300 f.

780. The famous historian Hishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī lived from ca. 120/738 to between 204 and 206/819–22. See *TB*, XIV, 45 f.; *EI*², IV, 495, s. v. al-Kalbī; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 268–71. His equally important father, who was a historian but also the author of a Qur'ān commentary, died eighty-years old in 146/763–64. See *Tahdhīb*, IX, 178–81; *EI*², loc. cit.; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 34.

781. 'Amr b. 'Alī b. Baḥr al-Fallās died in 249/January 864. See *TB*, XII, 207–12; *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 80–82.

782. For this brother of Sufyān b. 'Uyaynah, see *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 136 f.

783. Dahnā' is apparently meant to be understood as identical with Dahnaj mentioned text below, I, 121. It seems to be intended here as a proper name; however, the Arabian desert Dahnā' might suggest the general sense of desert. In the

I was told on the authority of 'Ammār (b. al-Ḥasan)—'Abdallāh b. Abī Ja'far—his father—al-Rabī' b. Anas—Abū al-'Āliyah: Adam was cast down in India.

According to Ibn Sinān—al-Ḥajjāj—Ḥammād b. Salamah—'Alī b. Zayd—Yūsuf b. Mihrān⁷⁸⁴—Ibn 'Abbās—'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib: The land with the sweetest smell on earth is the land of India. When Adam was cast down there, some of the smell of Paradise clung to India's trees.⁷⁸⁵

According to al-Hārith (b. Muḥammad)—Ibn Sa'd—Hishām b. Muḥammad—his father—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās: Adam was cast down in India, and Eve in Juddah.⁷⁸⁶ He went in search of her, and eventually they were united. Eve drew near (*z-l-f*) him, hence al-Muzdalifah. They recognized (*'-r-f*) each other, hence 'Arafāt. And they were united (*j-m-'*) in Jam', hence Jam'.⁷⁸⁷ He continued. Adam was cast down upon a mountain in India called Nūdh.⁷⁸⁸

According to Abū Hammām⁷⁸⁹—his father—Ziyād b. Khaytha-

fanciful geography of these traditions, a relationship with Daḥnā (see below, n. 858) is not entirely excluded in spite of the different consonant (*h/h*). In fact, in connection with the *Tafsīr*'s commentary on Qur. 7:172 (*Tafsīr*, IX, 76, 1.7), Daḥnā is described as a land in India.

784. See *Tahdhīb*, XI, 424 f., Bukhārī, *Ta'riḫ*, IV, 2, 375 f.

785. See text below, I, 126. The above translation seems preferable to "and he made...cling."

786. The preferred vocalization today is Jiddah.

787. Like al-Muzdalifah and 'Arafāt, Jam' refers to some locality near Mecca connected with the pilgrimage. It is also sometimes considered as just another name for al-Muzdalifah.

788. The reference to the *mountain* of Nod on the eastern limits of Japheth's territory in *Schatzhöhle*, text, 136 f., trans., 30, a work which stands out among Ṭabarī's indirect sources, tips the scales in favor of reading the first letter *N*. Genesis 4:16 speaks of "the *land* of Nod, east of Eden." That Muslim scholars also often thought of Nūdh with *N*, is of no real consequence in this case. The Ṭabarī editions prefer Būdh/Bawdh. This sounds vaguely Indian because of the seeming resemblance to Buddha. Echoes of the mysterious Meru Mountain may come into play here, but they do not help with the form of the name. The mountain in Ceylon, mentioned later on in connection with Adam's habitat, appears as al-Ruhūn in Arabic literature. See Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, I, 60; *Hudūd al-'ālam*, 194.

789. Abū Hammām (Humām?) al-Walid b. Shujā' b. al-Walid al-Sakūnī died presumably in 243/857, but the preceding year and even 239/853[4] are also mentioned as the year of his death. See *TB*, XIII, 473-76; *Tahdhīb*, XI, 135 f. His father Shujā' died between 203 and 205/818-21. See *TB*, IX, 247-50; *Tahdhīb*, IV, 313 f.

mah⁷⁹⁰ —Abū Yaḥyā Bā'i' al-Qatt⁷⁹¹ —Mujāhid: We were told by Ibn 'Abbās that when Adam came down, it was in India.

[121] According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Ishāq: The people of the Torah on their part said: Adam was cast down in India upon a mountain called Wāsim on a river (valley) called Buhayl between two places in the land of India, al-Dahnaj and al-Mandal.⁷⁹² They continued. Eve was cast down in Juddah of the land of Mecca.

Others said: Rather, Adam was cast down in Sarandīb (Ceylon) upon a mountain called Nūdh, Eve in Juddah of the land of Mecca, Iblīs in Maysān,⁷⁹³ and the snake in Iṣbahān. It has also been said that the snake was cast down in the desert (*al-barriyyah*), and Iblīs on the shore of the sea of al-Ubullah.

The soundness of this can be established only by a report serving as (conclusive) proof, but no such report on this subject is known to have been transmitted, except the report of Adam having been cast down in India. Its soundness is rejected neither by the Muslim scholars nor by the people of the Torah and the Gospel. Proof is firmly established by reports from some of them.

It has been mentioned that the summit of the mountain upon which Adam was cast down is one of those closest to heaven among the mountains of the earth and that, when Adam was cast down upon it, his feet were upon it while his head was in heaven and he heard the prayer and praise-giving of the angels. Adam became (too) familiar with that, and the angels were in awe of him. Therefore, Adam's size was reduced.

Those who said this

According to al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā—'Abd al-Razzāq—Hishām b.

790. According to Abū Hammām as reported by al-Bukhārī, Ziyād b. Khaythamah died two years before al-A'mash, which would be around 146/763. See *Tahdhīb*, III, 364, no. 668; Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 1, 321; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, II, 1, 530.

791. Probably, "the fodder seller," and identical with Abū Yaḥyā al-Qattāt, listed in *Tahdhīb*, XII, 277 f., but cf. Abū 'Ubayd, *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, I, 339 (Hyd. 1384-87).

792. The entry Wāsim in Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 891, is obviously derived from this Tabarī passage. Neither it nor Buhayl (the form is totally uncertain) can be identified. For Dahnaj, see above, n. 783. Al-Mandal is too general a term to allow identification, see *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, 87 and 240. The entry Wāshim in Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, IV, 1364, refers to Ibn Ishāq, but may not have been taken from Tabarī. Bakrī, II, 539, has a separate entry Dahnaj, which is derived from the entry Wāshim.

793. Mesene, or Charakene, a province in southernmost Babylonia is slandered here as is Iṣbahān. In the case of Mesene, it certainly was because of its unhealthy climate. Al-Ubullah was the principal town of Maysān in Antiquity.

Hassān⁷⁹⁴—Sawwār, the son-in-law (*khatan*) of 'Aṭā'⁷⁹⁵—'Aṭā' b. Abī Rabāḥ: When God cast Adam down from Paradise, Adam's feet were upon earth, while his head was in heaven and he heard the speech and prayers of the inhabitants of heaven. He became (too) familiar with them, and the angels were in awe of him so much so that they eventually complained to God in their various prayers (*du'ā'* and *ṣalāh*). God, therefore, lowered Adam down to earth. Adam missed what he used to hear from the angels and felt lonely so much so that he eventually complained about it to God in his various prayers. He was therefore sent to Mecca. (On the way, every) place where he set foot became a village, and (the interval between) his steps became a desert, until he reached Mecca. God sent down a jewel (*yāqūt* ["ruby"]) of Paradise where the House is located today. (Adam) continued to circumambulate it, until God sent down the Flood. That jewel was lifted up, until God sent His friend Abraham to (re)build the House (in its later form). This is (meant by) God's word: "And We established for Abraham the place of the House as residence."⁷⁹⁶

[122]

According to al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā—'Abd al-Razzāq—Ma'mar—Qatādah: God founded the House together with Adam. Adam's head was in heaven, while his feet were upon earth. The angels were in awe of him. So his size was reduced to sixty cubits (30 meters). Adam was sad because he missed the voices and praising of the angels. He complained about it to God, and God said: Adam, I have cast down a house for you to circumambulate, as one circumambulates My Throne, and to pray at it as one prays at My Throne. Adam left and went off. His steps were lengthened, and the interval between each (two) step(s) became a desert. These deserts continued to exist afterwards. Adam came to the House, and he and the prophets after him circumambulated it.⁷⁹⁷

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Hishām b. Muḥammad—his father—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās: When Adam's size was lowered to sixty cubits, he started to say: My lord! I was Your protege (*jār*)

⁷⁹⁴. Died between 146 and 148/763–65. See *Tahdhīb*, XI, 34–37; Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh*, IV, 2, 197 f.

⁷⁹⁵. For Sawwār b. Abī Ḥukaym, see Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 2, 169.

⁷⁹⁶. Qur. 22:26. The tradition occurs in *Tafsīr*, I, 428 f. (*ad Qur.* 2:127). See text below, I, 131 and 193.

⁷⁹⁷. See *Tafsīr*, I, 429 (*ad Qur.* 2:127).

[123] in Your house,⁷⁹⁸ having no Lord but You and no one to watch out for me except You. There I had plenty to eat and could dwell wherever I wanted. But then You cast me down to this holy mountain. (There,) I used to hear the voices of the angels and see them crowd around Your Throne and to enjoy the sweet smell of Paradise. Then You cast me down to earth and reduced me to sixty cubits. I was cut off from the voices and the sight (of the angels), and the smell of Paradise left me. God replied: Because of your disobedience have I done this to you, Adam. Then, when God saw the nakedness of Adam and Eve, He commanded Adam to slaughter a ram from the eight couples of small cattle He had sent down from Paradise. Adam took the ram and slaughtered it. Then he took its wool, and Eve spun it. He and Eve wove it. Adam made a coat for himself, and a shift and veil for Eve. They put on that clothing. Then God revealed to Adam: I have a sacred territory around My Throne. Go and build a house for Me there! Then crowd around it, as you have seen My angels crowd around My Throne. There I shall respond to you and all your children who are obedient to Me. Adam said: My Lord! How could I do that? I do not have the strength to do it and do not know how. So God chose an angel to assist him, and he went with him toward Mecca. Whenever Adam passed by a meadow or place that he liked, he would say to the angel: Let us stop here! and the angel would say to him: Please do! This went on until they reached Mecca. Every place where he stopped became cultivated land. and every place he bypassed became a desolate desert. He built the House with (materials from) five mountains: Mount Sinai, the Mount of Olives, (Mount) Lebanon, and al-Jūdi,⁷⁹⁹ and he constructed its foundations with (materials from Mount) Hirā' (near Mecca). When he finished with its construction, the angel went out with him to 'Arafāt. He showed him all the rites (connected with the pilgrimage) that people perform today. Then he went with him to Mecca, and (Adam) circumambulated the House for a week. Returning to

798. *Dār* "mansion" is used because of the rhyming effect, and the entire phrase *jāruka fī dārīka* (*jārak fī dārak*) may be understood as being under someone's protection without any specific reference to housing. If "house" is indeed intended, it might refer in the context to Paradise rather than the Ka'bah.

799. Al-Jūdi is the mountain where Noah's ark came to rest and which in later tradition was identified with Mount Ararat (see below, n. 1137). See *Tafsīr*, I, 428 (ad Qur. 2:127), and *EP*, II, 573 f., s. v. al-Djūdi.

the land of India, he died upon (Mount) Nūdh.

According to Abū Hammām—his father—Ziyād b. Khaythamah—Abū Yaḥyā Bā'i' al-Qatt—Mujāhid—'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās: When Adam came down, it was in India. From there, he performed the pilgrimage to Mecca on foot forty times. I (Abū Yaḥyā) said: Abū al-Ḥajjāj,⁸⁰⁰ could he not have ridden instead? He replied: What could have carried him? Indeed, each of his steps covered the distance of a journey of three days, and his head reached heaven. (It led to) the angels complaining about his pride.⁸⁰¹ The Merciful One faulted him for that, and he was in a state of humbleness for forty years.

According to Abū Ma'mar Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥarb, the *mawlā* of the Hāshimites⁸⁰²—Thumāmah b. 'Abīdah ('Ubaydah) al-Sulamī⁸⁰³—Abū al-Zabīr⁸⁰⁴—Nāfi' (the *mawlā* of Ibn 'Umar)—Ibn 'Umar: While Adam was in India, God revealed to him that he should perform the pilgrimage to this House. So Adam left India to go on the pilgrimage. Wherever he put down his foot on a place, that place became a village. Every interval between his steps became a desert. Eventually he reached the House. He circumambulated it and performed all the rites (of the pilgrimage). Then he wanted to return to India and went off. When he reached the two mountain passes of 'Arafāt, the angels met him and said: You have performed the pilgrimage faultlessly. This surprised him. When the angels noticed his surprise, they said: Adam! We have performed the pilgrimage to this House two thousand years before you were created.⁸⁰⁵ He continued. And Adam felt properly chastised.

800. Mujāhid's patronymic.

801. In view of the idiom translated below "felt properly chastised" (*taqāsharat ilā 'Adam nafsuhū*), *nafsahū*, and not *nafasahū* ("his breath"), understood metaphorically, should be read also here.

802. See *TB*, IX, 316 f., where Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥarb is described as a *mawlā* of Sulaymān b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās.

803. This Thumāmah was considered a "weak" transmitter. See Bukhārī, *Ta'riḥ*, I, 2, 178; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān*, II, 94. Neither source mentions the *nisbah* al-Sulamī.

804. Abū al-Zabīr Muḥammad b. Muslim died in 126/743[4]. See *Tahdhīb*, IX, 440-43.

805. See Ya'qūbī, *Ta'riḥ*, I, 3.

*(Perfumes, Fruits, and Other Things
Adam Brought from Paradise)*

It has been mentioned that when Adam was cast down to earth, he had upon his head a wreath made from (leaves of) the trees of Paradise. When he reached the earth and the wreath became dry, its leaves scattered, and the various kinds of perfume grew from them.

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Some(one) said: Rather, this is what God has told about Adam and Eve, that they started to cover themselves with leaves of Paradise stitched together,⁸⁰⁶ and when those leaves became dry, they scattered, and the various kinds of perfume grew from those leaves. God knows best!

Others said: Rather, when Adam realized that God would cast him down to earth, he started taking a branch of every tree he passed in Paradise and when he fell down to earth, those branches were with him. When the leaves on them became dry, they scattered. This was the origin of perfume.

Those who said this

According to Abū Hammām—his father—Ziyād b. Khaythamah—Abū Yaḥyā Bā'i' al-Qatt—Mujāhid—'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās: When Adam was leaving Paradise, he toyed with everything he passed. The angels were told: Let him do it! Let him take along whatever provisions from Paradise he wants to! When he came down, it was in India. The perfumes brought from India come from what Adam took out from Paradise.

Those who said: When Adam was cast down from Paradise, a wreath from the trees of Paradise was upon his head:

I was told on the authority of 'Ammār b. al-Ḥasan—'Abdallāh b. Abī Ja'far—his father—al-Rabī' b. Anas—Abū al-'Āliyah: Adam left Paradise, and when he did, he had with him a staff from the trees of Paradise, and upon his head there was a crown or wreath made from the trees of Paradise. He continued. He was cast down to India. From (that crown or wreath) comes every perfume in India.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Ishāq: Adam fell down upon it—meaning upon that mountain—having with him leaves of Paradise. He scattered them on that mountain. This was

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806. Cf. Qur. 7:22.

the origin of all perfumes and fruits that are found only in India.

Other said: Rather, God provided him with some of the fruits of Paradise. Those fruits of ours come from them.

Those who said this

According to Ibn Bashshār—Ibn Abī 'Adī, 'Abd al-Wahhāb, and Muḥammad b. Ja'far—'Awf—Qasāmah b. Zuhayr—(Abū Mūsā) al-Ash'arī: When God drove Adam out of Paradise, He provided him with some of the fruits there and taught him how to make everything. Those fruits of ours come from the fruits of Paradise, except that they change while the fruits of Paradise do not.

Others said: Adam's sweet smell clung to the trees of India.

Those who said: Perfume is found in India because, when Adam was cast down there, his sweet smell stuck to its trees

According to al-Hārith b. Muḥammad—Ibn Sa'd—Hishām b. Muḥammad—his father—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās: When Adam came down, the smell of Paradise was with him. It clung to India's trees and river valleys, and everything there was filled with perfume. Therefore, perfume with the smell of Paradise is brought from there.

As it was said that some of the perfume of Paradise was brought down with Adam, so it was said that the Black Stone, which was (originally) whiter than snow, was brought down with him, as well as the staff of Moses made from the myrtle of Paradise, which, like Moses, was ten cubits (five meters) tall, and also myrrh and incense. Then, anvils, mallets, and tongs were revealed to him. When Adam was cast down upon the mountain, he looked at an iron rod growing on the mountain and said: This comes from that, and he began to break up trees that had grown old and dry with the mallet and heated that (iron) branch until it melted. The first thing (of iron) he hammered was a long knife, which he used for work. Then he hammered the oven, the one which Noah inherited and that boiled with the punishment in India.⁸⁰⁷

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When Adam fell down, his head brushed against heaven. As a result, he became bald, and he passed on baldness to his children. Because he was so tall, the animals of the field fled (from him) and became wild animals from that day on. While Adam was standing

807. Cf. Qur. 11:40 and 23:27 and text below, I, 186 and 193 ff. In *Tafsir*, XII, 25 (*ad* Qur. 11:40), Ṭabarī refers rather unenthusiastically to this interpretation of "the oven that boiled." See also Speyer, *Biblische Erzählungen*, 103.

on that mountain, he heard the voices of the angels and enjoyed the smell of Paradise. His size was (therefore) reduced to sixty cubits, which was his size until he died. All of Adam's beauty combined was not found in any of his children except Joseph.^{807a}

It has been said that when Adam was cast down to earth, God provided him with thirty kinds of fruit—ten with shells, ten with stones, and ten with neither shells nor stones. The fruits with shells include walnuts, almonds, pistachio nuts, hazelnuts, poppy, acorns, chestnuts, coconuts, pomegranates, and bananas. Those with stones include peaches, apricots, plums, dates, sorbs, lotus fruit, medlar, jujubes, the fruit of the doom palm,⁸⁰⁸ and *shahlūj* plums.⁸⁰⁹ Those with neither shells nor stones include apples, quinces, pears, grapes, mulberries, figs, citrus fruit, breadfruit, ginger, and melon.⁸¹⁰

It has been said that among the things Adam took out from Paradise, there was a bag with grains of wheat, but, according to another statement, Gabriel brought wheat to Adam when he became hungry and asked his Lord for food, whereupon God sent him seven grains of wheat with Gabriel. When Gabriel put them in Adam's hand, Adam asked him what it was, and Gabriel said to him: This is what drove you out of Paradise.⁸¹¹ Each of those grains weighed 100,800 dirhams. When Adam asked Gabriel what he should do with them, Gabriel told him to spread them in the soil, and Adam did, whereupon God immediately made them grow. Thus, putting seeds into the soil became the custom among Adam's children. Then God commanded him to harvest the wheat, collect and husk it by hand, and winnow it. Then (Gabriel) brought two stones to him, and he placed one upon the other and ground the wheat. Then God commanded him to knead it and bake bread in the ashes. Gabriel gave Adam stones and iron, and (Adam) struck them together, producing fire. He was the first to bake bread in the ashes.

807a. The paragon of beauty in Islam.

808. For *muql*, see, for instance, Birūnī, *Ṣaydanah*, text, 350 f., trans., 307 f. See also Lane, 937b, s. v. *dawm*.

809. See Birūnī, *Ṣaydanah*, text, 24 f. and 388, trans., 17 f. and 347.

810. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, I, 61 f., has *quththā'* "cucumber" instead of "melon."

811. Because it is the fruit of the "tree" from which Adam and Eve had been forbidden to eat and which became such a nuisance for them on earth when they had to work hard to grow the wheat they needed for sustenance.

This statement just reported on the authority of the one who made it, contradicts transmissions on the authority of the early (scholars) of the nation of our Prophet. This is so in view of the report of al-Muthannā b. Ibrāhīm—Ishāq (b. al-Ḥajjāj)—‘Abd al-Razzāq—Sufyān b. ‘Uyaynah and Ibn al-Mubārak—al-Ḥasan b. ‘Umārah⁸¹²—al-Minhāl b. ‘Amr⁸¹³—Sa’id b. Jubayr—Ibn ‘Abbās: The tree which God forbade Adam and his spouse to eat from was wheat.⁸¹⁴ When they ate from it, their secret parts became apparent to them. It was their (cover of) fingernails⁸¹⁵ that had kept their secret parts concealed from them. Now, they started to cover themselves with leaves of Paradise stitched together—fig leaves which they stuck together. Adam wandered about hiding in Paradise. A tree there took hold of his head. God called out to him: Adam, is it from Me that you are fleeing? Adam said: No, but I am ashamed of you, my Lord. God said: Was all that I granted and allowed you (to enjoy) in Paradise not enough to keep you from what I had forbidden? Adam replied: No, my Lord, but by Your might!, I did not think that anyone would swear by You falsely (as was done by Iblīs). He continued. This is (meant by) God’s word: “And (Iblīs) assured them with an oath: I am one of those who give you good advice.”⁸¹⁶ God said: By My might! I shall cast you down to earth, and it will be only by toil that you will earn your living. He continued. Adam was cast down from Paradise, where both of them had freely eaten of its plenty, to where there was no longer plentiful food and drink. He was taught how to work iron, and he was commanded to plow. So he plowed, sowed, and irrigated, and when (the crop) ripened, he harvested, thrashed, winnowed, ground, kneaded, baked bread, and ate. Adam did not learn about (all these matters) until all that God wanted to ripen did.⁸¹⁷

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Ibn Humayd—Ya’qūb (al-Qummī)—Ja’far (b. Abī al-Mughīrah)—Sa’id (b. Jubayr): A red ox was cast down for Adam to use for plow-

812. Died in 153/752[3]. See *Tahdhīb* II, 304–8.

813. The following “and” (*wa-an*) seems to be a misprint in the Ṭabari editions. It makes no sense and does not appear in *Tafsīr*, VIII, 105 f. (*ad Qur.* 7:22).

814. *Sunbulah* “ear of corn.” See above, n. 683.

815. See above, n. 677.

816. *Qur.* 7:21.

817. Two different meanings of *balagha* appear to be involved here. Reading *b-l-’* in the first occurrence (“Adam did not eat...”) simplifies matters but is hardly correct. For the tradition, see *Tafsīr*, VIII, 105 f. (*ad Qur.* 7:22).

ing while wiping the sweat from his brow. This is (meant by) God's word: "So let (Iblīs) not drive both of you out of Paradise, so that you will be miserable!"⁸¹⁸ That was Adam's misery.⁸¹⁹

The statement made by these men is more likely to be correct and conforms more (than the earlier one) with the indications of the Book of our Lord. For, when God approached Adam and his spouse Eve and forbade them to obey their enemy, He said to Adam: "Adam! This (Iblīs) is an enemy to you and your spouse. So let him not drive both of you out of Paradise, so that you will be miserable! You do not have to go hungry or be naked in it, nor to be thirsty there or suffer from heat."⁸²⁰ The conclusion is that the misery which God informed Adam would result from being obedient to his enemy Iblīs is the difficulty for him to obtain what would remove his hunger and his nakedness. It refers to the means by which his children obtain food, such as plowing, sowing, cultivating, irrigating and other such difficult and painful tasks. If Gabriel had brought him the food which he obtains by sowing without any more trouble, there would not be much to the misery here with which his Lord threatened him for obeying Satan and disobeying the Merciful One. But it was—God knows best!—as (reported in the tradition) we transmitted on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās and others.

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It has been said that anvils, tongs, mallets, and hammers came down together with Adam.

Those who said this

According to Ibn Humayd—Yahyā b. Wāḍih—al-Ḥusayn⁸²¹ —'Ilbā' b. Aḥmar⁸²² —'Ikrimah—Ibn 'Abbās: Three things came down together with Adam: Anvils, tongs, mallets and hammers.

Then, as has been mentioned, God had Adam descend to the foot of the mountain upon which He had cast him, and made him ruler of all the earth and of all the jinn, dumb animals, beasts of burden, wild animals, birds and other (beings) upon it. Descending from the top of that mountain, Adam missed the speech of the

818. Qur. 20:117.

819. See *Tafsīr*, XVI, 161 (*ad* Qur. 20:117).

820. Qur. 20:117-19.

821. This is (al-) Ḥusayn b. Wāqid al-Marwazī, who died in 157 or 159/773-76. See *Tahdhīb*, II, 373 f.

822. For 'Ilbā', see *Tahdhīb* VII, 273 f.

inhabitants of heaven, and he could no longer hear the voices of the angels. He looked at the vastness and expanse of the earth and saw no one but himself. He felt lonely and said: My Lord! Does this earth of Yours have no one but me to live there and praise You? The reply he received is what I was told by al-Muthannā b. Ibrāhīm—Ishāq b. al-Hajjāj—Ismā'il b. 'Abd al-Karīm—'Abd al-Ṣamad b. Ma'qil—Wahb: When Adam was cast down to earth and saw its vastness but did not see anyone but himself, he said: My Lord! Does this earth of Yours have no one but me to live there and praise and sanctify You? God said: I shall have some of your children praise and sanctify Me on it. I shall have houses raised for mentioning Me on it, houses in which My creatures will give praise and mention My name. I shall have one of those houses singled out for my generosity and distinguish it from all others by My name and call it My House. I shall have it proclaim My greatness, and it is upon it that I have placed My majesty. Then, in addition, I, being in everything and together with everything, shall make that House a safe sanctuary whose sacredness will extend to those around, those underneath, and those above it. He who makes it sacred with My sacredness obligates Me to be generous to him. He who frightens its inhabitants there forfeits My protection and violates My sacredness. I shall have it be the first house to be founded as a blessing for mankind in the valley of Mecca. They will come to it disheveled and covered with dust upon all (kinds of) emaciated mounts from every deep ravine, shouting emotionally: At Your service (*labbayka*)! shedding copious tears and noisily proclaiming *Allāhu akbaru!* He whose exclusive intention it is to go there and nowhere else comes to Me as My visitor and becomes My guest. It befits a noble person to show generosity to those who come to him and are his guests, and to take care of everybody's need. You shall dwell there, Adam, as long as you live. Then the nations, generations, and prophets of your children shall live there, one nation after the other, one generation after the other.

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Then, as has been mentioned, He commanded Adam to go to the Sacred House which was cast down to earth for him, and to circumambulate it, just as he used to see the angels circumambulate God's Throne. (The Sacred House) was a single jewel (ruby) or pearl, as I was told by al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā—'Abd al-Razzāq—Ma'mar—

Abān⁸²³ : The House was cast down being a single jewel (ruby) or pearl. Eventually, when God drowned the people of Noah, He lifted it up, but its foundation remained. God established it as a residence for Abraham, who (re)built it (in its later form). I have mentioned earlier the reports that have come down on that subject.⁸²⁴

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It has been mentioned that Adam wept bitterly because of his sin and repented it. He asked God to accept his repentance and forgive his sin. In asking God, Adam said, as we were told by Abū Kurayb—Ibn 'Aṭīyyah—Qays—Ibn Abī Laylā⁸²⁵—al-Minhāl—Sa'īd b. al-Jubayr—Ibn 'Abbās, commenting on "And Adam received words from his Lord, and (God) forgave him"⁸²⁶ : My Lord! Did you not create me with Your own hand? God replied: Yes. Adam said: My Lord! Did You not blow some of Your spirit into me? God replied: Yes. Adam said: My Lord! Did You not have me dwell in Your Paradise? God said: Yes. Adam said: My Lord! Did Your mercy not come before⁸²⁷ Your wrath? God said: Yes. Adam said: Don't You think that, if I repent and improve, You might let me return to Paradise? God said: Yes. He continued. This is (meant by) God's word: "And Adam received words from his Lord."⁸²⁸

According to Bishr b. Mu'ādh—Yazīd b. Zuray'—Sa'īd (b. Abī 'Arūbah)—Qatādah, commenting on: "And Adam received words from his Lord," as follows: My Lord! Don't You think, if I repent and improve, (everything will be all right)? God said: Then I shall let you return to Paradise. He continued. al-Ḥasan⁸²⁹ said: "They (Adam and Eve) said: Our Lord! We have wronged ourselves, and if You do not forgive us and show mercy unto us, we shall be losers."⁸³⁰

823. This Abān is identified in the index of the Ṭabarī editions as Abān b. Ṣāliḥ, who, however, is mainly known as an authority of Ibn Ishāq. He lived from 60/679[80] to the 110s/728–737. *Tahdhīb*, I, 97–101, lists Abān b. Abī 'Ayyāsh Fīrūz (died in or after 127/744[5]) as an authority of Ma'mar. He may be meant here, or, at least, Ibn Hajar thought so.

824. Text above, I, 122 (and below, I, 193). The tradition appears in *Tafsīr*, I, 429 (*ad Qur.* 2:127).

825. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Laylā died in 148/765. See *Tahdhīb*, IX, 301–3.

826. *Qur.* 2:37.

827. Probably not "precede," but "come in before" (in a race).

828. See *Tafsīr*, I, 193 f. (*ad Qur.* 2:37).

829. Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī?

830. *Qur.* 7:23.

According to Aḥmad b. Ishāq al-Ahwāzī—Abū Aḥmad—Sufyān and Qays—Khaṣīf—Mujāhid, commenting on God's word: "And Adam received words from his Lord": This refers to "Our Lord! We have wronged ourselves, and if You do not forgive us and show mercy unto us, we shall be losers."

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Hishām b. Muḥammad—his father—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās: When Adam was cast down from Paradise, he brought down with him the Black Stone, which was (originally) whiter than snow. Adam and Eve mourned for what they had lost—that is, the luxury of Paradise—for two hundred years. They neither ate nor drank for forty days. Then they ate and drank, being at that time on (Mount) Nūdh, the mountain upon which Adam was cast down. He did not approach Eve for a hundred years.

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According to Abū Hammām—his father—Ziyād b. Khaythamah—Abū Yaḥyā Bā'i' al-Qatt: When we were sitting in the mosque, Mujāhid said to me: Do you see this? I replied: Abū al-Ḥajjāj, (you mean) the Stone? He said: You call it a stone? I said: Is it not a stone? He said: Indeed, I was told by 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās that it was a white jewel that Adam took out of Paradise and used to wipe his tears, for after he left Paradise, his tears did not stop for two thousand years, until he returned to it and Iblīs was no (longer) able to do anything to him. I said to him: Abū al-Ḥajjāj, why and how did it turn black? He replied: Menstruating women were touching it in the Jāhiliyyah.⁸³¹

Adam left India for the House to which God had commanded him to go. When he finally came to it, he circumambulated it and performed the rites (of the pilgrimage). It has been mentioned that he and Eve met at 'Arafāt, where they recognized each other ('-r-f), and he drew near her (z-l-f) at al-Muzdalifah.⁸³² Then he returned with her to India. They took a cave as their shelter, repairing to it night and day.⁸³³ God sent an angel to them to teach them what to wear and use for covering themselves. Supposedly, it was the skins of small cattle, (large) cattle, and beasts of prey. Some(one) said:

831. That is, the dark age before Islam.

832. See above, n. 787.

833. This cave somehow reflects the Cave of Treasure which plays such a large role in the *Book of Adam and Eve* as their residence, unless there is a connection here with the special cave of *Schatzhohle*.

It was only their children who wore that. Adam and Eve themselves used to wear leaves of Paradise stitched together to cover themselves.⁸³⁴

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Then God rubbed Adam's back at Na'mān⁸³⁵ of 'Arafah and brought forth his progeny (*dhurriyyah*). He scattered them in front of him like tiny ants (*dharr*).⁸³⁶ He made covenants with them and "had them testify against"⁸³⁷ themselves: Am I not your Lord? and they said: Yes," as God says: "And your Lord took from the backs of the children of Adam their progeny and had them testify against themselves: Am I not your Lord? They said: Yes."⁸³⁸

According to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī—al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad⁸³⁹ —Jarīr b. Ḥāzim—Kulthūm b. Jabr⁸⁴⁰ —Sa'īd b. Jubayr—Ibn 'Abbās—the Prophet: God took the covenant from Adam's back at Na'mān—meaning 'Arafah. He brought forth from his loin (his) progeny (*dhurriyyah*), which He multiplied (*dh-r*'). He scattered them in front of him like tiny ants (*dharr*). Then He talked to them face to face⁸⁴¹ saying: "Am I not your Lord? They said: Yes. We (so) testify," to "for what those who were in the wrong did."⁸⁴²

According to 'Imrān b. Mūsā al-Qazzāz⁸⁴³ —'Abd al-Wārith b. Sa'īd⁸⁴⁴ —Kulthūm b. Jabr—Sa'īd b. Jubayr—Ibn 'Abbās, commenting on God's word: "And your Lord took from the backs of the children of Adam their progeny and had them testify against themselves: Am I not your Lord? They said: Yes," as follows: He

834. Cf. Qur. 7:22 and 20:121.

835. Na'mān was the name of the valley between 'Arafah and Minā. See Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, IV, 1316. It is here also identified with 'Arafah itself. *Tafsīr*, IX, 76,1. 30 (*ad Qur 7:172*), describes Na'mān as a valley beside 'Arafah.

836. *Dharr* refers to very small objects, specks of dust, (in modern Arabic) atom, but Ṭabarī decides in favor of "tiny ants" in *Tafsīr*, XI, 90, 1.29 (*ad Qur. 10:61*).

837. The translation "against" follows that of R. Paret in his translation of the Qur'an.

838. Qur. 7:172.

839. Al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Bahrām died between 213 and 215/828–30. See *TB*, VIII, 88–90; *Tahdhīb*, II, 366 f.

840. For Kulthūm, see *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 442.

841. See above, n. 667.

842. Qur. 7:172 f. See *Tafsīr*, IX, 75, on this verse; Ibn Ḥanbal, I, 272.

843. Died after 240/854[5]. See *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 141.

844. Died in 179 or 180/795–96 at the age of seventy-eight. See *Tahdhīb*, VI, 441–43.

rubbed Adam's back, and every living being to be created by God to the Day of Resurrection came forth at Na'mān here—pointing with his hand. He took their covenants and "had them testify against themselves: Am I not your Lord? They said: Yes."⁸⁴⁵

According to Ibn Wakī' and Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm, the wording being that of the latter—Ibn 'Ulayyah—Kulthūm b. Jabr—Sa'īd b. Jubayr—Ibn 'Abbās, commenting on God's word: "And your Lord took from the backs of the children of Adam their progeny and had them testify against themselves: Am I not your Lord? They said: Yes." He rubbed Adam's back, and every living being to be created by God to the Day of Resurrection came forth at Na'mān here which is behind 'Arafah. He took their covenant: "Am I not your Lord? They said: Yes. We (so) testify."⁸⁴⁶

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According to Ibn Wakī'—'Imrān b. 'Uyaynah—'Atā' (b. al-Sā'ib)—Sa'īd b. Jubayr—Ibn 'Abbās: Adam was cast down as it happened, and God then rubbed his back and brought forth from it every living being to be created by Him to the Day of Resurrection. Then He said: "Am I not your Lord? They said: Yes." Then he recited: "And your Lord took from the backs of the children of Adam their progeny." And the Pen was dry with what is going to be from that day on to the Day of Resurrection.⁸⁴⁷

According to Abū Kurayb—Yaḥyā b. 'Īsā⁸⁴⁸—al-A'mash—Ḥabīb b. Abī Thābit⁸⁴⁹—Sa'īd b. Jubayr—Ibn 'Abbās, commenting on: "And your Lord took from the backs of the children of Adam their progeny," as follows: When God created Adam, He took his progeny from his back like tiny ants. He took two handfuls and said to those on the right: Enter Paradise in peace! And He said to the others: Enter the Fire! I do not care.⁸⁵⁰

According to Ibrāhīm b. Sa'īd al-Jawharī⁸⁵¹—Rawḥ b. 'Ubādah

845. See *Tafsīr*, IX, 75 (*ad Qur.* 7:172).

846. See *Tafsīr*, IX, 75 f.

847. See *Tafsīr*, IX, 76.

848. Yaḥyā b. 'Īsā appears to be the individual listed in *Tahdhīb*, XI, 262 f., as having died about 201/816-17.

849. Ḥabīb b. Abī Thābit Qays (or Dīnār) died in 119/773. See *Tahdhīb*, II, 178-80; *Khalifah*, *Ṭabaqāt*, 159.

850. See *Tafsīr*, IX, 76 (*ad Qur.* 7:172).

851. Originally from Ṭabaristān, Ibrāhīm b. Sa'īd al-Jawharī died ca. 250/864. See *TB*, VI, 93-96; *Tahdhīb*, I, 123-25.

and Sa'd b. 'Abd al-Hamid b. Ja'far⁸⁵² —Mālik b. Anas⁸⁵³ —Zayd b. Abī Unaysah⁸⁵⁴ —'Abd al-Hamid b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb⁸⁵⁵ —Muslim b. Yasār al-Juhani⁸⁵⁶: When 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb was asked about this verse: "And your Lord took from the backs of the children of Adam their progeny," he said: I heard the Messenger of God say: God created Adam, then rubbed his back with His right hand and brought forth from it (his) progeny. Then He said: I have created these for Paradise, and they will act as the inhabitants of Paradise. Then He rubbed his back with His left hand and said: I have created those for the Fire, and they will act as the inhabitants of the Fire. A man asked: O Messenger of God, how is that? Muḥammad replied: When God creates a human being for Paradise, He employs him to act as the inhabitants of Paradise, and he will enter Paradise. And when God creates a human being for the Fire, He will employ him to act as the inhabitants of the Fire, and will thus make him enter the Fire.⁸⁵⁷

It has also been said that God took Adam's progeny out of his back at Daḥnā.⁸⁵⁸

Those who said this

According to Ibn Humayd—Ḥakkām—'Amr b. Abī Qays⁸⁵⁹ —'Aṭā' (b. al-Sā'ib)—Sa'id (b. Jubayr)—Ibn 'Abbās, commenting on: "And your Lord took from the backs of the children of Adam their progeny," as follows: When God created Adam, He rubbed his back at Daḥnā and brought forth from his back every living being to be created by Him to the Day of Resurrection. He said: "Am I not your Lord? They said: Yes." He continued: They will see. On that day, the Pen was dry with what is going to be to the Day of Resurrection.⁸⁶⁰

852. Died in 219/834. See *TB*, IX, 124–26; *Tahdhīb*, III, 477.

853. The author of the *Muwatta'* was born between 711 and 715. He died in 179/795[6]. See *Tahdhīb*, X, 5–9; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 457–64.

854. Zayd b. Abī Unaysah died thirty-six years old between 119 and 125/737–43. See *Tahdhīb*, III, 397 f.; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 87.

855. This grandson of a brother of the caliph 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb died during the caliphate of Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik. See *Tahdhīb*, VI, 119.

856. In his entry in *Tahdhīb*, X, 142, reference is made to this tradition.

857. See *Tafsīr*, IX, 77 (*ad Qur.* 7:172); Ibn Ḥanbal, I, 44 f.

858. See above, n. 783. Daḥnā is supposedly located near al-Ṭā'if. See text below, I, 1675, and the related entry in Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 557.

859. See *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 93 f.

860. See *Tafsīr*, IX, 76 (*ad Qur.* 7:172). The translation "they will see" is not

Some(one) said: God brought forth Adam's progeny from his loin in heaven before He cast him down to earth but after He had driven him out of Paradise.

Those who said this

According to Ibn Wakī'—'Amr b. Ḥammād—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī, commenting on: "And the Lord took from the backs of the children of Adam their progeny and had them testify against themselves: Am I not your Lord? They said: Yes," as follows: God drove Adam out of Paradise but did not cast him down from heaven. Then He rubbed the right side of Adam's back and somehow brought forth from it progeny in the shape of tiny ants, white like pearls. He said to them: Enter Paradise by means of My mercy! Then He rubbed the left side of Adam's back and brought forth from it something in the shape of tiny black ants. He said to them: Enter the Fire! I do not care. This is meant where God speaks of "companions of the right" and "companions of the left."⁸⁶¹ Then He took the covenant and said: "Am I not your Lord? They said: Yes." And (God) gave (Adam) a willing group and a(n unwilling) group pretending piety (*'alā wajh al-taqiyyah!*).⁸⁶²

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The Events That Took Place in Adam's Time after He Was Cast Down to Earth

The first of these events was the killing by Cain (Qābīl) b. Adam of his brother Abel (Hābil).

Scholars disagree on the name of Qābil. Some say that he was Qayn b. Adam. Others say that it was Qābīn⁸⁶³ b. Adam. Others again say that it was Qāyin, and still others that it was Qābil.

They also disagreed on the reason why he killed him:

On this subject, some say as I was told by Mūsā b. Hārūn al-Hamdānī—'Amr b. Ḥammād—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī—Abū Mālik and Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās. Also (al-Suddī)—Murrah al-Hamdānī—Ibn

entirely certain.

⁸⁶¹ Qur. 56:27 and 41.

⁸⁶² One of the versions of the tradition in *Tafsīr*, IX, 80 (*ad* Qur. 7:172) supplies the bracketed *kārihin*. Cf. Qur. 41:11.

⁸⁶³ Possibly, a careful study of the manuscript evidence might tell us how Ṭabarī himself read these various forms. Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath*, XV, 210, expressly states that there was a form Qābin with a short *i* and *n* for *l* (like the following Qāyin). The Cairo edition has Qāyin instead of Qābin.

Mas'ūd and some (other) companions of the Messenger of God: Every boy born to Adam was born together with a girl. Adam used to marry the boy of one pregnancy to the girl of another, and vice versa.⁸⁶⁴ Eventually, two boys, called Cain and Abel, were born to him. Cain was a farmer and Abel a herdsman. Cain was the older of the two. He had a sister who was more beautiful than Abel's sister. Abel sought to marry Cain's sister, but Cain refused and said: She is my sister born together with me, and she is more beautiful than your sister. I deserve to marry her more (than you do). His father ordered Cain to marry her to Abel. However, he refused.

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Cain and Abel offered a sacrifice to God (to find out) who was more deserving of the girl. On that day, Adam was absent, as he had gone to have a look at Mecca. God had said to Adam: Adam, do you know that I have a House on earth? Adam replied: Indeed, I do not. God said: I have a House in Mecca. So go there! Adam said to heaven: Guard my two children safely! But heaven refused. He addressed the earth (with the same request), but the earth refused. He addressed the mountains, and they also refused. He then spoke to Cain, who said: Yes! You shall go, and when you return, you will be happy with the state in which you will find your family. When Adam had left, Cain and Abel offered a sacrifice. Cain had always boasted of being better than Abel, saying: I am more deserving of her, because she is my sister, I am older than you, and I am the legatee (*waṣī*) of my father. For their sacrifices, Abel offered a fat young sheep, and Cain a sheaf of ears of corn. Finding a large ear, Cain husked and ate it. A fire came down from heaven. It consumed Abel's offering and left that of Cain. Whereupon Cain got angry and said: I shall kill you to prevent you from marrying my sister. Abel said: "God accepts only from those who fear Him. If you stretch out your hand to kill me, I shall not stretch out my hand to kill you" to: "And his soul suggested to him that he kill his brother."⁸⁶⁵

Cain now sought Abel in order to kill him, and young Abel tried

864. The "vice versa" statement is not found in the Leiden edition. The Cairo edition does not make it clear whether it derived it from *Tafsīr*, XXII, 40 (*ad Qur.* 33:72) or found it in the manuscripts of the *History*. The entire tradition appears in the cited passage of *Tafsīr*.

865. *Qur.* 5:27-30.

to escape from him on the mountain tops. But one day, Cain came upon him while he was herding his small cattle on a mountain and was asleep. He lifted a big rock and crushed Abel's head with it. So he died. Cain let him lie naked, not knowing about burials. God then sent two ravens that were brothers, and they fought with one another. When the one killed the other, it dug a hole for it and covered it with soil. When Cain saw that, he said: "Woe to me! Am I incapable of being like that raven, so as to conceal the secret parts of my brother?"⁸⁶⁶ This is (meant by) God's word: "And God sent a raven to scratch a hole in the earth in order to show him how to conceal the secret parts of his brother...."⁸⁶⁷ When Adam returned, he found that his son had killed his brother.

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This story is (to be considered the explanation of) God's word where He says: "We have offered the (task of) safekeeping to the heavens and the earth and the mountains" to the end of the verse: "(Man) is unjust and ignorant"—meaning Cain when he took on the (task of) safekeeping for Adam and then did not guard his family.⁸⁶⁸

Others said: The reason for (Cain killing Abel) was that Eve bore two children to Adam in each pregnancy, one male and one female. When the male child reached puberty, Adam married him to the female child that had been born together with a brother of his in an earlier or later pregnancy. Cain, however, desired his twin sister and did not want Abel to have her, as I was told by al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan—al-Ḥusayn (b. Dāwūd)—Ḥajjāj—Ibn Jurayj—'Abdallāh b. 'Uthmān b. Khuthaym⁸⁶⁹: I went with Sa'īd b. Jubayr to do the (ritual) throwing of pebbles (at Minā). He was veiled and leaning on my arm. When we faced the mansion of Samurah al-Ṣawwāf⁸⁷⁰, he stopped and told me on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās: A woman was forbidden to marry her twin brother, and another

866. Qur. 5:31. The English translators of the Qur'ān paraphrase "secret (privacy) parts" as vile body or naked corpse.

867. This precedes the just quoted statement of Qur. 5:31.

868. Qur. 33:72. The entire tradition appears in *Tafsīr*, XXII, 40 f., in connection with this verse. See above, n. 864, and *Tafsīr*, VI, 121 f. and 126 (*ad* Qur. 5:27 and 30).

869. The entry on 'Abdallāh b. 'Uthmān b. Khuthaym, who is supposed to have died about 754, in *Tahdhīb*, V, 314 f., is a particularly instructive example of the way in which dates of death were reconstructed through scholarly reasoning.

870. There may be a link between him and the Banū Ṣufah mentioned in connection with Thabīr in *Yāqūt*, *Mu'jam*, I, 918[?].

of her brothers used to marry her. In each pregnancy, a man and a woman used to be born. (It happened that) a handsome woman was born, and an ugly woman was born. The brother of the ugly woman said (to the brother of the beautiful woman): Let me marry your sister, and I shall marry my sister to you. (The other brother) said: No! I am more deserving of my sister. So they offered a sacrifice. That of the one with the ram was accepted, while that of the farmer was not. So (the latter) killed (the former). That ram remained in custody with God until He let it go as Isaac's ransom. He slaughtered it upon this rock on Thabīr⁸⁷¹ at the mansion of Samurah al-Sawwāf, which is at your right hand when you throw the pebbles.⁸⁷²

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According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Ishāq—some scholar(s) from the people of the first Book: Adam had intercourse with Eve before he committed the sin (of eating from the forbidden tree). She bore him his son Cain and Cain's twin sister. She had no craving or illness (when she was pregnant) with them nor pain in giving birth to them. She also saw no blood in connection with them because of the purity of Paradise. When, after committing disobedience by eating from the tree, Adam and Eve fell down to earth and felt secure there, Adam had intercourse with Eve, and she became pregnant with Abel and his twin sister. She had cravings and illness when she was pregnant with them, and pain in giving birth to them, and she saw blood in connection with them. Eve reportedly used to carry only twins, one male and one female, and in twenty pregnancies, she bore from Adam's loins forty children, male and female. Each man among them would marry any sister of his that he wanted, except his own twin sister that was born together with him; she was not permitted to marry him. Men could marry sisters at that time, because there were no women except their sisters and their mother, Eve.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Ishāq—some scholar(s) knowledgeable in the first Book⁸⁷³: Adam ordered his son Cain to marry his twin sister to Abel, and he ordered Abel

871. One of the hills of Mecca near Minā. For the rites associated with it, see *Et*², III, 32b, s. v. ḥadjj.

872. See *Tafsīr*, VI, 126 (*ad Qur.* 5:30).

873. This follows the reading *bi-al-kitāb* adopted in the Cairo edition from *Tafsīr* (see n. 874). The reading of the manuscripts (*'an*) means: some scholar(s) on the authority of the first Book.

to marry his twin sister to Cain. Abel was pleased and agreed, but Cain refused, disliking (the idea), because he considered himself too good for Abel's sister. He desired his (own) sister and did not want Abel to have her. He said: We were born in Paradise, and they were born on earth. I am more deserving of my sister—Some scholar(s) of the people of the first Book say(s): Rather, the sister of Cain was one of the most beautiful human beings, and Cain begrudged her to his brother and wanted her for himself. God knows best what it was!—His father now said to him: Son, she is not permitted to you. Cain, however, refused to accept his father's word. So his father said to him: Then, son, offer a sacrifice, and let your brother Abel offer one! The one whose offering is accepted by God deserves her the most. Cain was in charge of sowing, and Abel was in charge of shepherding. Cain therefore offered flour, while Abel offered some first-born sheep—Some say: He offered a cow—God sent down a white fire which consumed Abel's offering, leaving that of Cain.⁸⁷⁴

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In this way, the acceptance of an offering to God used to be indicated. When God accepted Abel's offering, indicating the decision that Cain's sister was meant for Abel, Cain became angry. Haughtiness got the better of him, and Satan gained mastery over him. He followed his brother Abel who was with his herd, and killed him. The story of Cain and Abel was told by God to Muḥammad in the Qur'ān, saying: "And recite to them"—meaning the people of the Book—"the story of the two sons of Adam truthfully! They offered a sacrifice, and it was accepted for one of them" to the end of the story.⁸⁷⁵

He continued: When Cain had killed Abel, he was perplexed as he did not know how to conceal him, for this supposedly was the first killing among the children of Adam. "And God sent a raven to scratch a hole in the earth in order to show him how to conceal the secret parts of his brother. He said: Woe to me! Am I incapable of being like that raven, so as to conceal the secret parts of my brother?" to: "then many of them thereafter commit excesses on earth".⁸⁷⁶

874. See *Tafsīr*, VI, 121 (*ad Qur.* 5:27). For Cain's desire to marry his own twin sister, see *Schatzhöhle*, text, 34, trans., 8.

875. Qur. 5:27.

876. Qur. 5:31 f.

He continued: The people of the Torah⁸⁷⁷ suppose that when Cain killed his brother Abel, God said to him: Where is your brother Abel? Cain replied: I do not know. I was not his keeper.⁸⁷⁸ Whereupon God said to him: The voice of the blood of your brother calls out to Me from the earth. Now you are cursed from the earth which opened its mouth to accept the blood of your brother from your hand. If you work the earth, it will not again give you its produce,⁸⁷⁹ and eventually, you will be an errant fugitive⁸⁸⁰ on earth. Cain said: My sin is too great for You to forgive. Today, You have driven me from the face of the earth (and I shall keep concealed)⁸⁸¹ from before You and be an errant fugitive on earth. Everybody who meets me will kill me. God said: This is not so.⁸⁸² He who kills someone shall not be requited sevenfold, but he who kills Cain will be requited seven(fold). God put a sign upon Cain so that those who found him would not kill him, and Cain left from before God (and settled)⁸⁸³ east of the Garden of Eden.⁸⁸⁴

Others have said concerning this subject: The one of them killed his brother because God commanded them to offer a sacrifice. The offering of one of them was accepted, but that of the other was not.

877. What follows is one of the rare instances of a quite literal translation from the Bible (Genesis 4:9-16). It is based not on the Hebrew Bible but on one of the early translations, most likely one into Aramaic/Syriac.

878. It would be possible to translate "am," but it was apparently understood to have reference to the time of the killing. The Biblical question is turned into a statement. This may be the result of an Aramaic original.

879. Arabic *ḥarth*. Hebrew "strength" was naturally understood this way, see, for instance, Targum Neofiti, I, 22 f. or Targum Pseudo-Jonathan *ad* Genesis 4:12. This explanation was so self-evident that it usually was not commented on.

880. *Fazi' tā'ih*. The first word includes the connotations of anxiety and flight.

881. The omission of the words in parentheses makes no sense and appears to be an oversight on the part of Ṭabarī. As mentioned in the Cairo edition, *Tafsīr*, VI, 128, has the correct text.

882. Hebrew *lkn* ("therefore") was interpreted in the relevant translations as *lō kēn* ("not so") (See also Speiser, *Genesis*, *ad* 4:15). This was taken to mean that the sevenfold vengeance applied only to the case of Cain. According to Aphrem, only Cain will be requited (and tortured) sevenfold, whereas later killers will be killed right away. See *Ephraem Syri in Genesim*, text, 51, trans., 39. Cf. also Ibn al-Ṭayyib, *Commentaire sur la Genèse*, text, 43, trans., 41. In the quoted edition of *Tafsīr*, the text is corrupt.

883. The omission of the verb, resulting in placing this scene east of the Garden of Eden, also occurs in *Tafsīr* and no doubt always existed in the Arabic translation of Genesis 4:16. See also the tradition in text below, I, 161.

884. See *Tafsīr*, VI, 128 (*ad* Qur. 5:31).

The latter loathed the other and killed him.

Those who said this

According to Ibn Bashshār—Muḥammad b. Ja'far—'Awf—Abū al-Mughīrah⁸⁸⁵—'Abdallāh b. 'Amr: Of the two sons of Adam who offered a sacrifice to God, of which one was accepted but not the other, one was a farmer, and the other the owner of small cattle. Both were commanded to offer a sacrifice. The owner of small cattle offered the noblest, fattest, and best of his small cattle, which he was fond of, while the farmer offered the worst of his agricultural produce, weeds and tares which he did not like. God accepted the sacrifice of the owner of small cattle but did not accept the sacrifice of the farmer. Their story has been told by God in His Book, saying: By God! The one killed was the stronger of the two, but the desire to avoid sin prevented him from proceeding⁸⁸⁶ against his brother. [143]

Others said what I was told by Muḥammad b. Sa'd—his father—his paternal uncle—his father—his father—Ibn 'Abbās: In connection with the affair of Cain and Abel, (it should be kept in mind that) there were no indigents to be given charity (from the sacrifice). Sacrifices were simply offered. While the sons of Adam were sitting (at leisure some day), they said: We should offer a sacrifice. When someone offered a sacrifice pleasing to God, God sent a fire to consume it. If it was not pleasing to Him, the fire went out. So they offered a sacrifice. One of them was a shepherd, and the other a farmer. The shepherd offered the best and fattest of his animals, while the other offered some of⁸⁸⁷ his agricultural produce. The fire came down and consumed the sheep but left the agricultural produce. Adam's (one) son said to his brother: Should you (be allowed to) walk among men who have come to know that you offered a sacrifice that was accepted, while my sacrifice was rejected? Indeed not! The people must not look at me and at you (and think of) you as being better than I. And he said: "I shall kill you." His brother countered: What is my sin? "God accepts only

885. This Abū al-Mughīrah is listed in Bukhārī, *Kunū*, 70, no. 652, with no more information than provided by the chain of transmitters here.

886. The text in *Tafsīr*, VI, 120 (*ad Qur.* 5:27) has "stretching out his hand." This may be the meaning intended here.

887. *Tafsīr*, in quoting this tradition, has "the most odious of" (*abghaḍ*). A pejorative adjective is needed and commonly found in other versions, but one or two also do not qualify the agricultural produce offered by Cain.

from those who fear Him."⁸⁸⁸

Others said: The story of those two men did not take place in Adam's time, and the sacrifice was not offered in his age. They said: The two belonged to the children of Israel. They added: The first person to die on earth was Adam. No one died before him.⁸⁸⁹

Those who said this

According to Sufyān b. Wakī'—Sahl b. Yūsuf⁸⁹⁰ —'Amr—al-Ḥasan: The two men mentioned in God's word in the Qur'ān: "And recite to them the story of the two sons of Adam truthfully!"⁸⁹¹ belonged to the children of Israel. They were not sons from the loins of Adam. The sacrifice took place among the children of Israel. Adam was the first man to die.⁸⁹²

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Some of them said: Adam had sexual intercourse with Eve one hundred years after their fall to earth. She bore him Cain and his twin sister Qalimā⁸⁹³ in one pregnancy, and then Abel and his sister in another. When they reached early manhood, Adam wanted to marry Cain's twin sister to Abel, but Cain refused. For this reason, the two offered a sacrifice. Abel's sacrifice was accepted, while that of Cain was not. Cain thus envied Abel and killed him on the mountain slope of Ḥirā'. He then descended from the mountain holding his sister Qalimā by the hand and fled with her to 'Adan in the Yemen.⁸⁹⁴

According to al-Ḥārith (b. Muḥammad)—Ibn Sa'd—Hishām—his father—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās: When Cain killed his brother Abel, he took his sister by the hand and brought her down to the

888. See *Tafsīr*, VI, 120 (*ad Qur.* 5:27).

889. See *Schatzhöhle*, text, 40, trans., 9. This helps to explain why Ṭabarī rejected the report later on (text below, I, 145 and 151) quite vehemently.

890. The index of the Ṭabarī editions appears to assume that he is identical with Sahl b. Yūsuf al-Sulamī who, however, was an authority of Sayf b. 'Umar. Thus at least two links in the chain would be missing between Sufyān and Sahl. If there is such an omission, 'Amr could be 'Amr b. Shu'ayb (d. 118/736), and al-Ḥasan, of course, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. On the other hand, there was a Sahl b. Yūsuf al-Anmāṭī, who is supposed to have died in or after 190/805[6] [*Tahdhīb*, IV, 259 f.] and who might have been an authority of Sufyān b. Wakī'. In any case, the *isnād* would seem faulty.

891. Qur. 5:27.

892. See *Tafsīr*, VI, 122 (*ad Qur.* 5:27).

893. The name also appears in the form Iqlimā. In *Schatzhöhle*, text, 34, trans., 8, it is Qlimath. See also below, n. 903.

894. The name of the town of Aden in South Arabia and the identical Biblical Eden suggested the Yemenite location here.

foot of Mount Nūdh. Adam said to Cain: Go away! You will always be afraid and not safe from anyone you see. Everyone of (Cain's) children who passed by him shot at him. A blind son of Cain's came accompanied by one of his sons, who said to him: This is your father Cain. The blind man shot at his father Cain and killed him. The son of the blind man exclaimed: Oh, father! You have killed your father, whereupon the blind man raised his hand and slapped his son, and the son died. The blind man exclaimed: I have killed my father with a shot, and my son with a slap (of my hand).⁸⁹⁵

It has been mentioned in the Torah that Abel was twenty years old when he was killed, and Cain twenty-five when he killed Abel.

In our opinion, the sound statement is that the one of the two sons of Adam mentioned by God in His Book as having killed his brother is a son of Adam's loin, because proof has been transmitted that this is so:

According to Hannād b. al-Sarī—both Abū Mu'āwiyah and Waki'—al-A'mash—'Abdallāh b. Murrah⁸⁹⁶—Masrūq⁸⁹⁷—'Abdallāh (b. Mas'ūd)—the Prophet. Also Ibn Ḥumayd—Jarīr (—al-A'mash, etc.). Also Ibn Waki'—Jarīr and Abū Mu'āwiyah—al-A'mash (etc.): Adam's first son shares in the responsibility for every soul that is wrongfully killed. That is because he was the first to institute killing.⁸⁹⁸ [145]

We were told about the same by Ibn Bashshār—'Abd al-Rahmān b. Mahdī—Sufyān—al-A'mash—'Abdallāh b. Murrah—Masrūq—'Abdallāh (b. Mas'ūd)—the Prophet. Also Ibn Waki'—his father (etc.)

This report from the Messenger of God makes clear the soundness of the statement that the two sons of Adam, whose story is told by God in His Book, were children of Adam's loin, because

895. In *Schatzhöhle*, text, 48–50, trans., 11 f., it is Lamech, the descendant of Cain (Genesis 4:18), who is the killer. The legend explains Lamech's verses in Genesis 4:28. For a comparison of the version in the *Schatzhöhle* with one of Aphrem, see Klijn, *Seth in Jewish, Christian and Gnostic Literature*, 69 and 73 f.

896. Died during the caliphate of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz in 99 or 100/717–19. See *Tahdhib*, VI, 24 f.

897. Masrūq b. al-Ajda' died in 62 or 63/681–83, at the age of sixty-three. See *Tahdhib*, X, 109–11.

898. For this and the following paragraphs, see *Tafsīr*, VI, 125 (*ad Qur.* 5:29). See also *Concordance*, IV, 83b59–62, VI, 45a7–9; Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath*, XV, 209 f. (where Ṭabarī is quoted), III, 394, VII, 179, and XVII, 65 f.

there can be no doubt that if they had been children of Israel, as transmitted on the authority of al-Ḥasan, the one of them described as having killed his brother would not have been the first to institute killing, since killing took place among the children of Adam before Israel and his children existed.

Someone might say: What is your proof that the two were children of Adam's loins and were not children of Israel? The reply would be: There is no disagreement about this among the early scholars of our nation, since the statement that they were children of Israel is corrupt (and thus can be disregarded).

[146] It has been mentioned that when Cain killed his brother Abel, Adam mourned Abel, as we were told by Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ghiyāth b. Ibrāhīm⁸⁹⁹—Abū Ishāq ('Amr b. 'Abdallāh) al-Ḥamdānī—'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, may God ennoble his face!: When Adam's son killed his brother, Adam mourned the latter, saying:

The land and those upon it have changed.

The face of the earth is now ugly and dusty.

Everything tasty and colorful has changed.

The cheerfulness of a handsome face has become rare.

He continued. Adam received this reply:

Father of Abel! Both have been killed.

The one alive has become like the one slaughtered and dead.⁹⁰⁰

He brought evil of which he was

afraid. He brought it shouting.⁹⁰¹

It has been mentioned that Eve bore Adam children in one hundred and twenty pregnancies. The first children were Cain and his twin sister Qalimā, and the last 'Abd al-Mughīth and his twin sister Amat al-Mughīth.

⁸⁹⁹ Ghiyāth, whose reliability as a transmitter was greatly suspect, lived during the caliphate of al-Mahdī. See *TB*, XII, 323–27; Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh*, IV, 1, 109; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, III, 2, 57; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān*, IV, 422. *Tafsīr*, VI, 122 (*ad Qur.* 5:27) does not give the name (at least in the edition used here).

⁹⁰⁰ Another reading is *bi-al-mawt/mayt*: "become through that death (dead one) the one slaughtered."

⁹⁰¹ See *Tafsīr*, VI, 122 (*ad Qur.* 5:27). For the first three verses. cf. Mas'ūdi, *Murūj*, I, 65 (I, 39 Pellat); Rosenthal, *Sweeter than Hope*, 29, n. 121. The reply is supposed to have come from Iblis.

As far as Ibn Ishāq is concerned, it has been mentioned on his authority, as I have mentioned earlier,⁹⁰² that the total number of children born to Adam by Eve was forty; that is, male and female children born in twenty pregnancies. He added: We have the names of some of them, but not of others.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Ishāq: We have the names of fifteen men and four women, among them Cain and his twin sister, Abel, (Abel's twin sister) Labūdhā,⁹⁰³ Adam's daughter Ashūth⁹⁰⁴ and her twin brother, Seth and his twin sister,⁹⁰⁵ Ḥazūrah and her twin brother, (born) when (Adam) was one hundred and thirty years old, Adam's son Ayād and his twin sister, Adam's son Bālagh and his twin sister, Adam's son Athātī and his twin sister, Adam's son Tawbah and his twin sister, Adam's son Banān and his twin sister, Adam's son Shabūbah and his twin sister, Adam's son Ḥayān and his twin sister, Adam's son Ḍarābis and his twin sister, Adam's son Hadaz and his twin sister, Adam's son Yahūd and his twin sister, Adam's son Sandal and his twin sister, and Adam's son Bāraq and his twin sister—every male of them born together with a female as twins. [147]

902. Text above, I, 140.

903. Labūdhā is the form of the name as it appears in *Schatzhöhle*, text, 34, trans., 8, We have no way of knowing whether Ṭabarī himself thought it was Labūdhā or Layūdhā. For this name and some of the non-Biblical names mentioned later, reference was made to *Schatzhöhle* and Jubilees by Lidzbarski, *De prophetis...legendis*, 11 f. See also N. A. Stillman, "The Story of Cain and Abel," in *Journal of Semitic Studies* 19 [1974]: 231–39.

Counting the name of Cain's sister not mentioned presumably because it was well known (above, n. 893), we have here indeed four females mentioned by name and fifteen males. The passage was no doubt quoted by Ṭabarī from Ibn Ishāq's *Mubtada'*. Other authors were apparently suspicious and did not quote it. There were other lists, as, for instance, in Ibn Hishām, *Tijān*, 15. See also text below, I, 149.

In Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 4, Lūbadhā is the twin sister of Cain, and Iqlimā that of Abel. See also Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, I, 62; Tha'labī, *Qiṣaṣ*, 43.

All these names whose vocalization is not known to us have been vocalized here simply by supplying the vowel a. This has been done even where the names look suspiciously like Arabic names.

904. Said to be Cain's wife in text below, I, 167.

905. See text below, I, 152 f., where it is said first that Seth was born without a twin, and then that his twin was named 'Azūrā or Ḥazūrā, identical, no doubt, with Ḥazūrah mentioned here. It is also stated that it was Seth who was born when Adam had reached the age of one hundred and thirty (see also text below, I, 164). In the apocryphal literature, Seth's sister is repeatedly called 'Azūrā/Ḥazūrā. See Jubilees, IV, 8, and p. 30, note to IV, 1, in Charles' translation.



Most Persian scholars assume that Jayūmart is Adam.⁹⁰⁶ Some assume that Jayūmart is the son of Adam's loins by Eve. Others have made many (diverse) statements on Jayūmart. It would make this book of ours too long to mention them (all). We have omitted reference to them, since our intention here is to mention the kings and their days and what we have made it a condition to mention in this book of ours.⁹⁰⁷ The discussion of the different views on the pedigree of a given king is not the kind of subject for which we have undertaken the composition of the book. If we do mention something of the sort, it is to identify someone mentioned by us for those unacquainted with him. (I repeat:) The discussion of differing opinions on (a person's) pedigree is not something intended in this book of ours.

The statements of the Persian scholars on this subject have been disputed by other, non-Persian scholars who assume that he is (not ?) Adam. They agree with the Persian scholars as to his name but disagree with them⁹⁰⁸ as to his personal identity ('*ayn*) and description. They assume that the Jayūmart whom the Persians assume to be Adam is Gomer b. Japheth b. Noah.⁹⁰⁹ He was a long-lived lord who settled on the mountain of Dunbāwand⁹¹⁰ of the Ṭabaristān mountains in the East and ruled there and in Fārs. His power grew, and he commanded his children to take control of Bābil. For various (brief) periods, they ruled over all the zones (of the earth). Jayūmart protected all the places to which he got (?). He built for himself cities and castles and populated them and made them prosperous. He also assembled weapons and established a cavalry. At the end of his life, he became a tyrant. He took the name of Adam and said: If someone calls me by any other name, I shall cut off his hand. He married thirty women who

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906. See text above, I, 17 f., and below, I, 154. This and the following paragraphs were translated by Christensen, I, 67 f.

907. See text above, I, 6 f.

908. Read *khālafahum* or *khālafahā*. See Ṭabari, *Introductio etc.*, DLXXVII.

909. See above, n. 153.

910. See *EI*², II, 106 f., s. v. Damāwand, Eilers, "Der Name Demawend." The vowel *u* in the first syllable is that prescribed by Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 606, but Ṭabari might have used Danbāwand.

gave him many offspring. His son Mārī and daughter Māriyānah⁹¹¹ were among those born at the end of his life. He liked them and promoted them, so that the (later) kings were their offspring. His realm expanded greatly.

I mention this information about Jayūmart in this place only because none of the scholars of the (various) nations disputes that Jayūmart is the father of the non-Arab Persians. They differ with respect to him only as to whether he is Adam, the father of mankind, as stated by those mentioned by us, or somebody else. In addition, (I refer to Jayūmart) because his rule and that of his children continued in the East and the mountains there uninterrupted in an orderly fashion, until Yazdjard b. Shahriyār, one of his descendants—May God curse him!—was killed in Marw in the days of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān.⁹¹² The history (or chronology) of the world's bygone years is more easily explained and more clearly seen based upon the lives of the Persian kings than upon those of the kings of any other nation. For no nation but theirs among those leading their pedigree back to Adam is known whose realm lasted and whose rule was continuous. No other nation had kings ruling all (their subjects) and chiefs protecting them against their adversaries, helping them to obtain the upper hand over their competitors, defending those wronged among them against those who did them wrong, and creating for them fortunate conditions that were continuous, lasting, and orderly, inherited by later generations from earlier ones. Thus, a history based upon the lives of the Persian kings has the soundest sources and the best and clearest data.

God willing, and there is no might and strength except in Him, I shall mention the information we have received about the lives of Adam and his descendants after him who succeeded him in prophethood and royal authority, both according to those who oppose the statement of the Persians who assume that he is Jayūmart, and according to those who say that he is Jayūmart, the father of the Persians. And I shall discuss the history of the (Per-

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⁹¹¹. These names are explainable as linguistic variants of those given in text below, I, 154. See Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 198 f. (under Maschyō); Christensen, I, 9 f.

⁹¹². On the death of the last Sassanian emperor Yazdjard in 31/651[2], see text below, I, 2872 ff.

sian kings), from differences expressed to unanimity achieved that someone who they agree ruled at a specific time was indeed the ruler at that time. I shall then continue in this manner down to this time of ours.



Let us now return (to our narrative) and provide further clarification concerning the error of those who said that the first to die on earth was Adam, and who denied that the two whose story is told by God in His word: "And recite to them the story of the two sons of Adam truthfully! They offered a sacrifice, "⁹¹³ came, as shown by this verse, from Adam's loin.

According to Muḥammad b. Bashshār—'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Abd al-Wārith—'Umar b. Ibrāhīm⁹¹⁴—Qatādah—al-Ḥasan—Samurah b. Jundub⁹¹⁵—the Prophet: None of Eve's children survived. Therefore, she vowed that if one of her children were to survive, she would call him 'Abd al-Ḥārith.⁹¹⁶ When a child of hers survived, she called him 'Abd al-Ḥārith. That was due to Satan's inspiration.⁹¹⁷

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Ishāq—Dāwūd b. al-Ḥuṣayn⁹¹⁸—Ikrimah—Ibn 'Abbās: Eve would give birth to Adam's children and make them worship God, calling them 'Abd-allāh, 'Ubaydallāh ("Servant, or little Servant of God"), and the like. But then they would die. Now, Iblis came to her and to Adam and said: Were you to give them other names, they would survive. So, when she gave birth to a male child for Adam, they called him 'Abd al-Ḥārith. In this connection, God revealed His word: "It is

⁹¹³ Qur. 5:27.

⁹¹⁴ See *Tahdhīb*, VII, 425 f.

⁹¹⁵ For Samurah b. Jundub, who died in 58 or 59/677–79, see *Tahdhīb*, IV, 236 f.; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istī'āb*, II, 653–55.

⁹¹⁶ Al-Ḥārith, as explained in these traditions, was the original name of Iblis. By naming the child "Servant of al-Ḥārith (Iblis)," instead of "Servant of God," Adam and Eve associated Satan with God; they were thus exposed to the accusation of having introduced polytheism. Satan's opportunity came because during her first pregnancy, Eve was totally ignorant of the process of human reproduction and feared that she might produce a nonhuman animal. It was God's doing that the child was born without any defects, even if Satan tried to claim credit for it.

⁹¹⁷ See *Tafsīr*, IX, 99 (*ad* Qur. 7:190).

⁹¹⁸ Died in 135/752[3]. See *Tahdhīb*, III, 181 f.

He Who created you from a single soul" to "the two set up for Him associates in connection with what He had given them" to the end of the verse.⁹¹⁹

According to Ibn Wakī' —Ibn Fuḍayl—Sālim b. Abī Hafṣah⁹²⁰ —Sa'īd b. Jubayr, commenting on (the same verse): "When she became heavy (with child), they called on God, their Lord" to "And God is above your associating (others with Him)," as follows: When Eve became heavy with her first pregnancy, Satan came to her before she gave birth, and said: Eve, what is that in your womb? She said: I do not know. He asked: Where will it come out, from your nose, your eye, or your ear? She again replied: I do not know. He said: Don't you think, if it comes out healthy, you should obey me in whatever I command you? When she said: Yes, he said: Call him 'Abd al-Ḥārith! Iblīs—May God curse him!—was called al-Ḥārith. She agreed. Afterwards, she said to Adam: Someone came to me in my sleep and told me such-and such. Adam said: That is Satan. Beware of him, for he is our enemy who drove us out of Paradise. Then Iblīs—May God curse him!—came to her again and repeated what he had said before, and she agreed. When she gave birth to the child, God brought him out healthy. Yet, she called him 'Abd al-Ḥārith. This is (meant by) God's word: "They set up for Him associates in connection with what he had given them" to "And God is above your associating (others with Him)."⁹²¹

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According to Ibn Wakī'—Jarīr and Ibn Fuḍayl—'Abd al-Malik⁹²² —Sa'īd b. Jubayr: When (Sa'īd) was asked whether Adam associated (others with God), he replied: God forbid that I should assume Adam did that! However, when Eve was heavy with child, Iblīs came and said to her: Where will this one come out, from your nose, your eye, or your mouth? He thereby caused her to despair (because she did not know and was afraid of what was going to happen). Then he said: Don't you think that, when it comes out perfectly formed—Ibn Wakī' said that Ibn Fuḍayl added: without harming or killing you—you should obey me? When she agreed, he said: Call him 'Abd al-Ḥārith, and she did. Jarīr added: So Adam's

919. Qur. 7:189 f. See *Tafsīr*, IX, 99 (*ad Qur.* 7:190).

920. Died about 140/757[8]. See *Tahdhīb*, III, 433 f.

921. See *Tafsīr*, IX, 100 (*ad Qur.* 7:190).

922. 'Abd al-Malik b. Abī Sulaymān died in 145/763. See *Tahdhīb*, VI, 396–98.

associating (others with God) was only in the name.⁹²³

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According to Mūsā b. Hārūn—'Amr b. Ḥammād—Asbāṭ—al-Suddi: So she—meaning Eve—gave birth to a boy. Iblis came to her and said: Call (pl.) him my servant ('*abdi*)! If you don't, I shall kill him. Adam said to him: I obeyed you (once before), and you caused me to be driven out of Paradise. So he refused to obey him and called the child 'Abd al-Rahmān "Servant of the Merciful One." Satan—May God curse him!—gained power over the boy and killed him. Eve bore another child, and when she gave birth to it, Satan said: Call him my servant! If you don't, I shall kill him. Adam said to him (again): I obeyed you (once before), and you caused me to be driven out of Paradise. So he refused and called the boy Ṣāliḥ,⁹²⁴ and Satan killed him. The third time around, Iblis said to Adam and Eve: If you (pl., want to) overcome me, call him 'Abd al-Ḥārith! Iblis' name was al-Ḥārith. He was called Iblis when he was bedeviled (*ubliṣa*)—became confused.⁹²⁵ This (is meant by God's word) where He says: "They set up for him associates in connection with what He had given them"—meaning in connection with the names.⁹²⁶

Those who, as I have mentioned, have transmitted (reports) that some children of Adam and Eve died before them, and the even more numerous transmitters and statements not mentioned by us, contradict the statement of al-Ḥasan transmitted on his authority that the first person to die was Adam.⁹²⁷

In addition to giving Adam royal authority and rulership on earth, God made him a prophet and a messenger to his children. He revealed to Adam twenty-one scrolls. Adam was taught them by Gabriel and wrote them down with his own hand.

According to Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Wahb—his paternal uncle⁹²⁸—al-Mādi b. Muḥammad⁹²⁹—Abū Sulaymān⁹³⁰—al-

923. See *Tafsīr*, IX, 100 (*ad* Qur. 7:190).

924. The choice of the name results from the use of the adjective *ṣāliḥan* in Qur. 7:190.

925. See above, n. 617.

926. See *Tafsīr*, IX, 100 (*ad* Qur. 7:190). *Tafsīr* reads "giving a name."

927. See above, n. 889.

928. See above, nn. 136 and 137.

929. Al-Mādi died in 183/799. See *Tahdhīb*, X, 2 f.

930. For 'Alī b. Sulaymān (?), see *Tahdhīb*, 328 f. The *kunya*h Abū Sulaymān does not appear in *Tahdhīb*, but the chain of transmitters is identical.

Qāsim b. Muḥammad⁹³¹ —Abū Idrīs al-Khawḷānī⁹³² —Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī: I entered the mosque and found the Messenger of God sitting there by himself. When I joined him, he said to me: Abū Dharr, there is a greeting for a mosque. It consists of praying two *rak'ahs*. So, get up and perform them! When I had done so, I sat with him and said: O Messenger of God! You have commanded me to pray. But what is prayer? He replied: The best of subjects, whether there is much or little of it. Then (Abū Dharr) mentioned a long story in which he said: I asked the Messenger of God how many prophets there are. He replied: 124,000. He continued: I asked him how many of those were messengers. He replied: Three hundred and thirteen, a large crowd (*jamman ghafirān*)—meaning a good many. He continued. I asked the Messenger of God who the first of them was, and he replied: Adam. He continued. I asked him whether Adam was a prophet sent as a messenger. He replied: Yes, God created him with His own hand and blew some of His spirit into him. Then He immediately fashioned him in perfect shape.⁹³³

According to Ibn Humayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Ishāq —Ja'far b. al-Zubayr⁹³⁴ —al-Qāsim b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān⁹³⁵ —Abū Umāmah⁹³⁶ —Abū Dharr: I said: O Prophet of God! Was Adam

931. On the basis of this chain of transmitters, he is given a separate, questionable entry in *Tahdhib*, VIII, 336 f.

932. Born supposedly in 8/630, Abū Idrīs died in 80/699. See *Tahdhib*, V, 85-87; *EF*², IV, 1135, s. v. al-Khawḷānī.

933. *Qubulan* "in perfect shape" is usually translated "face to face" (above, n. 667, and the next tradition). See Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, CDXI. For a related tradition of Abū Dharr with a different chain of transmitters, see Ibn Hanbal, V, 178, 179, and 266. On the number of messengers (315), see Muqātil, *Tafsīr*, on Qur. 42:51.

934. *Tahdhib*, II, 90-92, mentions a certain Ja'far b. al-Zubayr as a transmitter of al-Qāsim b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, but he died in the 140s/757-67 and thus was a contemporary of Ibn Ishāq. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām (*Tahdhib*, II, 92), the youngest brother of 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, would fit chronologically. However, his son Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām, who died in the 110s/728-37 (*Tahdhib*, IX, 93; Horst, 303, n. 6), usually appears as the authority of Ibn Ishāq. He was a contemporary of al-Qāsim who here appears as his authority.

935. Al-Qāsim b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān died in the 110s/730-36. See *Tahdhib*, VIII, 322-24.

936. The identification with the companion of the Prophet, Abū Umāmah Ṣudayy b. 'Ajlān al-Bāhili, seems supported by the addition of the *nisbah* al-Bāhili in text below, I, 2108, which has, however, a different *isnād*. It does not seem certain that he is meant here. He died in 81 or 86/700-5 at the age of ninety-one. See *Tahdhib*, IV, 420 f.; Khalifah, *Ṭabaqāt*, 46 and 303; Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 2, 327 f.; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istī'āb*, II, 736.

a prophet? He replied: Yes, he was, and God spoke to him face to face.

Among the things God reportedly revealed to Adam was the prohibition against eating dead animals, blood, and pork. He also revealed to him the letters of the alphabet on twenty-one leaves.

Eve Giving Birth to Seth

When one hundred and thirty years of Adam's life had passed—that is, five years after Cain had killed Abel—Eve gave birth to Adam's son Seth. The people of the Torah have mentioned that Seth was born without a twin. They explain Seth as "Gift of God," meaning that he was a replacement⁹³⁷ for Abel.

[153] According to al-Ḥārith b. Muḥammad—Ibn Sa'd—Hishām—his father—Abū Sāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās: Eve bore Adam Seth and his sister 'Azūrah.⁹³⁸ He was called "Gift of God," (a name) derived from Abel.⁹³⁹ When Eve gave birth to him, Gabriel said to her: This is God's gift in place of Abel. (Seth's name) is Shith⁹⁴⁰ in Arabic, Shāth in Syriac, and Shīth in Hebrew. He was Adam's legatee. On the day Seth was born to him, Adam was one hundred and thirty years old.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Ishāq: Reportedly—God knows best!—when Adam was about to die, he called his son Seth and appointed him his heir. He taught him the hours of night and day and indicated to him how the creatures should worship in each hour. He informed him that each hour had its special kind of creatures to worship in it. Then he said to him: Son, the Flood will be on earth and last seven years. He wrote his last will addressed to him. Seth reportedly was the legatee of his father Adam, so after Adam's death, political leadership fell to him. According to a tradition on the authority of the Messenger

937. The similarity of the word *khalaf* in the meaning of "replacement" to Aramaic *hlāp* translating Hebrew *taḥat* (Genesis 4:25) is hardly coincidental. For data on Seth in Arabic literature. cf. the unpublished Yale dissertation (1968) of Theodore Gluck, *The Arabic legend of Seth, the Father of Mankind*.

938. See above, n. 905.

939. Hebrew Hebel "Abel" is etymologized as composed of the Aramaic root (y)-h-b "to give" and el "God."

940. With a short vowel. The short vowel may represent the Hebrew *e*. Long *ā* in Shāth may indicate long *ē*. Long *ī* in the "Hebrew" form (which, in fact, is the accepted Arabic form of the name) could represent *ay* to *ē* (?).

of God, God revealed fifty scrolls to Seth.

According to Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Wahb—his paternal uncle—al-Mādī b. Muḥammad—Abū Sulaymān—al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad—Abū Idrīs al-Khawlānī—Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī: I said: O Messenger of God! How many books did God reveal? He replied: One hundred and four. God revealed fifty scrolls to Seth.

All the children of Adam today trace their pedigree back to Seth. That is because the offspring of all the other children of Adam except those of Seth have completely disappeared, and not one of them remains. Thus, the pedigrees of all people today go back to Seth.

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The Persians who say that Jayūmart is Adam say: Born to Jayūmart was his son Mashī, who married his sister Mashyānah.⁹⁴¹ She bore him his son Siyāmak and his daughter Siyāmī. Born to Siyāmak b. Mashī b. Jayūmart were his sons Afrawāk, Dīs, Barāsb, Ajwab (Ajrab), and Awrāsh, and his daughters Afrī, Dadhī, Barī, and Awrāshī. The mother of all of them was Siyāmī, the daughter of Mashī, their father's sister.

The Persians mention that the entire earth consists of seven climes. The land of Bābil and the regions reachable by people who go there by land or sea constitute a single clime. Its inhabitants are the offspring of the children of Afrawāk b. Siyāmak and their descendants. The remaining six climes not reachable today by land or sea are (inhabited by) the offspring of all the other sons and daughters of Siyāmak.

Siyāmak's daughter Afrī bore her brother Afrawāk King

941. The first three paragraphs are translated in Christensen, I, 116, and the rest of the chapter in Christensen, I, 147 f. The forms Mashī and Mashyānah may be the ones intended by Ṭabarī. The text of the Cairo edition has Mīshī (Mīshā) and Mīshānah. Among Iranian scholars, we find Mashia and Mashiana (Justi), Mashyaγ and Mashyānaγ (Christensen, II, 167), or Masya and Masyani (Anklesaria). For the variant forms Māri and Māriyānah, see above, n. 911. For Fravāk as the son of Siyāmak, see *Bundahishn*, ed. Justi, ch. 32, and ed. Anklesaria, ch. 14, pp. 132 f., and ch. 35, pp. 292 f. The vocalization and etymology of the other names is quite uncertain. See the listings in Justi. Christensen, I, 116 and 121, attempts no explanation for the names which are attested only in Ṭabarī. For Afrī as an element in nomenclature, one may tentatively compare Naveh and Shaked, *Amulets*, 146 ff.

Hōshank Pēshdādh. It was he who succeeded his grandfather Jayūmart as ruler, and he was the first to rule over all the climes. God willing, we shall mention his history when we get to it.⁹⁴² It is assumed by some(one) that this Ōshahanj was the son of Adam's loin by Eve.

Hishām al-Kalbī, on his part said, as I was told on his authority: We have heard—God knows best!—that the first king to rule the earth was Ōshahanj b. Eber b. Shelah b. Arpachshad b. Shem b. Noah.⁹⁴³ He continued. The Persians claim him and assume that he lived two hundred years after Adam's death. He continued. As we have heard, this king lived two hundred years after Noah, but the people of Fārs had him living two hundred years after Adam, with no indication of what was before Noah.

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Hishām's statement deserves no consideration, because among the experts in Persian genealogy, King Hōshank is more famous than al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf is among the Muslims.⁹⁴⁴ Every people is more familiar than others with their own forefathers, pedigrees, and accomplishments. With respect to every complex matter, one must have reference to those people who were (directly) involved.

Some Persian genealogist(s) assume(s) that this King Ōshahanj Pēshdād is Mahalalel, that his father, Frawāk, is Mahalalel's father Kenan, that Siyāmak is Kenan's father Enosh, that Mashī is Enosh's father Seth, and that Jayūmart is Adam.⁹⁴⁵ If this is so, there can be no doubt that Ōshahanj was a man in the time of Adam. This is because, as mentioned in the first Book,⁹⁴⁶ Mahalalel's mother Dīnah, the daughter of Barākīl b. Mehujael b. Enoch b. Cain b. Adam,⁹⁴⁷ gave birth to him after 395 years of Adam's life had passed. Thus, when Adam died, Mahalalel was 605 years old,

942. Tabarī seems to refer to text below, I, 170 ff., unless he has a more general reference in mind (perhaps, to text below, I, 201 ff.).

943. See Genesis 10:21–24 and 11:10–14.

944. The reference to the famous Umayyad governor (see *EI*², III, 39–43, s. v. al-Ḥadjjāj b. Yūsuf) seems a bit strange until one realizes that it would have been unsuitable in the context to compare a secular and rather tyrannical ruler with the ancient rulers of Islam.

945. For the Biblical figures, see Genesis 5:1–12.

946. If the sg. "Book" as in the Cairo edition has the proper support in the manuscript tradition, it may be preferable to the pl. "Books" (Scriptures) found in the Leiden text.

947. See Genesis 4:17 f. Dīnah and Barākīl are, of course, not found in Genesis, but they appear as, respectively, wife and father-in-law of Kenan's son Mahalalel in Jubilees 4:15. See text below, I, 165.

since according to a tradition on the authority of the Messenger of God concerning Adam's life, Adam lived a thousand years.

The Persian scholars have assumed that the rule of this Ōshahanj lasted forty years. If the genealogists' statement concerning this king just mentioned by us is as indicated, it is not impossible to say that he became ruler two hundred years after Adam's death.

Adam's Death

There are differences of opinion as to the duration of Adam's life and how old he was when God took him unto Himself.

The received reports on the authority of the Messenger of God indicate what I was told by Muḥammad b. Khalaf al-'Asqalānī—Ādam b. Abī Iyās—Abū Khālid Sulaymān b. Hayyān—Muḥammad b. 'Amr—Abū Salamah—Abū Hurayrah—the Prophet. Also Abū Khālid—al-A'mash—Abū Šāliḥ—Abū Hurayrah—the Prophet. Also Abū Khālid—Dāwūd b. Abī Hind—al-Sha'bi—Abū Hurayrah—the Prophet. Also Abū Khālid—Ibn Abī Dhubāb al-Dawsī—Sa'id al-Maqburī and Yazīd b. Hurmuz—Abū Hurayrah—the Prophet: God created Adam with His own hand and blew some of His spirit into him. He commanded the angels to prostrate themselves before Adam, and they did. Adam sat down, then sneezed and said: Praise be to God! His Lord said to him: May your Lord show mercy unto you! Go to that multitude of angels and say to them: Peace be upon you! He went and said to them: Peace be upon you! and they responded: And upon you be peace and the mercy of God! Adam then returned to his Lord who said to him: This is your greeting and the greeting for your progeny to use among themselves.⁹⁴⁸ [156]

Then God closed His hand and said to Adam: Pick and choose! Adam said: I choose the right of my Lord. Both His hands are right hands. God opened His hand for him, and behold, there was the picture of Adam and all his progeny, and there was the term of each man written down with God. For Adam, a life of a thousand years had been written down. There were people there crowned by light. When Adam asked his Lord who they were, God replied:

948. The same tradition appears up to this point in text above, I, 93 f.

They are the prophets and messengers whom I shall send to My servants. Among them, there is a man who is the most luminous of them. However, a life of only forty years was written down for him. Adam asked: O my Lord! Why is a life of only forty years written down for this most luminous man among them? God said: That is what was written down for him. So Adam said: O my Lord! Shorten my life by sixty years for him! Now, the Messenger of God said: When God had settled Adam in Paradise and then had cast him down to earth, Adam used to count his days. So, when the Angel of Death came to seize him, Adam said to him: You have come too early, Angel of Death. The Angel of Death replied: I did not. Adam said: Sixty years of my life still remain. The Angel of Death replied: Nothing remains of your life. You asked your Lord to write (those sixty years) down for your son David. Adam replied: I did not. The Messenger of God continued: Adam forgot, and so did his progeny. Adam denied it, and so did his progeny. On that day, God established written documents and commanded (the use of) witnesses.⁹⁴⁹

[157] According to Ibn Sinān—Mūsā b. Ismā'il—Hammād b. Salamah—'Alī b. Zayd—Yūsuf b. Mihrān—Ibn 'Abbās: When the verse of the debt⁹⁵⁰ was revealed, the Messenger of God said: The first to deny (an obligation) three times was Adam. When God created him, he rubbed his back and brought forth from it whatever He was going to multiply (*dh-r-y/dh-r'*)⁹⁵¹ to the Day of Resurrection. When He started to present them to Adam, Adam saw among them a man who shone. He said: O my Lord! Which prophet is this? God replied: This is your son David. Adam said: O my Lord! How long is his life? God replied: Sixty years, whereupon Adam said: O my Lord! Give him a longer life! God said: No, unless you take some years of your life and add them to his. Now, Adam's life was one thousand years, and he gave David forty of it. God wrote this down in a document and had the angels witness it. When Adam was about to die and the angels came to him to seize his spirit, he said: Forty years of my life still remain. The angels said:

949. This story argues the need in legal matters for agreements made in writing and duly witnessed because of human forgetfulness and the human propensity to renege on obligations.

950. That is, Qur. 2:282.

951. See text above, I, 134.

You gave them to your son David. Adam said: No, I did not give him anything. Whereupon God had the document brought down and had the angels produced as witnesses against him. Adam lived a full thousand years (despite the years he had given away), and David lived a full hundred years.⁹⁵²

According to Muḥammad b. Sa'd—his father—his paternal uncle—his father—his father—Ibn 'Abbās, commenting on: "And your Lord took from the backs of the children of Adam their progeny" to "They said: Yes. We (so) testify,"⁹⁵³ as follows: When God created Adam, he rubbed his back and brought forth all his progeny in the shape of tiny ants. He gave them speech, and they talked. "He had them testify against themselves."⁹⁵⁴ He had light shine forth from one of them. He said to Adam: They are your progeny with whom the covenant has been made that I am their Lord, lest they associate something with Me, and I am obligated to provide for their sustenance. Adam said: Who is the one with the light? and God replied: David. Adam said: O my Lord! How long a term have You written down for him? God replied: Sixty years. Adam said: How long a life have You written down for me? and God replied: One thousand years. For every one of your progeny, I have written down how long he will live. Adam said: O my Lord! Give David a longer life! God said: The book here is all done, but, if you wish, give him some years from your own life! Adam agreed, although the Pen was dry for all the other of Adam's children. Thus, (God) wrote down for David (an additional) forty years for Adam's sake. so that David's term was a hundred years. When Adam had lived 960 years, the Angel of Death came to him. When Adam saw him, he said: Why (have you come)? He replied: You have completed your term. Adam said: I have lived 960 years. Forty still remain. When he said this to the Angel, the Angel replied: I have the information from my Lord. Adam now said: Then go back to your Lord and ask Him! The Angel went back to his Lord, who asked him why (he had come back). The Angel said: O my Lord! I have come back to You because I know You hold Adam in such high esteem. God said: Go back and in-

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952. See Ibn Hanbal, I, 251 f., 298 f., 371.

953. Qur. 7:172.

954. Qur. 7:172.

form him that he gave forty years to his son David.⁹⁵⁵

[159] According to Ibn Bashshār—Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar—Shuʿbah—Abū Bishr—Saʿīd b. Jubayr, commenting on this verse: "And God took from the backs of the children of Adam their progeny and had them testify against themselves: Am I not your Lord?"⁹⁵⁶ as follows: He brought them forth from Adam's back and gave Adam a life of one thousand years. He continued. When Adam's progeny was presented to him, he saw among them one endowed with light. He wondered about him and asked who he was. God replied: He is David. His life has been set at sixty years. Adam thereupon made over to him forty years of his own life. When Adam was about to die, he started to argue with (the angels) about the forty years. He was told that he had given them to David. (A variant reading) is: *and* he started to argue with (the angels about the forty years, he was told...)⁹⁵⁷

According to Ibn Humayd—Yaʿqūb (al-Qummī)—Jaʿfar (b. Abī al-Mughīrah)—Saʿīd (b. Jubayr), commenting on God's word: "And your Lord took from the backs of the children of Adam their progeny," as follows: He brought forth his progeny from his back looking like tiny ants and presented them to Adam with their names and those of their fathers and their terms. He continued. He presented to Adam the spirit of David in a sparkling light, and Adam asked who he was. God replied: He is one of your progeny, a prophet I have created. Adam said: How long is his life? and God replied: Sixty years. Adam said: Add forty years of my life to his! He continued. (That was when) the pens were still moist and proceeding to write. The (additional) forty were thus set down for David. Adam's life was one thousand years. When he completed them except for the forty years, the Angel of Death was sent to him. He said: Adam, I have been commanded to seize you, whereupon Adam said: Do I not have forty more years to live? He continued. The Angel of Death thereupon went back to his Lord and said: Adam claims he has forty (more) years to live, and God said: Inform him that he made them over to his son David, while the pens were still moist, so they were set down for David.⁹⁵⁸

955. See *Tafsīr*, IX, 78 (*ad* Qur. 7:172).

956. Qur. 7:172.

957. See *Tafsīr*, IX, 79 (*ad* Qur. 7:172); Ibn Khuzaymah, 67.

958. This tradition as well as the following *isnād* is found in *Tafsīr*, IX, 79 (*ad*

We were told about the same by Ibn Wakī'—Abū Dāwūd—Ya'qūb—Ja'far—Sa'īd.

It has been mentioned that Adam was ill for eleven days before his death. He made his son Seth his legatee and wrote his last will. Then he handed the document containing his last will to Seth and commanded him to keep it concealed from Cain and his children, because Cain had killed Abel out of envy. That was when Adam singled Abel out for (receiving God's) knowledge. Seth and his children kept concealed the knowledge they possessed, and Cain and his children did not have any knowledge they could use.

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The people of the Torah assume that Adam lived 930 years.⁹⁵⁹

According to al-Hārith—Ibn Sa'd—Hishām b. Muḥammad—his father—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās: Adam lived 936 years.⁹⁶⁰ God knows best!

The reports received on the authority of the Messenger of God and our early scholars are as I have mentioned. The Messenger of God is the human being who knows best about it.

The reports received on his authority mention him as saying: Adam lived one thousand years, even after he made over those additional years from his own life to his son David. For God gave Adam the full number of years He had (originally) given him, before Adam gave David those (forty years). Perhaps, the years that Adam made over to David were not included in Adam's life in the Torah. So it was said that he lived 930 years.

Someone might say: Even if this so (that the Torah did not count those years), and Adam made over forty years of his life to his son David, it should be 960 years in the Torah, in order to be in agreement with the reports received on the authority of the Messenger of God. The reply would be: In connection with this subject, we have the tradition of the Messenger of God transmitted by us that it was sixty years of his own life that Adam made over to his son David—this is according to Abū Hurayrah's tradition on the Prophet's authority mentioned by us earlier.⁹⁶¹ If this is so, the assumption made in the Torah about the duration of Adam's life

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Qur. 7:172).

959. See Genesis 5:5.

960. Following Wahb b. Munabbih, Ibn Hishām, *Tijān*, 19, mentions 930 years in the text, but the manuscripts seem to have 937 (927).

961. See text above, I, 156 f. The discussion indicates serious concern with a Biblical statement, even if it does not quite work out.

agrees with what we have transmitted in this connection on the authority of the Messenger of God.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Ishāq: After writing his last will, Adam died. The angels assembled at his (place), because he was the chosen friend (*ṣafī*) of the Merciful One, and buried him. Seth and his brothers were in the regions east of Paradise at a village that was the first on earth. The sun and the moon were in eclipse for seven days and nights. When the angels assembled for (Adam's burial), and Seth collected the last will, he placed it upon a ladder (like that used for the ascent and descent of angels and souls)⁹⁶² in the company of the generation that our father Adam had brought out from Paradise, so that there would be no neglect with respect to mentioning God.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Ishāq—Yaḥyā b. 'Abbād⁹⁶³—his father: I (Yaḥyā) heard him ('Abbād) say: I have heard that when Adam died, God sent him his shroud and embalming materials from Paradise. The angels then took charge of his grave and burial and hid him (from sight).

According to 'Alī b. Ḥarb⁹⁶⁴—Rawḥ b. Aslam⁹⁶⁵—Ḥammād b. Salamah—Thābit al-Bunānī⁹⁶⁶—al-Ḥasan⁹⁶⁷—the Prophet: When Adam died, the angels washed him separately (several times) with water and prepared a burial site for him. They said: This (shall be) Adam's custom among his children.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Ishāq—al-Ḥasan b. Dhakwān⁹⁶⁸—al-Ḥasan b. Abī al-Ḥasan (al-Baṣrī)—Ubayy b. Ka'b—the Messenger of God: Your father Adam was as tall as a very tall palm, that is, sixty cubits (30 meters). He had much hair, and his privy parts (*'awrah*) were concealed. When he committed

962. Doubts about the reading and interpretation of *mi'rāj* are, however, expressed in Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, CCCLV.

963. For Yaḥyā b. 'Abbād and his father 'Abbād b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām, see *Tahdhīb*, XI, 234 f. and V, 98.

964. Born in 175/December 791, 'Alī b. Ḥarb died in 265/879. See *TB*, XI, 418–20; *Tahdhīb*, VII, 294–96.

965. Rawḥ b. Aslam is supposed to have died in the first decade of the third century/815–25. See *Tahdhīb*, III, 291 f.

966. Thābit b. Aslam al-Bunānī died eighty-six years old between 123 and 127/740–45. See *Tahdhīb*, II, 2–4; Khalifah, *Ṭabaqāt*, 214; Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, II, 330.

967. Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī did not transmit directly from the Prophet.

968. See *Tahdhīb*, III, 276 f.

the sin (of eating from the forbidden tree), his secret parts became apparent to him. He fled about in Paradise, but a tree encountered him and seized him by his forelock. His Lord called out to him: (Are you) in flight from Me, Adam? Adam replied: No, by God, O my Lord, but I feel shame before You because of the crime I have committed. God cast him down to earth. When he was about to die, God sent him his embalming materials and shroud from Paradise. When Eve saw the angels, she went in to Adam in order to prevent them from entering (*dūnahum*). Adam said: Leave me and the messengers of my Lord alone! It was you who caused the experience I suffered, and it was in connection with you that the misfortune befell me. When Adam was dead, the angels washed him separately (several times) with *sidr* and water and dressed him in separate layers of shrouds.⁹⁶⁹ Then they prepared a grave and buried him. They then said: This (shall be) the custom of the children of Adam after him.

According to Aḥmad b. al-Miqdām⁹⁷⁰ —al-Mu'tamir b. Sulaymān—his father, or supposedly Qatādah—a colleague of his—Ubayy b. Ka'b—the Messenger of God: Adam was a man as tall as a very tall palm.

According to al-Hārith b. Muḥammad—Ibn Sa'd—Hishām—his father—Abū Šāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās: When Adam died, Seth said to Gabriel: Pray for Adam! Gabriel replied: You go and pray for your father and say *Allāhu akbaru* for him thirty times, five as (part of the prescribed) prayer and the other twenty-five as a special honor for Adam!

There are differences of opinion about the location of Adam's grave. What Ibn Ishāq said, has already been mentioned.⁹⁷¹ Someone else said: He was buried in Mecca in the cave of Abū Qubays. It is a cave called Treasure Cave.⁹⁷²

969. *Sidr* is said to be crushed lotus leaves mixed with water to serve as a perfuming agent. The proper procedures of washing a corpse successively with water, *sidr*, and camphor and the use of several garments as shrouds are discussed at length in the Prophetic traditions. See also *Et*², II, 441 f., s. v. *djanāza*.

970. Aḥmad b. al-Miqdām died in 253/867. See *TB*, V, 162–66; *Tahdhīb*, I, 81 f. As is clear from the dates of his authorities, he lived into his nineties. He himself is credited with the statement that he was born two years before the death of Abū Ja'far, apparently the caliph al-Manṣūr, thus in 773.

971. See text above, I, 161f

972. Abū Qubays is one of the Meccan hills, see *Et*², I, 136, s. v. Abū Qubays. The Treasure Cave in Abū Qubays is mentioned in Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 769, s. v.

[163] On this subject, there is a report transmitted on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās that I was told by al-Hārith—Ibn Sa'd—Hishām—his father—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās: When Noah left the ark,⁹⁷³ he (re)buried Adam in Jerusalem.

Adam's death took place on Friday. We have mentioned the relevant traditions earlier and would not like to repeat them here.⁹⁷⁴

On this subject, we have the following report transmitted on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās which I was told by al-Hārith—Ibn Sa'd—Hishām b. Muḥammad—his father—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās: Adam died upon (Mount) Nūdh—Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) says: This refers to the mountain upon which he was cast down.⁹⁷⁵

It has been mentioned that Eve lived one year after Adam's death. Then she died. She was buried together with her spouse in the mentioned cave. That place remained the grave of Adam and Eve until the Flood. Noah then took them out, placed them in a coffin, and carried them along in the ark. When the earth had soaked up the water, he returned them to the place where they had been before the Flood. As mentioned, Eve spun, wove, kneaded, baked, and did all kinds of women's work.

(From Seth to Mahalalel)

We have mentioned the history of Adam and his enemy Iblis and what God did with Iblis when he became tyrannical and overbearing and rebelled against his Lord, then insolently spurned the favor shown him by God, persisted in his ignorance and perversity and asked his Lord for postponement, and He granted him postponement "to the day of the known moment."⁹⁷⁶ (We have also mentioned) what God did with Adam, how He hastened His punishment of him for his sin and for having forgotten God's covenant,

ghār, as a place where Adam deposited his books. For the Treasure Cave of the holy mountain as the burial place of Adam and Eve and his early descendants, see *Schatzhöhle*, text, 38–42, trans., 9 f. In Ya'qūbī's *Ta'rikh*, I, 3–14, it plays a large role, as does the subsequent fate of Adam's corpse, presumably following some recension of the *Schatzhöhle* literature.

973. While "ark" is a special term which has been associated in our usage with Noah's ark, Arabic uses ordinary words for ship or boat. See below, n. 1071.

974. See text above, I, III.

975. See above, n. 788.

976. Qur. 15:38 and 38:81 and the context of the verses.

and then covered him with His outstanding mercy, since Adam repented his slip, and forgave and guided him and saved him from error and perdition. Let us now return to the history of Cain and the history of his children and that of Seth and his children. God willing, we shall mention both the followers of Adam's way and the party of Iblis and imitators of his errors who proceeded along the path of either Adam or Iblis, and (we shall mention) what God did with each group.

[164]

We already mentioned some matters pertaining to Seth, such as that he was the legatee of his father Adam among those left behind by Adam after his passing. We mentioned as well that a number of scrolls was revealed to him by God.⁹⁷⁷

Seth reportedly stayed in Mecca performing the pilgrimage (*hajj*) and the lesser pilgrimage (*'umrah*) until he died. He added the scrolls revealed by God to him to those of his father Adam and acted in accordance with their contents. He built the Ka'bah with stones and clay.

Our early scholars, however, have said that the dome that God made for Adam where the House is located remained (as it was) to the days of the Flood. God lifted it up when He sent the Flood.⁹⁷⁸

When Seth fell ill, he reportedly appointed his son Enosh as his legatee. He then died and was buried together with his parents in the cave of Abū Qubays. He was born after 235 years of Adam's life had passed,⁹⁷⁹ and he died at the age of 912 years.⁹⁸⁰ As is assumed by the people of the Torah, Enosh was born to Seth after 605 years of his life had passed.⁹⁸¹

Ibn Ishāq, in turn, said as we were told by Ibn Humayd—Salamah b. al-Faḍl—(Ibn Ishāq): Adam's son Seth married his sister, Adam's daughter Ḥazūrah.⁹⁸² She bore him his son Yānish and his daughter Na'mah.⁹⁸³ Seth was 105 years old at the time.

977. See text above, I, 153.

978. See text above, I, 122. "Dome" (*qubbah*) is also "dome shaped tent."

979. As in the Bible, the figure is usually 130 years. See text above, I, 153.

980. Genesis 5:8.

981. Genesis 5:6 has 105, as in the next tradition, LXX has 205. The reference of "his" cannot be to Adam.

982. See above, n. 905.

983. In Jubilees 4:13, her name is Noam. See Fraade, *Enosh*, 18. Naamah appears as the name of Tubal-cain's sister in Genesis 4:22. Yānish for Enosh is unusual and possibly results from some misunderstood Aramaic spelling [the letter ' spelled y in Christian Palestinian Aramaic?].

[165] After the birth of Yānish, he lived another 807 years.⁹⁸⁴

After the passing of his father Seth, Enosh took over the political administration of the realm and the guidance of the subjects under his control in place of his father Seth. He reportedly continued his father's ways with no noticeable changes. As mentioned by the people of the Torah, Enosh lived altogether 905 years.⁹⁸⁵

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Hishām—his father—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās: Seth begot Enosh and numerous other children. Enosh was Seth's legatee. Kenan was then born to Enosh b. Seth b. Adam by his sister, Seth's daughter Na'mah, after ninety years of the life of Enosh and 325 years of that of Adam had passed.⁹⁸⁶

Ibn Ishāq, in turn, said as we were told by Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Ishāq: Seth's son Yānish married his sister, Seth's daughter Na'mah. When he was ninety years old, she bore him Kenan. After Kenan's birth, Yānish lived another 815 years. (Several) sons and daughters were born to him. The total length of Yānish's life was 905 years. At the age of seventy, Yānish's son Kenan married Dīnah, the daughter of Barākīl b. Mehujael b. Enoch b. Cain b. Adam.⁹⁸⁷ She bore him his son Mahalalel. After the birth of Mahalalel, Kenan lived another 840 years. Thus the total length of Kenan's life was 910 years.⁹⁸⁸

[166] According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Hishām—his father—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās: Enosh begot Kenan and numerous other children. Kenan was his legatee. He begot Mahalalel and other children in addition. Mahalalel was his legatee. He begot Jared (Yarid)—that is, al-Yārid—and other children in addition. Jared was his legatee. He begot Enoch—that is, the prophet Idrīs⁹⁸⁹—and other children in addition. Enoch begot Methuselah and other children in addition. Methuselah was his legatee. He begot Lamech and other children in addition. Lamech was his legatee.⁹⁹⁰

984. Genesis 5:7.

985. Genesis 5:11.

986. Genesis 5:9. The figure of 325 agrees with the Biblical data.

987. See above, n. 947.

988. Genesis 5:13 f.

989. The Qur'ānic Idrīs was commonly identified with Enoch, probably on the basis of etymological speculation (*h-n-k* and *d-r-s*), which may, or may not, be grounded in fact. See *EP*², III, 1030 f., s. v. Idrīs.

990. The statement on Lamech that is found in a manuscript used in the Cairo edition no doubt belonged to the original text. For the succession of "legatees," cf. the "commandments" (*p-q-d*) of *Schatzhöhle*, text, 112-14, trans., 27.

In the Torah, according to the people of the Book, it is mentioned that Mahalalel's birth took place after 395 years of Adam's life and seventy years of that of Kenan had passed.⁹⁹¹

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Ishāq: When Mahalalel b. Kenan was sixty-five years old, he married his maternal aunt Sim'an, the daughter of Barākīl b. Mehujael b. Enoch b. Cain b. Adam.⁹⁹² She bore him his son Jared. After Jared's birth, Mahalalel lived another 830 years. (Several other) sons and daughters were born to him. The total length of Mahalalel's life was 895 years.⁹⁹³ Then he died.

According to the Torah, Jared reportedly was born to Mahalalel after 460 years of Adam's life had passed.⁹⁹⁴ He followed the ways of his father Kenan, but (certain) events happened in his time.

*The Events That Took Place in the Days
of the Children of Adam from the Rule
of Adam's Son to the Days of Jared*⁹⁹⁵

It has been mentioned that when Cain killed Abel and fled from his father to the Yemen,⁹⁹⁶ Iblis came and said to him: Abel's offering was accepted and consumed by fire only because he used to serve and worship fire. So, you, too, set up a fire for yourself and your descendants! Cain thus built a fire temple. He was the first to set up and worship fire.

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According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Ishāq: Cain married Adam's daughter Ashūt.⁹⁹⁷ She bore him a male and a female, his son Enoch and his daughter 'Adan.⁹⁹⁸ Cain's son Enoch married his

991. Genesis 5:12.

992. Sim'an (vocalization?), who is mentioned again in text below, I, 172, thus was a sister of Dinah (above, nn. 947 and 987). According to Jubilees, it was Dinah who was married to Mahalalel.

993. Genesis 5:17.

994. Because Mahalalel was sixty-five when Jared was born (Genesis 5:15).

995. The chapter, in fact, extends to Noah. Jared's assumed crucial role in world history derives from the fact, stressed in *Schatzhöhle*, that the first millennium of the world came to an end during his lifetime.

996. See above, n. 894.

997. See above, n. 904.

998. The Ṭabari manuscripts seem to have final *b*, but *n* is assured by Enoch 85:3. See also Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 42. In Jubilees 4:20, Ednī is Methuselah's mother; in 4:27, Ednā is the name of the wife of Methuselah. See below, nn. 1031 and 1035.

sister, Cain's daughter 'Adan. She bore him three male children and one female, his sons Irad, Mehujael, and Abūshil⁹⁹⁹ and his daughter Mūlith.¹⁰⁰⁰ Enoch's son Abūshil married Enoch's daughter Mūlith. She bore Abūshil a male named Lamech. Lamech married two women, one named Adah and the other Zillah. Adah bore him Tūlin (Jabal), who was the first to dwell in tents and to acquire property, and Tūbīsh (Jubal),¹⁰⁰¹ who was the first to play string instruments and cymbals.¹⁰⁰² Zillah bore him a male called Tubalcain, who was the first to work copper and iron.¹⁰⁰³ Their children were godless tyrants (*jabābirah* and *farā'inah* ["Pharaohs"]). They were given a large stature, supposedly thirty cubits (15 meters) tall. He continued. The children of Cain then disappeared, having left only a few descendants. Knowledge of the pedigrees of all the progeny of Adam was lost, and they no longer had offspring, except among the descendants of Adam's son Seth. They produced offspring, and the pedigrees of all men today go back to Seth rather than his father Adam, who is the father of mankind, except those children of his father and his brothers who left no (further) descendants.

He continued. The people of the Torah say: Rather, Cain married Ashūt. She bore him Enoch. To Enoch was born Irad, to Irad Mehujael, to Mehujael Abūshil, and to Abūshil Lamech. Lamech married Adah and Zillah, who bore him those mentioned by me.¹⁰⁰⁴ God knows best!

Ibn Ishāq mentioned only what I have reported about Cain and his descendants.

Someone else knowledgeable in the Torah mentioned that the descendant of Cain who invented musical instruments was a man

999. Instead of b, it probably was originally (before Ṭabarī?) th, as the name apparently represents Methushael of Genesis 4:18. There Methushael is the son of Mehujael, who, in turn, is the son of Irad. A reading Anūshil, an angelic name consisting of Enosh plus *il/el*, seems unlikely.

1000. Mūlith no doubt corresponds to Mualeth in Jubilees 4:14, where it is the name of Kenan's wife.

1001. The initial *t* in Tūlin and Tūbīsh should probably be read *y*, since Jabal and Jubal of Genesis 4:20 f. are meant here.

1002. For *šanī* ("cymbal"), the meaning of some kind of string instrument is probably more common, so that Ṭabarī may have understood the instruments as representing two different string instruments.

1003. Genesis 4:19–22.

1004. This genealogy is, of course, more in line with Genesis 4:17.

called Tūbāl (Jubal). He invented musical instruments such as flutes, drums, lutes, pandores, and lyres in the time of Mahalalel b. Kenan. As a result, the descendants of Cain became very much engaged in amusement.¹⁰⁰⁵ Information about them reached the descendants of Seth in the mountain, and a hundred of them thought of going down to them, acting contrary to the exhortations of their forefathers. When Jared learned about it, he admonished them and forbade them (to go down), but they simply insisted and went down to the descendants of Cain. They liked what they saw there. When they wanted to go back, they were prevented by a previous call (*da'wah*)¹⁰⁰⁶ of their forefathers. When they tarried where they were, some misguided people in the mountain thought that they remained (down there) because they were happy there. They therefore slipped away and went down from the mountain. When they saw the amusement taking place there, they, too, liked it. They reached an accommodation with female descendants of Cain who rushed to them, and they stayed with them. They became very much engaged in iniquity. Wickedness and wine drinking spread.¹⁰⁰⁷

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) says: This statement is not far from the truth. That is so because about the same information has been transmitted on the authority of a number of the early scholars from the nation of our Prophet, even if they did not clearly indicate the time of the person during whose rule this event took place but mentioned only that it was in the period between Adam and Noah.

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Those on whose authority this story has been transmitted

According to Aḥmad b. Zuhayr¹⁰⁰⁸ —Mūsā b. Ismā'il—Dāwūd, meaning Ibn Abī al-Furāt¹⁰⁰⁹ —'Ilbā' b. Aḥmar—'Ikrimah—Ibn 'Abbās, reciting this verse of the Qur'ān (addressing women): "And do not display your finery as in the first Jāhiliyyah!"¹⁰¹⁰ and

1005. *Lahw* "amusement" seems to be used here in this wider meaning; it is not merely musical entertainment.

1006. *Schatzhöhle* speaks of an "oath." The Arabic may be understood as prayer or curse.

1007. See *Schatzhöhle*, text, 64–68, trans., 15 f. This and the following story expand on Genesis 6:1–4.

1008. That is, the historian Ibn Abī Khaythamah (above, n. 533).

1009. According to *Tahdhib*, III, 197, Dāwūd b. Abī al-Furāt died in 167/783–84, but this may not be correct.

1010. Qur. 33:33.

commenting on it as follows: It was the period between Noah and Idrīs(!) and it was a thousand years. There were two tribes (*batn*) of Adam's descendants. One of them dwelled in the plain, and the other in the mountain. The mountain men were handsome, and the mountain women ugly, while the women of the plain were beautiful, and the men ugly. Iblīs came to one of the inhabitants of the plain in the form of a young man and hired himself out as his servant. Iblīs invented something like the flutes used by shepherds but produced with it a sound, the likes of which people had not heard before. When those around them heard about it, they took turns going to them and listening to it. They established a yearly festival where they assembled, arranging for the women to display their finery to the men—he continued—and for the men to come down to them. One of the mountain people intruded upon them during that festival of theirs. He saw the beauty of the women and, going back to his companions, told them about it. They moved down to live with the women, with the result that wickedness appeared among the women. This is (meant by) God's word: "And do not display your finery as in the first Jāhiliyyah!"

[170] According to Ibn Wakī'—Ibn Abī Ghaniyyah¹⁰¹¹—his father—al-Ḥakam,¹⁰¹² commenting on: "And do not display your finery as in the first Jāhiliyyah," as follows: There were eight hundred years between Adam and Noah. Their women were as ugly as could be, and their men were handsome. A woman always wanted a man for herself. Therefore, this verse was revealed: "And do not display your finery as in the first Jāhiliyyah!"

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Hishām—his father—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās: Adam did not die before the number of his children on (Mount) Nūdh had reached forty thousand.

Adam noticed adultery, wine drinking, and corruption among them. He exhorted the children of Seth not to marry the children of Cain. The children of Seth placed Adam in a cave and appointed a guardian for him, so that none of the children of Cain would get near him. Those who came to him and for whom he

1011. Yahyā b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥumayd b. Abī Ghaniyyah died between 186 and 188/802-4. See *Tahdhīb*, XI, 252. His father is listed in *Tahdhīb*, VI, 392 f.

1012. Al-Ḥakam b. 'Utaybah lived from around 47-50/667-70 to about 113-15/731-33. See *Tahdhīb*, II, 432 f.; Khalīfa, *Ṭabaqāt*, 162; Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 2330 ff.

would ask for forgiveness belonged to the children of Seth. One hundred handsome children of Seth said: Would that we could look at what our cousins—meaning the children of Cain—are doing. So the hundred went down to the beautiful female children of Cain. The women detained the men, and they remained for a while. Then, another hundred said: Would that we could look at what our brothers are doing. They went down from the mountain, and the women detained them. Then all the children of Seth went down. The result was the coming of sin. They intermarried and mingled, and the children of Cain grew in numbers until they filled¹⁰¹³ the earth. They are the ones who drowned in the days of Noah.¹⁰¹⁴



I have already mentioned what the Persian genealogists have said about Mahalalel b. Kenan. He was Ōshahanj who ruled over the seven climes. I have explained the statements of the Arab genealogists who oppose their (views).¹⁰¹⁵

If it was as stated by the Persian genealogists, I, in turn, was told on the authority of Hishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib that (Ōshahanj) was the first to cut trees and build buildings and the first to produce minerals and make people understand their use. He commanded the people of his time to use mosques. He built two cities, the first to be built on earth. They are the city of Bābil in the southern region (*sawād*) of al-Kūfah and the city of al-Sūs (Susa). He ruled forty years.

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Someone else said: It was during Ōshahanj's rule that iron was first produced. He made it into tools for the crafts. He assessed the available water in localities with a stagnant water supply.¹⁰¹⁶ He urged people to till the soil, sow, harvest, and engage in all (kinds of agricultural) activity. He commanded people to kill beasts of prey and use clothing made from their skins as well as mats and to

1013. The Leiden edition has "ruled."

1014. The figure of one hundred occurs also in *Schatzhöhle*, see above, n. 1007. See also the version in Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 8.

1015. See text above, I, 154 f. The section is translated in Christensen, I, 148 f. (comments on I, 156 ff.).

1016. Christensen: Et il aménagea les eaux où elles étaient utiles.

slaughter cows, small cattle, and wild animals and eat their meat. He ruled forty years. He built the city of al-Rayy. Reportedly, it was the first city built after the city that was Jayūmart's residence, in Dunbāwand of Ṭabaristān.¹⁰¹⁷

The Persians say that this Ōshahanj was born a king. His way of life and the way he administered his subjects were outstandingly praiseworthy. That gave rise to his surname Fēshdādh, which in Persian means "the first to judge in justice," for *fāsh* (*pēsh*) means "first," and *dādh* (*dād*) means "justice and legal decision." They further mention that he went down to India and moved about in many places. When his situation was straightened out and his rule firmly established, he placed a crown (*tāj*) upon his head and gave an address in which he said that he had inherited the realm from his grandfather Jayūmart and that he meant (to inflict) punishment and revenge upon rebellious human beings and Satans. Again, they mention that he subdued Iblīs and his armies and forbade them to mix with human beings. Writing a document on a white sheet (*ṭirs*), he imposed covenants upon them enjoining them not to confront any human being. He threatened them in case they did. He killed the rebels among them and a number of ghūls. Fearing him they fled into deserts, mountains, and (river) valleys. Ōshahanj ruled over all the climes. There were 236 years between the death of Jayūmart and the birth and rule of Ōshahanj. They further mention that Iblīs and his armies rejoiced at the death of Ōshahanj. That was because his death enabled them to enter the dwellings of the children of Adam and go down to them from the mountains and (river) valleys.



Let us now return to Jared (Yarid), also said to be Yārid. After 460 years of Adam's life had passed, Jared was born to Mahalalel and his maternal aunt Sim'an, the daughter of Barākīl b. Mehujael b. Enoch b. Cain.¹⁰¹⁸ He was the legatee and successor of his father, according to what his father Mahalalel had set down in his last will addressed to him when he made him his successor after

1017. See text above, I, 147.

1018. See above, n. 992.

his death. His mother reportedly gave birth to him after sixty-five years of Mahalalel's life had passed. After his father perished, he acted in accordance with the last will of his ancestors and his forefathers, as they had done during the days of their lives.

As we were told by Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Ishāq, when Jared was 162 years old, he married Baraknā, the daughter of al-Darmasīl¹⁰¹⁹ b. Mehujael b. Enoch b. Cain b. Adam. She bore him his son Enoch, who is the prophet Idrīs. He was the first of Adam's children to be given prophecy—as Ibn Ishāq assumed—and the first to write with a pen. Jared lived 800 years after Enoch's birth. (Several) sons and daughters were born to him. The total length of Jared's life was 962 years. Then he died.

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Someone else among the people of the Torah said: Enoch—that is, Idrīs—was born to Jared. God granted him the gift of prophecy after 622 years of Adam's life had passed. He revealed thirty scrolls to him. He was the first after Adam to write and to exert himself in the path of God,¹⁰²⁰ as well as the first to cut and sew clothes. He also was the first to lead some of Cain's descendants into captivity and to enslave them. He was the legatee of his father Jared and exhorted to act in accordance with what his forefathers had stated in their last wills addressed to him and to each other. All this he did during Adam's lifetime.

He continued. Adam died after 308 years of the life of Enoch had passed, thus completing the 930 years we have mentioned as being the length of Adam's life.¹⁰²¹ Enoch summoned his people and admonished them. He commanded them to be obedient to God and disobey Satan and not to mix with the descendants of Cain. However, they did not follow his command. Group after group of the descendants of Seth used to go down to the descendants of Cain.¹⁰²²

He continued. It is (written) in the Torah that after 365 years of Idrīs' life and 527 years of the life of his father had passed, God raised up Idrīs. Thereafter, his father lived another 435 years to complete 962 years, as this was the length of Jared's life. Enoch

1019. The names in Jubilees 4:16 are Bāraka, the daughter of Rāsūyāl. Baraknā might originally have been Barakt(h)ā (?). The tradition reflects Genesis 5:18–20 quite literally.

1020. "Undertook the *jihād*." See also below, n. 1033.

1021. See text above, I, 160.

1022. See text above, I, 170.

was born after 162 years of Jared's life had passed.

[174] According to al-Hārith—Ibn Sa'd—Hishām—his father—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās: It was in Jared's time that idols were made, and some turned away from *islām*.

According to Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Wahb—his paternal uncle—al-Mādī b. Muḥammad—Abū Sulaymān—al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad—Abū Idrīs al-Khawlānī—Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī: The Messenger of God said to me: Abū Dharr! Four—that is, messengers—were Syrians: Adam, Seth, Noah, and Enoch who was the first to write with a pen. God revealed thirty scrolls to him.

Some(one) assumed that God sent Idrīs to all the people of the earth living in his time. He gave to him the combined knowledge of the men of the past, adding to it thirty scrolls. This is (meant by) God's word: "This is in the first scrolls, the scrolls of Abraham and Moses."¹⁰²³ He continued: By "first scrolls" are meant the scrolls that were revealed to Adam's son Hibat Allāh (Seth) and to Idrīs.

(*Persian Kings after Ōshahanj: Ṭahmūrath*)

Some(one) said: Bēwarāsb¹⁰²⁴ ruled in the time of Idrīs. Some of Adam's speeches had happened to reach him, and he used them to perform magic. Bēwarāsb practiced that magic.¹⁰²⁵ When he wanted something from anywhere in his realm, or when he liked a mount or a woman, he blew into a golden reed (pipe) he had, and everything he wished for would come to him. This is the origin of (the custom of) the Jews to blow (the shofar).

[175] The Persians say: After Ōshahanj, Ṭahmūrath b. Wēwanjihān b. Khūbāndādh b. Khuyāydār b. Ōshahanj became ruler.¹⁰²⁶

1023. Qur. 87:18 f.

1024. Bēwarāsb (meaning, as explained in Firdawsī, "ten thousand horses") is another name for al-Daḥḥāk (Aḏdahāk). See *Bundahishn*, ed. Anklesaria, ch. 29, pp. 244 f., and ch. 34, pp. 282 f.; Firdawsī, *Shāhnāmah*, *Jamshīd*, verse 95 Mohl, verse 84 of the Russian ed.; text below, I, 181 and 201. See also Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 60 f., and Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 6.

1025. See also Dīnawarī, *loc. cit.*

1026. Translated in Christensen, I, 193. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, I, 43, thought of *bih* and *jihān* "the best of the people of the earth" as a possible etymology of Wēwanjihān, but he is certainly wrong. The name of the father of Wēwanjihān is given as Vivangah in *Bundahishn*, ed. Anklesaria, ch. 35, pp. 292 f.

There are differences of opinion concerning the pedigree from Ṭahmūrath to Ōshahanj. Some give the pedigree just mentioned by me. Another Persian genealogist says, however, that it is Ṭahmūrath b. Ēwankihān b. Ankhad b. Askhad b. Ōshahanj.¹⁰²⁷

As I was told on his authority, Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī said: Scholars have mentioned that the first ruler of Bābil was Ṭahmūrath. He continued. We have heard—God knows best!—that God gave him so much power that Iblīs and his Satans were submissive to him. He was obedient to God. He ruled forty years.

The Persians, in turn, assume that Ṭahmūrath ruled over all the climes. He placed a crown (*tāj*) upon his head and, on the day he became ruler, he said: With God's help, we shall remove the corrupt rebels from God's creation. His rule was praiseworthy, and he was kind to his subjects. He built Sābūr in Fārs¹⁰²⁸ and resided there. He moved about in (various) countries. He jumped on Iblīs, mounted him, and rode around on him in the regions of the earth near and far.¹⁰²⁹ He frightened Iblīs and his rebellious companions until they scattered and dispersed. He was the first to use wool and hair for clothing and carpeting, and the first to use the horses, mules, and donkeys that are part of royal pomp. He ordered people to use dogs to guard and protect cattle from wild beasts and (to use) birds of prey (*jawāriḥ*) for hunting. He wrote in Persian. Bēwarāsb appeared in the first year of his rule and made propaganda for the religion of the Sabians.¹⁰³⁰

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We now return to Enoch—that is, Idrīs. As we were told by

Dīnawarī, *al-Akhhār al-ṭiwāl*, 4, has Īrān as his father. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 374a, mentions Ayanhad as his father.

1027. For the genealogies, see Christensen, II, 110 ff.

1028. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 5 f. For Ṭahmūrath's inventions, cf. Firdawsī.

1029. Ibn al-Athir, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, I, 44, comments: "(The sources) must bear the responsibility (for this information). We have only reported what they have stated."

1030. Bēwarāsb is mentioned again in connection with the Sabians in text below, I, 184. There, the editor of the Leiden text indicates in a footnote that he withdraws his earlier suggestion that Būdāsb (Bodhisattva, see *EI*², I, 1215 f., s. v. Bilawhar wa-Yūdāsaf) might have been intended here. Ṭabari almost certainly thought of Bēwarāsb, although Christensen, I, 206, strongly supports Būdāsb. See also Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 111.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Ishāq, when Jared's son Enoch was sixty-five years old, he married Hadānah, or Adānah, the daughter of Bāwīl¹⁰³¹ b. Mehujael b. Enoch b. Cain b. Adam. She bore him his son Methuselah. He lived for 300 years after the birth of Methuselah. (Several) sons and daughters were born to him. The total length of Enoch's life was 365 years. Then he died.

[177] Some(one) else among the people of the Torah said, referring to the authority of the Torah¹⁰³²: Methuselah was born to Enoch after 687 years of Adam's life had elapsed. Enoch appointed him his successor to do God's command (*'alā amr Allāh*). Before Enoch was raised up (to God), he addressed his last will to Methuselah and his family, informing them that God would punish the descendants of Cain and those who mixed with them and were sympathetic to them, and he forbade them to mix with them. It has been mentioned that he was the first to ride horses, because he followed his father's prescribed practice with respect to the *jihād*.¹⁰³³ In his days, he went in the path of his forefathers and acted in obedience to God. Enoch had lived for 365 years when he was raised up (to God). Methuselah was born to him after sixty-five years of his life had passed.

As I was told by Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Ishāq, when Enoch's son Methuselah was 137 years old,¹⁰³⁴ he married 'Adnā (Ednā),¹⁰³⁵ the daughter of 'Azrā'il b. Abūshil b. Enoch b. Cain b. Adam. She bore him his son Lamech. Methuselah lived 700 years after the birth of Lamech. (Several) sons and daughters were born

1031. Notwithstanding the difference in the initial consonant, Hadānah/Adānah is no doubt originally identical with Ednā/Edni (see also above, n. 998) in Jubilees 4:20. She is there the daughter of Dānēl who appears to be identical with Bāwīl, although the relationship of the forms Dānēl and Bāwīl is difficult to explain.

1032. The reading of the Cairo edition may be preferable to what is found in the Leiden edition: "as mentioned by the people of the Torah.

1033. See above, n. 1020.

1034. In the Old Testament tradition, the figures diverge more than usual in this case. The Hebrew text, for instance, has 187 (Genesis 5:25). The LXX has 167, and Targum Neofiti has 180. If the text is correct, the indicated 919 years of Methuselah's life would require that there was an interval of eighty-two years between his marriage and the birth of Lamech. Now, the Old Testament has 969, not 919, and so on.

1035. Jubilees 4:27 has Ednā, the daughter of Azrī'āl. Following Lidzbarski (above, n. 903), Ṭabari, *Introductio etc.*, DLXXVI, suggests reading 'Adnā for 'Arbā and accordingly also corrects Qīnūsh (below, n. 1036) and 'Amzūrah (below, n. 1037). For Abūshil, see above, n. 999.

to him. The total length of Methuselah's life was 919 years. Then he died. When Lamech b. Methuselah b. Enoch was 187 years old, he married Batanūs(h),¹⁰³⁶ the daughter of Barākīl b. Mehujael b. Enoch b. Cain b. Adam. She bore him Noah, the prophet—may God pray for him and give him peace! After Noah's birth, Lamech lived another 595 years. (Several) sons and daughters were born to him. The total length of his life was 780 years. Then he died. When Lamech's son Noah was 500 years old, he married 'Amzūrah,¹⁰³⁷ the daughter of Barākīl b. Mehujael b. Enoch b. Cain b. Adam. She bore him his sons Shem, Ham, and Japheth. They were Noah's children.¹⁰³⁸ [178]

The people of the Torah say: Lamech was born to Methuselah after Adam had lived 874 years. He maintained his forefathers' obedience to God and their faithfulness to the agreements with Him. They continued. When Methuselah was about to die, he appointed Lamech as his successor and exhorted him in his last will addressed to him in the same way his forefathers had done. They continued. Lamech admonished his people and forbade them to go down to the descendants of Cain, but they did not allow themselves to be admonished, and eventually all those in the mountain went down to the descendants of Cain. Methuselah reportedly had another son besides Lamech, who was Šābi'. The Sabians are said to have been named Sabians after him. Methuselah was 960 old; Lamech was born after 187 years of his life had passed. Lamech then begot Noah, 126 years after the death of Adam, that is, after 1,056 years had elapsed from the day Adam was cast down by God to Noah's birth. When Noah reached maturity, Lamech said to him: You know that no one but us has remained in this place, but do not feel lonely and do not follow after the sinful nation! Noah would pray to his Lord and admonish his people, but they made light of him. God revealed to him that he had given his people a respite (from punishment) and would grant them a postponement for a certain period, so that they might retract (what they

1036. For Lamech's wife Bath Anōsh, see *Genesis Apocryphon*, col. II; Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 42 ff., 74, 77. Fitzmyer argues for the vocalization Bitenosh. Jubilees 4:28 has Bētēnōs. Ṭabari's Qīnūsh is found in Tha'labī, *Qīṣaṣ*, 54. It is not quite clear whether the initial *b* in the Cairo edition is based upon manuscript evidence.

1037. Jubilees 4:33 has 'Emzārā, the daughter of Rākē'ĕl.

1038. Genesis 5:32.

had done) and repent. That period, however, passed before they had expressed regret and repented.

Others than those whose statement(s) I have mentioned said: Noah lived in the time of Bēwarāsb. His people (worshipped idols).¹⁰³⁹ For 950 years,¹⁰⁴⁰ he called them to God. Whenever one generation passed away, another followed in this same religion of unbelief, until God sent (His) punishment down upon them and annihilated them.

[179] According to al-Hārith—Ibn Sa'd—Hishām—his father—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās: Methuselah begot Lamech and a number of other children in addition. Lamech was his legatee. He begot Noah. When Noah was born, Lamech was eighty-two years old.¹⁰⁴¹ In that time, nobody was there to forbid evil. Therefore, God sent Noah to them—he was then 480 years old. Noah called them (to God) during his prophethood for 120 years. Then God commanded Noah to build the ark, and Noah did. He boarded it at the age of 600 years. All those people drowned. After (the building of) the ark, Noah lived on for another 350 years.

*(Persian Kings from Ṭahmūrath to Jamshēd
and al-Ḍaḥḥāk)*

The Persian scholars, in turn, say¹⁰⁴² : After Ṭahmūrath, Jam al-shīd (Jamshēd) became ruler. In their opinion, *al-shīdh* means "ray". He was supposedly given this nickname because of his beauty. He is Jam b. Wēwanjihān, a brother of Ṭahmūrath.¹⁰⁴³ He is said to have ruled over all the seven climes. He subjugated the jinn and humans living in them. He placed the crown (*tāj*) upon his head. When he was (securely) settled in his realm, he said: God has given us perfect splendor¹⁰⁴⁴ and great support. We shall

1039. It is not quite clear whether the restoration of the text as indicated in the Cairo edition is derived from a manuscript.

1040. See Qur. 29:14.

1041. The Hebrew text of Genesis 5:28 has 128 years, the LXX, 188 years. Lamech is said to have married Noah's mother at the age of 187 (text above, I, 177). This would indicate agreement with the LXX.

1042. Christensen, II, 85-88, contains a translation of this section.

1043. See above, n. 1026.

1044. No doubt, the *xvarēnah*, the eternal divine light of royalty, is meant here. See also below, n. 1054. The "golden crown" is expressly mentioned in the beginning of Firdawsī's chapter on Jamshēd.

do much good to our subjects. He originated the manufacture of swords and weaponry. He also showed (people) how to make brocade, silk, and other textile threads. He ordered garments woven and dyed and saddles with pommels carved to make the mounts more manageable.

As mentioned by some(one), he went into hiding after 616 years and six months of his rule had passed, and the country was without him for a year.¹⁰⁴⁵ After the first year to year five¹⁰⁴⁶ of his rule, he ordered the production of swords, coats of mail, *bīd* swords,¹⁰⁴⁷ and other kinds of weapons as well as iron tool(s) for craftsmen. From the year 50 to the year 100 of his rule, he ordered the spinning and weaving of brocade, silk, cotton, linen, and every other textile thread, the dyeing of material in various colors, cutting it into various patterns, and wearing it. From the year 100 to the year 150, he grouped people in four classes: warriors, jurists, government functionaries, craftsmen and farmers, and he reserved one class for himself as his servants.¹⁰⁴⁸ He ordered each class to do the work he had made obligatory for them. From the year 150 to the year 250, he fought the Satans and jinn, causing great slaughter among them and humiliating them. They were subjected (to doing forced labor) for him and had to follow his orders. From the year 250 to the year 316, he charged the Satans with cutting stones and rocks from the mountains and making marble, gypsum, and chalk. They also were directed to build buildings and baths with (these materials) and with clay. He also charged them with producing depilatories and with transporting, from the oceans, mountains, mines, and deserts, everything useful for mankind, such as gold, silver, and all other meltable precious metals, as well as differ-

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1045. In the *Bundahishn*, trans. Justi, ch. 34, p. 46; ed. Anklesaria, ch. 36, pp. 306 f., the figures are 616 years and six months, plus one hundred years of hiding. For a flight of one hundred years, see Hamzah al-Iṣfahāni, *Annales*, 25, and Firdawsi, *Shāhnāmāh*, *Jamshīd*, verse 203 Mohl, verse 179 of the Russian edition, text below, I, 181 and 183.

1046. The Leiden edition suggests a correction to "fifty."

1047. There seems to be no way of telling what distinguished "white" swords from others swords. The word is commonly used simply for "sword."

1048. Tabari seems to suggest that the fourth of the four classes was that of the royal servants. However, the fourth class might rather be the craftsmen and farmers. They could hardly have been lumped together in the same class with civilian officials. Cf. the fourfold division in Tha'ālibī, *Ghurār*, 12. Tha'ālibī often relies on Tabari, but apparently not in this instance.

ent kinds of perfumes and medicines. They carried out all those orders of his. Jamshēd then ordered the manufacture of a glass chariot.¹⁰⁴⁹ He harnessed¹⁰⁵⁰ the Satans to it, mounted it, and went on it through the air from his place, Dunbāwand, to Bābil in one day. That was the day Hurmuzrōz of Fawardīn Māh.¹⁰⁵¹ Because of the miracle people saw him perform on that occasion, they established the day as New Year's Day (*nawrōz*). He ordered them to establish this day and the following five days as a festival and to celebrate it joyously. On the sixth day, Khurdāhrōz, he wrote to the people informing them that he had led a way of life pleasing to God among them. Part of God's reward to him for it was that God had removed from them (excessive) heat and cold, diseases, old age decay, and envy. For 300 years following the 316 years that had elapsed of his rule, people remained unaffected by any of the misfortunes that God had reportedly removed from them.¹⁰⁵²

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Thereafter, Jam became ungrateful for the favor shown him by God. He gathered the jinn and humans and informed them that he was in complete charge (*walī and mālik*) of them and that it was he who by his power was keeping diseases, old age decay, and death away from them. Denying God's benefactions to him, he persisted in his perversity, and nobody attending him (dared to) answer him.¹⁰⁵³ Immediately, he lost his splendor and might,¹⁰⁵⁴ and the angels whom God had commanded to administer his affairs withdrew from him. Bēwarāsb, who is called al-Ḍaḥḥāk, became aware of that.¹⁰⁵⁵ He hurried to Jam to chew him up, but Jam fled. Bēwarāsb got hold of him afterwards. He tore out his innards and swallowed them and sawed him apart with a saw.

Some Persian scholars say that Jam continued with his praiseworthy way of life until the last one hundred years of his rule. Then he became mentally confused and claimed divinity. Thereby

1049. Tha'ālībī, *Ghurar*, speaks of a coach made of ivory and teakwood (*al-'āj wa-l-sāj*), not glass (*zuḡāj*).

1050. Read *ṣafada* with the Cairo edition.

1051. That is, the first day of the month Fawardīn. See Birūnī, *Chronology*, text, 216, trans., 200.

1052. See Birūnī, *Chronology*, text, 217 f., trans., 202.

1053. See Firdawsī, *Shāhnāmah*, *Jamshīd*, verse 76 Mohl, verse 69 of the Russian edition.

1054. See above, n. 1044. For Jam's history as providing the prototype for being deprived of the *xvarənah*, see *Yasht*, No. 19, in Lommel's translation.

1055. Namely, the fact that the *xvarənah* had departed from Jam.

he and his government got into trouble. His brother Isfitūr (Spityura)¹⁰⁵⁶ attacked him and searched for him in order to kill him. Jam hid from him. During that period of hiding, he was an itinerant ruler. Bēwarāsb then went out against him, deprived him of his realm, and sawed him apart with a saw.

It is assumed by some(one) that Jam ruled 716 years, four months, and twenty days.

A story similar to that of King Jamshād¹⁰⁵⁷ has been mentioned on the authority of Wahb b. Munabbih from one of the kings of the past. If the chronology of that king did not differ from that of Jam, I would say that it is the story of Jam. This is what I was told by Muḥammad b. Sahl b. 'Askar—Ismā'īl b. 'Abd al-Karīm—'Abd al-Ṣamad b. Ma'qil—Wahb b. Munabbih: A man became a ruler as a young man. He said: I have a taste for ruling and find it pleasurable. I do not know whether all men (would find) it so, or I am alone among them in this respect. When told that ruling was like that, he asked: What will enable me (to remain a ruler a long time)? He was told: Obeying God rather than disobeying Him. So he summoned some of the best men in his realm and said to them: Attend to me at court, and whatever you think is an act of obedience to God, order me to do it, and whatever you think is an act of disobedience to God, warn me away, and I shall stay away from it! Both he and they did that. On account of it, his realm was in good shape for four hundred years, during which time he obeyed God. Then Iblīs got wind of it. He said: I have let a man who worships God be a ruler for four hundred years! He entered into the ruler's presence in the shape of a man, but the ruler was frightened of him and asked him who he was. Iblīs replied: There is no reason for you to be afraid. But inform me who you are! The ruler said: I am one of the children of Adam. Iblīs said to him: If you were one of Adam's children, you would have died as they do. Don't you see how many human beings have died and how many generations have passed? If you were one of them, you would have died as they did. No, you are a god! Thus, summon the peo-

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¹⁰⁵⁶ Ṭabari, *Introductio etc.*, DLXXVIII, refers to R. von Stackelberg as having made the identification in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 12 [1898]: 246. Spityura, considered a brother of Jamshēd, joined al-Dahhāk in sawing him apart, see *Yasht*, trans. Lommel, 180, and *Bundahishn*, trans. Justi, ch. 2, p. 44; ed. Anklesaria, ch. 35, pp. 292 f.

¹⁰⁵⁷ That is, Jamshēd.

ple to worship you! This idea entered the ruler's heart. He then ascended the pulpit and addressed the people saying: I have concealed something. Now, it has become clear to me that I should reveal it to you. You know that I have ruled you for four hundred years. Now, if I were one of the children of Adam, I would have died as they did. But I am a god! Therefore worship me! Immediately, he was seized by trembling. God revealed to one of those who were with the ruler: Inform him that I have been straightforward with him as long as he was straightforward with Me. Now that he has turned from obedience to Me to disobedience and is no (longer) straightforward with Me, I swear by My might that I shall give Bukht Nāşir¹⁰⁵⁸ power over him. He shall cut off his head and seize all that is in his treasuries. At that time, whenever God was angry with someone, He gave Bukht Nāşir power over him. The ruler did not stop saying, what he had been saying, and eventually, God gave Bukht Nāşir power over him. Bukht Nāşir cut off his head and loaded seventy ships with gold from his treasuries.

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) says: However, there is a long time gap between Bukht Nāşir and Jam, but al-Ḍaḥḥāk might have been called Bukht Nāşir at that time.

Hishām b. al-Kalbī, as I was told on his authority, said: Jam became ruler after Ṭahmūrath. He had the most handsome face and the largest body among his contemporaries. He continued. It has been mentioned that Jam spent 619 years being obedient to God with his government flourishing and the country being securely his. Then he became an unjust tyrant. God therefore gave al-Ḍaḥḥāk power over him. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk marched against him with 200,000 men, and Jam kept fleeing from him for a hundred years. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk then got hold of him and sawed him apart with a saw. He continued. The total length of Jam's rule, from the time he became ruler to his death, was 719 years.



According to a report transmitted on the authority of a number of early (scholars), there were ten generations between Adam and

1058. Or, as in some manuscripts, Bukht Naşşar. See *EI*², I, 1297, s. v. Bukht-Naş(ş)ar.

Noah, all of them followers of the true religion. Unbelief originated only in the generation to whom Noah was sent. Reportedly Noah was the first prophet to be sent by God as a messenger to a people to warn them and call them to the recognition of the oneness of God.

Those who said this

According to Muḥammad b. Bashshār—Abū Dāwūd—Hammām¹⁰⁵⁹—Qatādah—Ikrimah—Ibn 'Abbās: There were ten generations between Noah and Adam, all of them followers of a true religious law. Then they had disagreements "and God sent prophets as bringers of good tidings and warners."¹⁰⁶⁰ He continued. According to the reading of 'Abdallāh,¹⁰⁶¹ (the Qur'ānic verse reads): "Mankind was one nation. Then they had disagreements."

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According to al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā—'Abd al-Razzāq—Ma'mar—Qatādah, commenting on God's word: "Mankind was one nation," as follows: All of them were rightly guided. Then they had disagreements, "and God sent prophets as bringers of good tidings and warners." The first prophet to be sent was Noah.

1059. Hammām b. Yaḥyā died between 163 and 165/779-82. See *Tahdhīb*, XI, 67-70. *Tafsīr*, II, 194 (*ad* Qur. 2:213), has Hammām b. Munabbih (see Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 86) for Hammām—Qatādah, seemingly a mistake.

1060. Qur. 2:213. The verse is broken up here in nonconsecutive portions. This as well as the following tradition appear in *Tafsīr*, II, 194, on this verse.

1061. The addition of *fa-khtlafū* in the verse at this point is the reading of 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd. See Jeffery, *Materials*, 30.

The Events That Took Place in Noah's Time

We have already mentioned the disagreements in the religious outlook of the people to whom Noah was sent. Some say that Noah's people had agreed to do what God disapproves, committing wickedness, drinking wine, and letting their preoccupation with musical instruments divert them from obedience to God. Others say that they were people obedient to Bēwarāsb, who was the first to promulgate the views of the Sabians.¹⁰⁶² His followers in this respect were those to whom Noah was sent. God willing, I shall mention the story of Bēwarāsb afterwards.¹⁰⁶³

The Book of God reports that they had idols, for God says speaking about Noah: "Noah said: My Lord! They have been disobedient to me and have followed one whose property and children only add to his loss. They have devised a major plot and have said: Don't give up your gods! Don't give up Wadd, Suwā', Yaghūth, Ya'ūq, and Nasr. They have led many astray."¹⁰⁶⁴ God sent Noah to them to make them afraid of His awesome power and to warn them of His assault. Noah was to call upon them to repent, to return to the truth, and to act in accordance with the commands given by God to His messengers and revealed by Him in the scrolls of Adam, Seth, and Enoch. When God sent Noah to them as a prophet, he reportedly was fifty years old.

1062. See above, n. 1030.

1063. Text below, I, 201, dealing with al-Ḍaḥḥāk/Aḏdahāk.

1064. Qur. 71:21-24.

Another (different) statement is what we were told by Naṣr b. 'Alī al-Jahḍamī¹⁰⁶⁵ —Nūḥ b. Qays¹⁰⁶⁶ —'Awn b. Abī Shaddād:¹⁰⁶⁷ God sent Noah to his people when he was 350 years old. He stayed among them 950 years.¹⁰⁶⁸ Thereafter he lived for another 350 years.¹⁰⁶⁹

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Hishām—his father—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās: God sent Noah to them when he was 480 years old. He then called them (to God) during his prophethood for 120 years. When he was 600 years old, he boarded the ark. He lived thereafter for another 350 years.

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) says: As God says, Noah stayed among them 950 years, calling them to God secretly and openly. Generation after generation passed, and they did not respond to him, until three generations had passed with both him and them being in that condition. When God wanted to ruin them, Noah cursed them, saying: "My Lord! They have been disobedient to me and have followed one whose property and children only add to his loss."¹⁰⁷⁰ God commanded him to plant a tree, and he did. The tree grew and spread in all directions. Forty years after Noah had planted it, God commanded him to cut it down and use it for (building) an ark, as God says: "And make the boat under Our eyes and with Our inspiration!"¹⁰⁷¹ Thus, he cut down the tree and began to work on it.

According to Ṣāliḥ b. Mismār al-Marwazī¹⁰⁷² and al-Muthannā b. Ibrāhīm—Ibn Abī Maryam—Mūsā b. Ya'qūb¹⁰⁷³—Fā'id, the *mawlā* of 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Alī b. Abī Rāfi'¹⁰⁷⁴—Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Rabi'ah¹⁰⁷⁵: 'Ā'ishah, the wife of the Prophet, told

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1065. Naṣr al-Jahḍamī died in 250/864. See *TB*, XIII, 287–89; *Tahdhīb*, X, 430 f.

1066. Died in 183 or 184/800–1. See *Tahdhīb*, X, 485 f.

1067. See *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 171.

1068. See Qur. 29:14. *Tafsīr*, XX, 87, in the commentary on this verse, contains this tradition.

1069. See again text below, I, 198.

1070. Qur. 71:21.

1071. Qur. 11:37. In order to distinguish between Arabic *safīnah* used for "ark" and *fulk*, the translation "boat" has been used here for the latter.

1072. Ṣāliḥ b. Mismār died between 246 and 250/860–64. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 403.

1073. See *Tahdhīb*, X, 378 f.

1074. For Fā'id, see *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 256 f. For 'Ubaydallāh, see *Tahdhīb*, VII, 37 f. His grandfather Abū Rāfi' was a *mawlā* of the Prophet, see Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istī'āb*, IV, 1656 f.

1075. See *Tahdhīb*, I, 138; Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 1, 296 f.

(Ibn Abī Rabī'ah) that the Messenger of God had said: If God had shown mercy to anyone among Noah's people, it would have been the mother of the small child. The Messenger of God continued: Noah had stayed among his people for 950 years calling them to God. Then at the end of this time, he planted a tree which grew and spread in all directions. He then cut it down and began to build an ark. People who were passing by asked him (what he was doing). He replied: I am building an ark from (the tree). They made fun of him and said: You are building an ark on dry land! How will it float? He replied: You will see. When he finished it "and the oven boiled,"¹⁰⁷⁶ and there was more and more water in the streets, the mother who loved her small child very much became fearful. She went out to the mountain and climbed one-third of it. When the water reached her there, she climbed two-thirds (on the way up). When the water reached her again, she went up to the summit. When the water was up to her neck, she lifted her child up with her hand¹⁰⁷⁷ until the water swept it away. If God had shown mercy to anyone of them, it would have been the mother of the small child.

According to (Muḥammad) b. Abī Maṣṣūr—'Alī b. al-Haytham—al-Musayyab b. Sharīk—Abū Rawq—al-Ḍaḥḥāk—Salmān al-Fārisī: Noah worked on the ark for four hundred years. He had let the teak tree grow for forty years until it grew to be 300 cubits tall—the cubit (being the length of the arm) to the shoulder.¹⁰⁷⁸

[187] Noah worked on the ark with God's inspiration and under His instruction. Thus, God willing, it(s dimensions) were¹⁰⁷⁹ as we were told by Bishr b. Mu'adh—Yazīd b. Zuray'—Sa'īd—Qatādah: It has been mentioned to us that the ark was 300 cubits long and fifty cubits wide, and its height in the sky was thirty cubits. Its entrance was on the wide side.¹⁰⁸⁰

According to al-Ḥārith (b. Muḥammad)—'Abd al-'Azīz¹⁰⁸¹ —

1076. Qur. 11:40 and 23:27. See above, n. 807.

1077. The story in *Tafsīr*, XII, 21 f. (*ad* Qur. 11:37-39) has "in front of her" (*bayn yadayhā*). Another version appears in Ibn Hishām, *Tījān*, 24.

1078. Apparently, another cubit than the ordinary one of 0.50 m is intended here. See below, n. 1088.

1079. Hardly, "it came into being."

1080. See Genesis 6:15 f. This, as well as the following tradition, appears in *Tafsīr*, XII, 22 (*ad* Qur. 11:37-39).

1081. On the basis of text below, I, 1721, he has been identified with 'Abd al-'Azīz

Mubāarak (b. Faḍālah)—al-Ḥasan: The length of Noah's ark was 1,200 cubits, and its width was 600 cubits.

According to al-Qāsim (b. al-Ḥasan)—al-Ḥusayn (b. Dāwūd)—Hajjāj—Mufaḍḍal b. Faḍālah¹⁰⁸²—'Alī b. Zayd b. Jud'ān—Yūsuf b. Mihrān—Ibn 'Abbās: The Apostles said to Jesus, the son of Mary: Would that you send us a man who saw the ark and could tell us about it. He went with them and came to an earthen hillock. There, he took a handful of the earth in his palm and asked: Do you know what this is? They replied: God and His prophet know best! Jesus said: This is the grave¹⁰⁸³ of Noah's son Ham. He continued. He struck the hill with his staff and said: Rise with God's permission! And behold there was Ham, with grey hair, shaking the earth from his head. Jesus asked him whether he had perished in that state (with grey hair). Ham replied: No, when I died, I was a young man, but I thought the Hour had come, and my hair turned grey. (Jesus) said: Tell us about Noah's ark! He said: It was 1,200 cubits long and 600 cubits wide. It had three stories, one for domestic and wild animals, another for human beings, and a third for birds. When the dung of the animals became excessive, God inspired Noah to tickle the elephant's tail. He did, and a male and a female hog fell down and attacked the dung. When the rat fell down into the seams (of the planks) of the ark and gnawed at them, God inspired Noah to strike the lion between its eyes, and a male and a female cat came out from its nose and attacked the rat. Jesus asked Ham: How did Noah learn that (all) the places had been under water (but were no longer)? He replied: He sent the raven to bring him information, but it found a corpse and pounced upon it,¹⁰⁸⁴ whereupon (Noah) cursed the raven that it should be fearful; therefore, the raven does not like houses. He continued. He then sent the dove. It came with an olive leaf in its beak and clay on its feet. Noah thus knew that (all) places had been under water (but were no longer). He continued. Therefore, the dove's necklace¹⁰⁸⁵ is the greyish-greenness on its neck. Noah blessed the dove that

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b. Abān, who died in 207/822. See *TB*, X, 442-47; *Tahdhīb*, VI, 329-31.

1082. For this brother of Mubāarak mentioned in the preceding *isnād*, see *Tahdhīb*, X, 273.

1083. *Tafsīr*, XII, 22 (*ad Qur.* 11:37-39), has *ka'b* "ankle-bone."

1084. See *Ya'qūbī*, *Ta'rikh*, I, 12.

1085. The "necklace" is the ruff of feathers of the ring-dove which is said here to have originated under the circumstances indicated.

it should be tame and safe; therefore, the dove likes houses. He continued. The Apostles said: O Messenger of God, why do you not bring him to our people, so that he can sit down and talk with us? Jesus replied: How could one who has no sustenance follow you? He continued. Then Jesus said to Ham: Go back with God's permission! And Ham turned to dust again.¹⁰⁸⁶

According to al-Hārith—Ibn Sa'd—Hishām—his father—Abū Ṣālih—Ibn 'Abbās: Noah used carpentry to build the ark on Mount Nūdh,¹⁰⁸⁷ where the Flood made its appearance. He continued. The ark was 300 cubits long—the cubit being that of the grandfather of Noah's father¹⁰⁸⁸—and it was fifty cubits wide. Its height in the sky was thirty cubits, six of which were above the water. It had a number of stories.¹⁰⁸⁹ He made three entrances for it, one beneath the other.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Ishāq—someone who is not suspect—'Ubayd b. 'Umayr al-Laythī who used to tell that he had heard that they—Noah's people—used to grab him—Noah—and choke him until he became unconscious. When he regained consciousness, he said: O God! Forgive my people for they do not know!¹⁰⁹⁰ Ibn Ishāq continued. They persisted in their disobedience (to God) and committed grave sins on earth. Noah had much trouble with them and they with him, and they caused him great tribulations. He waited for offspring after offspring, but each generation turned out worse than the one before, and eventually, the latest would say: That (Noah) was as crazy with our fathers and grandfathers who would accept nothing he said.¹⁰⁹¹ Finally, Noah complained to God about their behavior and said, as told to us by God in His Book: "My Lord! I have called my people night and day, but my calling has only made them shun (me) more"¹⁰⁹² to the part of the story where he finally says: "My Lord! Let no unbeliever stay on earth! If You do, they will lead Your servants astray and give birth only to wicked unbelievers,"

1086. The story appears in *Tafsir*, see above, n. 1083.

1087. See above, n. 788.

1088. Apparently, Enoch.

1089. Genesis 6:16.

1090. This statement, with another chain of transmitters, is also found in *Tafsir*, XXIX, 64 (*ad Qur.* 71:26–28). See Luke 23:34.

1091. Cf. Qur. 54:9.

1092. Qur. 71:5 f.

and on to the end of the story.¹⁰⁹³ When Noah thus complained about them to God and asked Him for help against them, God revealed to him: "And make the boat under Our eyes and with Our inspiration, and do not talk to Me about those who have done wrong. They will drown."¹⁰⁹⁴ Noah now proceeded to build the boat, because he feared¹⁰⁹⁵ his people. He began to cut wood and forge iron and prepared the materials for the boat, such as pitch and other material which only he knew to prepare well. While he was engaged in this work, his people who passed by made fun of him and scoffed at him. He would say: "If you make fun of us, we shall make fun of you, just as you do. In the end you will know to whom humiliating punishment will come and upon whom lasting punishment will descend."¹⁰⁹⁶ He continued. As I have heard it, they would say: Noah, you were a prophet, and now you have become a carpenter! He continued. God made women's wombs infertile, and no children were born to them.

He continued. The people of the Torah assume that God commanded Noah to build the boat from teak wood. He was to make it slanting, to cover it with pitch inside and out, and to make it eighty cubits long and fifty cubits wide, and its height in the sky thirty cubits. (God commanded him) to build it with three stories, a low, middle, and upper one, and to make windows in it. Noah did as he was commanded by God. Finally, he finished it. God had charged him as follows: "When Our command comes and the oven boils, then¹⁰⁹⁷ put on board a pair, two of each kind, and your family, except those against whom the decision has already been stated, also those who believed, but only few believed with him."¹⁰⁹⁸ He made the oven a sign between Himself and Noah and said: "When Our command comes and the oven boils," take in a pair, two of each kind, and board (the ark yourself)! When the oven boiled, Noah put on board those whom God had com-

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1093. *Tafsir*, XII, 22 f. (*ad* Qur. 71:26-28), adds here, and after "wrong" in the following Qur'anic quotation, "that is, after today."

1094. Qur. 11:37.

1095. *Tafsir*, XII, 22 f., reads, no doubt wrongly, *w-l-h-y* for *walahan*, yielding the quite plausible meaning: "and he gave up on his people."

1096. Qur. 11:38 f.

1097. The following "We said" of the Qur'anic text has been restored in the Cairo edition, but it is also missing in *Tafsir*, XII, 22 f.

1098. Qur. 11:40.

manded him (to take)—they were few, as God says—and a pair, two of each kind, of any inspirited creature and tree(!), male and female. He brought in his three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth, and their wives, as well as six people who believed in him, thus altogether ten individuals, Noah, his sons, and their wives.¹⁰⁹⁹ Then he brought in the animals, as God had ordered him. His son Yām, who was an unbeliever, remained behind.¹¹⁰⁰

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Ishāq—al-Ḥasan b. Dīnār¹¹⁰¹—‘Alī b. Zayd—Yūsuf b. Mihrān—Ibn ‘Abbās: I (Yūsuf b. Mihrān) heard him (Ibn ‘Abbās) say: The first animal to be put aboard was the ant, and the last the donkey. When Noah brought the donkey in and its front half was inside, Iblīs—may God curse him!—attached himself to its tail, so that it could not lift its legs. Noah started to say: Woe to you! Go in! The donkey rose but was unable (to proceed). Eventually, Noah said: Woe to you! Go in, even if Satan is with you! It was a slip of the tongue, but when Noah said it, Satan let the donkey proceed. It went in, and Satan went in with it. Noah said to him: How did you get in here with me, enemy of God? Satan replied: Did you not say: Go in, even if Satan is with you!? Noah said: Get out and leave me, enemy of God! Satan replied: You cannot escape from having me on board. Supposedly, Satan stayed in the rear (*zahr*) of the boat.

Now, Noah quietly settled down in the boat, having brought in all those who believed in him. That was on the seventeenth of the month¹¹⁰² of the year in which Noah entered (the ark) at the age of six hundred. When he, as well as all those brought aboard by him, had entered, the fountains of the great deep (*ghawṭ*) were set in motion and the gates of heaven opened,¹¹⁰³ as God says to His prophet: "And We opened the gates of heaven for water to pour out and split the earth for springs (to gush forth). The water (from above and below) met for a matter (pre)determined."¹¹⁰⁴ Noah and

1099. At first glance, the arithmetic here seems strange, but, as explained in text below, I, 195, the figure ten was reached by not counting the women.

1100. Yām is the name given by tradition to the unnamed son of Noah mentioned in Qur. II:42 f. See text below, I, 191. See *Tafsīr*, XII, 22 f. (*ad* Qur. II:37-39).

1101. See *Tahdhīb*, II, 275 f.

1102. Genesis 7:11: "second month."

1103. See Genesis 7:11.

1104. Qur. 54:11 f. The meaning of the meeting of the waters is explained in text below, I, 192.

those with him entered inside the boat, which sheltered him and those with him on one (of the covered) stories. The time between God's sending down the water and the boat floating upon it was forty days and forty nights. As is assumed by the people of the Torah, the boat floated upon the water which kept rising higher and higher. God says to His Prophet Muhammad: "And We carried him aboard (a ship) with planks and *dusur*"—meaning nails, iron nails—"which floated under Our eyes, as a reward for one who had been treated with ingratitude."¹¹⁰⁵ The boat began to float with him and those with him "on mountainous waves."¹¹⁰⁶ When Noah thus saw that the threat of his Lord had come true, "he called out to his son, who was standing apart," and who then perished with all the others: "Son, come aboard with us, and do not be with the unbelievers!" He was an unfortunate person who had secretly been an unbeliever. (But he now) "said: I shall withdraw to a mountain which will protect me from the water." He had often taken refuge in the mountains from the rains that fell, and he thought that this would be so again.¹¹⁰⁷ Noah "said: There is no one today to give protection against God's command, except for those to whom He shows mercy. Then the waves came between them, and he was among those drowned."¹¹⁰⁸

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The water increased wildly and, as is assumed by the people of the Torah, rose fifteen cubits over the mountain tops.¹¹⁰⁹ All creatures on the face of the earth, every inspirited being or tree, disappeared. No creature remained except Noah and those with him in the boat, as well as Og b. Anak,¹¹¹⁰ as is assumed by the people of the Book. The time between God's sending the Flood and the receding of the water was six months and ten nights.¹¹¹¹

1105. Qur. 54:13 f.

1106. Qur. 11:42.

1107. *Tafsir*, XII, 23, 1. 27 (*ad Qur.* 11:38), has *ya'had* for *yakūn*, with little change in meaning.

1108. Qur. 11:42 f.

1109. Genesis 7:20.

1110. The names are a combination of the Biblical giant king Og of Bashan and the giant Anakim, sons of Anak. Tabarī says that Og's height was 800 cubits, see text below, I, 501, according to *Tafsir*, VI, 119 (*ad Qur.* 5:26), scholars of ancient history agreed that Og was killed by Moses. See, for instance, Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, I, 357 f. and II, 240.

1111. *Tafsir*, XII, 23 (*ad Qur.* 11:37-39), contains the entire tradition beginning above, I, 190.

According to al-Hārith—Ibn Sa'd—Hishām—his father—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās: God sent rain for forty days and forty nights. When the rain hit them, the wild animals, the (domestic) animals, and the birds all went to Noah and were subjected (to labor) for him. As commanded by God, he carried along "pair(s), two of each kind."¹¹¹² He also carried along Adam's corpse, making it a barrier between the women and men.¹¹¹³ They boarded the ark on the tenth of Rajab, and they left it on the 'Āshūrā Day, (the tenth day) of al-Muharram; therefore, all those people fast on the 'Āshūrā Day.¹¹¹⁴ The water was brought forth in two equal parts. This is (meant by) God's word: "And We opened the gates of heaven for water *munhamirin*"—that is, *muṣabbīn* pouring—"and We *fajjarnā*"—that is, *shaqqāqnā* split—"the earth for springs (to gush forth). The water (from above and below) met for a matter (pre)determined."¹¹¹⁵ Thus, (because of the word "meeting" that is used in the verse, it appears that) the water came in two equal parts, one from heaven, and the other from the earth. It rose fifteen cubits above the highest mountain on earth. The ark carried them around the entire earth in six months. It did not come to rest anywhere until it came to the Sacred Territory (of Mecca and Medina). However, it did not enter the Sacred Territory but circled around for a week. The House built by Adam was lifted up—lifted up, so as not to be submerged—"the inhabited House"¹¹¹⁶ with the Black Stone—on Abū Qubays. After the ark had circled around the Sacred Territory, it traveled with (those aboard) over the earth and eventually reached al-Jūdī—a mountain whose foot is in the land of Mosul—where it came to rest after six months at the completion of seven (nights), or, according to another statement, after

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1112. Qur. 11:40.

1113. See text above, I, 163, and *Schatzhöhle*, text, 92, trans., 22; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 10.

1114. See *El*², I, 705, s. v. 'Āshūrā.

1115. Qur. 54:11 f.

1116. "The inhabited House" of Qur. 52:4 is usually explained as a heavenly counterpart of the Ka'bah. See *Tafsīr*, XXVII, 10 f., on that verse. For the raising of the Ka'bah, see text above, I, 122 and 131.

the six months¹¹¹⁷ —"a curse upon the wrongdoers!"¹¹¹⁸ When it had come to rest upon al-Jūdī, "it was said: Earth, swallow your water!"—meaning, absorb your water that came forth from you—"and Heaven, hold back!"—meaning, restrain your water—"and the water disappeared in the ground"—that is, the earth absorbed it. The water that had come down from heaven became the oceans that are seen on earth today. The last remnant of the Flood on earth was some water at Ḥismā.¹¹¹⁹ It remained on earth for forty years after the Deluge and then disappeared.

The "oven" with the water boiling that God made a sign between Himself and Noah was an oven of stone that belonged to Eve and came into Noah's possession.¹¹²⁰

According to Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm—Hushaym—Abū Muḥammad¹¹²¹ —al-Ḥasan: It was an oven of stone that belonged to Eve and eventually came into Noah's possession. He continued. Noah was told: When you see the water boil forth from the oven, go aboard, you and your companions!

There are differences of opinion concerning the location of the oven and the boiling water which was made by God a sign of what was between Himself and Noah.

Some said: It was in India.

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1117. The difference seems to be that on the one hand, there was a period of six months and seven (nights, *li-tamām al-sab'*) and, on the other, a period of exactly six months. In the latter case, the Cairo edition reads "seven" (months) without indicating any manuscript evidence. *Li-tamām al-sab'* could hardly refer to the seven circumnavigations of the Ka'bah, see text below, I, 197. The correction to *al-sab'ah* suggested in Ṭabarī, *Introductio* etc., DLXXVIII: "to the completion of seven months," while not impossible, is unlikely.

1118. Qur. 11:44, also the source of the following quotations.

1119. The location of Ḥismā has been sought in far northern Arabia, and even in Ḥarrān. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 367 f.

1120. See above, n. 807.

The following traditions on the provenience and location of the "oven" and the number of people in the ark can all be found in *Tafsīr*, XII, 25 f. (*ad* Qur. 11:40), except for the last tradition below, I, 195, by Hishām al-Kalbī referring to eighty persons.

1121. There are many Abū Muḥammads listed in the biographical dictionaries. The one mentioned as an authority of Hushaym may be meant here. See Bukhārī, *Kunā*, 67, no. 621; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, IV, 2, 434, no. 2163; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān*, VI, 432, no. 1079. See also Ṭabarī, *Introductio* etc., DLXXVIII.

Those who said this

According to Abū Kurayb—'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Ḥimmānī¹¹²² — Abū 'Amr al-Nadr al-Khazzāz¹¹²³ —'Ikrimah—Ibn 'Abbās, commenting on: "And the oven boiled," as follows: It boiled in India.

Others said: It was in the region of al-Kūfah.

Those who said this

According to al-Ḥārith (b. Muḥammad)—al-Ḥasan¹¹²⁴ —Khalaf b. Khalīfah¹¹²⁵ —Layth (b. Abī Sulaym)—Mujāhid: The water gushed forth in the oven. Noah's wife noticed it and told him about it. He continued. This was in the region of al-Kūfah.

According to al-Ḥārith—al-Qāsim¹¹²⁶ —'Alī b. Thābit¹¹²⁷ —al-Sarī b. Ismā'il¹¹²⁸ : Al-Sha'bī used to swear by God that the oven did not boil anywhere but around al-Kūfah.

There were differences of opinion about the number of the children of Adam who boarded the boat. Some said: They were eighty souls.

Those who said this

According to Mūsā b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Masrūqī¹¹²⁹ —Zayd b. al-Ḥubāb¹¹³⁰ —Husayn b. Wāqid al-Khurāsānī—Abū Nahik¹¹³¹ : I heard Ibn 'Abbās say: In Noah's ark there were eighty men. One of them was Jurhum.¹¹³²

According to al-Qāsim (b. al-Ḥasan)—al-Ḥusayn (b. Dāwūd)—

1122. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥimmānī died in 202/817[8]. See *Tahdhīb*, VI, 120; Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, IV, 236 (with much information on his son Yahyā, who is listed in *TB*, XIV, 167-77).

1123. For al-Nadr b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, see *Tahdhīb*, X, 441 f.

1124. Presumably, al-Ḥasan b. 'Arafah (above, n. 52), listed as a transmitter from Khalaf b. Khalīfah. The reading "al-Qāsim" may have resulted from a mixup with al-Qāsim in the following tradition (n. 1126).

1125. Khalaf b. Khalīfah died at an advanced age ca. 180/796[7]. See *TB*, VIII, 318-20; *Tahdhīb*, III, 150-52.

1126. He is the well-known author Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām who died about 224/838[9] at the age of sixty-seven. See *TB*, XII, 403-16; *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 315-18; Brockelmann, *GAL*, Suppl., I, 166 f., *EI*², I, 157, s. v. Abū 'Ubayd.

1127. For 'Alī b. Thābit al-Jazarī, see *TB*, XI, 356-58; *Tahdhīb*, VII, 288 f.

1128. For this nephew of al-Sha'bī, see *Tahdhīb*, III, 459 f.

1129. For al-Masrūqī, who died in 258/871[2], see *Tahdhīb*, X, 355 f.

1130. Zayd b. al-Ḥubāb died in 203/818[9]. See *TB*, VIII, 442-44; *Tahdhīb*, III, 402-4.

1131. For Abū Nahik 'Uthmān b. Nahik, see *Tahdhīb*, XII, 259.

1132. Jurhum was the supposed ancestor of an ancient Arabian tribe. See *EI*², II, 603 f., s. v. Djurhum. In the Biblical genealogies of Arabic tribes, the Jurhum figure among the descendants of Arpachshad.

Hajjāj—Ibn Jurayj—Ibn 'Abbās: Noah carried eighty persons aboard the ark.

According to al-Hārith—'Abd al-'Azīz (b. Abān)—Sufyān: Some(one) used to say: They were eighty, referring to "the few" in God's word: "But only a few believed with him."¹¹³³

According to al-Hārith—Ibn Sa'd—Hishām—his father—Abū Šālih—Ibn 'Abbās: Noah carried in the ark his sons Shem, Ham, and Japheth, and his daughters-in-law, the wives of those sons of his, as well as seventy-three of the children of Seth who believed in him. Thus, there were eighty in the ark.

Some said: Rather, they were eight souls.

Those who said this

According to Bishr b. Mu'ādh—Yazīd b. Zuray'—Sa'īd—Qatādah: It was mentioned to us that only Noah, his wife, his three sons, and their wives, a total of eight, were all together in the ark.

According to Ibn Wakī' and al-Ḥasan b. 'Arafah—Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Abī Ghaniyyah—his father—al-Ḥakam, commenting on: "But only a few believed with him," as follows: Noah, his three sons, and his four daughters-in-law.¹¹³⁴

According to al-Qāsim—al-Ḥusayn—Hajjāj—Ibn Jurayj: I was told that Noah carried along his three sons and three wives of his sons and his own wife; the men with their spouses thus numbered eight. The names of his sons were Shem, Ham, and Japheth. Ham attacked his wife (sexually) in the ark, so Noah prayed that his seed be altered, and he produced the blacks.¹¹³⁵

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Others said: Rather, they were seven souls.

Those who said this

According to al-Hārith—'Abd al-'Azīz (b. Abān)—Sufyān—al-A'mash, commenting on: "And only a few believed with him," as follows: They were seven: Noah, three daughters-in-law, and three sons of his.

Others said: They were ten, not counting their wives.

1133. Qur. II:40.

1134. Presumably, his three daughters-in-law and his wife, *kanā'in* here being understood as female relations through marriage.

1135. Ham's disregard of the prohibition of intercourse in the ark is mentioned in the Babylonian Talmud. See Sanhedrin 108b, Speyer, *Biblische Erzählungen*, 106; Lewis, *A study of the interpretation of Noah*, 144. See also above, n. 1113, and text below, I, 198.

Those who said this

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Ishāq: He carried along his three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth, and their wives, as well as six men of those who believed in him. Thus, they were ten individuals, counting Noah, his sons, and (but not counting) their spouses.¹¹³⁶

As mentioned by the scholars among the people of the Book and others, God sent the Flood, after 600 years of Noah's life had passed and 2,256 years had elapsed since Adam was cast down to earth.

God reportedly sent the Flood on the 13th of Āb (August). Noah remained in the boat until the water had disappeared into the ground. The boat settled on Mount al-Jūdī in Qardā¹¹³⁷ on the seventeenth day of the sixth month. Upon leaving the ark, Noah chose a place in the region of Qardā in the Jazīrah and built himself a village there which he called Thamānīn ("Eighty") because he had built a house there for each of the men who were with him; they were eighty. To this day, the village is called Sūq Thamānīn.¹¹³⁸

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Hishām b. Muḥammad—his father—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās: Noah came down at a village, and each one of them built a house. Therefore, the village was called Sūq Thamānīn. All the children of Cain drowned. All the forefa-

1136. See above, n. 1099.

1137. Qardū (Qardō) is the targumic and Syriac rendering of Ararat in Genesis 8:4. See also *Schatzhöhle*, text, 98, trans., 23. The date there is given as the seventeenth day of the seventh month equated with Teshrin I (October).

For the relationship of Qardō with Gordyaia, Gordyene, Kardouchoi, and Kurds, see *IE²*, V, 447-49, s. v. Kurds, Kurdistan. For the Greek forms, see Pauly-Wissowa, especially, the entry Kardouchoi. For further Jewish and Christian references, see Kronholm, *Motifs*, 200 f.

For the Arabic form Qardā, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 56, and the brief entry Qardā and Bāzabdā in *IE²*, IV, 639a. The form Bāqardā (as well as al!)-Thamanīn and 'Ayn Wardah [below, n. 1142]) appears already in Muqātil b. Sulaymān's *Tafsīr* in the commentary on Qur. 11:40.

The form al-Jūdī could very well have originated from a conflation of 'Gurdi (Gordy-), slightly misread in its Syriac form, with some mountain in Arabia.

For al-Jazīrah, see *IE²*, II, 523 f., s. v. al-Djazīra.

1138. For the Market of Thamānīn, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 934, and IV, 56; Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, III, 149; Canard, *Hamdanides*, I, 112. *Schatzhöhle*, text, 102, trans., 24, states that eight persons left the ark and built the city called Thamānōn. See also Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 12; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, I, 75. [Thamānōn is hardly intended to be an Arabic form.]

thers between Noah and Adam were in the state of *islām*.

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) says: (Noah) and his family became (muslims), whereupon God revealed to him that he would never bring another Flood to the earth.

According to 'Abbād b. Ya'qūb al-Asadī¹¹³⁹ —al-Muhāribī—'Uthmān b. Maṭar¹¹⁴⁰ —'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd al-Ghafūr¹¹⁴¹ —his father—the Messenger of God: Noah boarded the ark on the first day of Rajab. He and all those with him fasted. The ark floated with them for six months—thus, until al-Muḥarram. The ark anchored upon al-Jūdī on the 'Āshūrā Day, and Noah fasted and ordered all the wild and (domestic) animals with him to fast in gratitude to God.

According to al-Qāsim—al-Ḥusayn—Ḥajjāj—Ibn Jurayj: The upper story of the ark was occupied by the birds, the one in the middle by the human beings, and the lowest by the wild beasts. Its height in the sky was thirty cubits. The ark took off from 'Ayn Wardah¹¹⁴² on Friday, Rajab 10th. It anchored upon al-Jūdī on the 'Āshūrā Day. It passed by the House, which had been lifted up by God so it would not be submerged, and circumnavigated it seven times. It then went to the Yemen, and then returned.

According to al-Qāsim—al-Ḥusayn—Ḥajjāj—Abū Ja'far (Iṣā b. Māhān) al-Rāzī—Qatādah: When Noah went down from the ark on the tenth day of al-Muḥarram, he said to those with him: Those of you who have been fasting should complete their fast, and those of you who had been breaking the fast should fast.

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According to Bishr b. Mu'ādh—Yazīd (b. Zuray')—Sa'īd (b. Abī 'Arūbah)—Qatādah: It has been mentioned to us that it—meaning the boat—departed with them on the tenth of Rajab. It was in the water for 150 days and came to rest upon al-Jūdī for a month. They were brought down on the tenth of al-Muḥarram, the 'Āshūrā Day.

According to al-Qāsim—al-Ḥusayn—Ḥajjāj—Abū Ma'shar—Muḥammad b. Qays: In the time of Noah, every span of land on earth was claimed by some human being.

1139. 'Abbād b. Ya'qūb died in 250/end of 864. See *Tahdhīb*, V, 109 f.

1140. For 'Uthmān b. Maṭar, see *TB*, XI, 277-79; *Tahdhīb*, VII, 154 f.

1141. Ibn Abī Hātim, III, 1, 55, lists an Abū al-Ṣabāh 'Abd al-Ghafūr b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Wāsiṭī, who may have been a son of the individual mentioned here.

1142. See *Et*², I, 789a, s. v. 'Ayn al-Warda, Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 764; Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, IV, 1376, where it is described as the location of the "oven," as it is in Muqātil, *Tafsīr*, on Qur. 23:27.

As I was told by Naṣr b. 'Alī al-Jahḍamī—Nūḥ b. Qays—'Awn b. Abī Shaddād: After the Flood, Noah lived another 350 years—that is, after the 950 years he had spent among his people.¹¹⁴³

Ibn Ishāq, in turn, as we were told by Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah (—Ibn Ishāq), said: It is assumed by the people of the Torah that Noah lived for 348 years¹¹⁴⁴ after coming down from the boat. He continued. The total length of Noah's life was 950 years. God then took him unto Himself.

Shem was reportedly born to Noah ninety-eight years before the Flood.¹¹⁴⁵ Some of the people of the Torah say: There was no begetting (in the ark). (Additional) children were born to Noah only after the Flood and after he had left the boat.

They said: Those who were with him in the boat were people who believed in him and followed him. However, they disappeared and perished, and no descendants of theirs survived. In this world today, the children of Adam are the direct offspring of Noah and of no other descendants of Adam, as God says: "And We made his offspring the survivors."¹¹⁴⁶

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Before the Flood, two sons were reportedly born to Noah who both perished. One of them was called Canaan. He continued. He was the one who drowned in the Flood. The other was called Eber. He died before the Flood.¹¹⁴⁷

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Hishām—his father—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās: Born to Noah were Shem, whose descendants were reddish-white; Ham, whose descendants were black with hardly any whiteness; and Japheth, whose descendants were reddish-brown. Canaan—the one who drowned—was called Yām by the Arabs. He occurs in the saying: Our paternal uncle Yām—he was balmy.¹¹⁴⁸ They all had the same mother.

1143. See above, n. 1069.

1144. Since Genesis 8:13 says that Noah was 601 years old when he left the ark, 349 would have been a slightly more exact figure.

1145. According to *Schatzhöhle*, text, 76, trans., 18, Lamech died forty years before the Flood, and Shem was then in his sixty-eighth year. Thus, the birth of Shem took place 108 years before the Flood.

1146. Qur. 37:77.

1147. This statement appears to have been meant originally to indicate that the later Canaan (Genesis 10:6) and Eber (Genesis 10:21) had predeceased uncles after whom they were named. On the earlier Canaan, see Muqātil, *Tafsīr*, on Qur. 11:40.

1148. This, perhaps, is the approximate meaning of the ditty *Innamā hām—*



The Magians have no knowledge of the Flood.¹¹⁴⁹ They say: Our rule continued uninterrupted since the age of Jayūmart—who they say is identical with Adam. It was inherited by consecutive rulers to the time of Fērōz b. Yazdjard b. Shahriyār.¹¹⁵⁰ They (also) say: If (the story of the Flood) were sound, the pedigrees of the people would have been disrupted and their rule dissolved. Some of them acknowledge the Flood and assume that it took place in the clime of Bābil and nearby regions, whereas the descendants of Jayūmart had their dwellings in the East, and the Flood did not reach them.

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) says: The information given by God concerning the Flood contradicts their statement, and what He says is the truth: "Noah called upon Us—and surely, good are those who respond!"¹¹⁵¹ We delivered him and his family from the great distress and made his offspring the survivors."¹¹⁵² God thus indicates that Noah's offspring are the survivors, and nobody else.

I have already mentioned the disagreement among people concerning Jayūmart. Some contradicted the Persians with respect to his identity and traced his pedigree to Noah.¹¹⁵³



According to Ibn Bashshār—Ibn 'Athmah¹¹⁵⁴—Sa'īd b. Bashīr¹¹⁵⁵—Qatādah—al-Ḥasan—Samurah b. Jundub—the Prophet, in connection with commenting on God's word: "And We made his offspring the survivors": Shem, Ham, and Japheth.

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According to Bishr (b. Mu'ādh)—Yazīd (b. Zuray')—Sa'īd (b. Abī

'ammunā Yām.

1149. See Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 105 f. For references to a limited flood allegedly from Persian tradition, see Pingree, *Thousands*, 5 ff., 39 f.

1150. See text above, I, 147 f. The insertion here of a son of Yazdjard III called Pērōz is probably not explainable.

1151. This is taken to refer to God as the One Who hears prayers.

1152. Qur. 37:75-77.

1153. See text above, I, 17 and 147.

1154. For Muḥammad b. Khālid, who was called Ibn 'Athmah after his mother 'Athmah, see *Tahdhīb*, IX, 142 f.

1155. Sa'īd b. Bashīr died eighty-nine years old between 168 and 170/784-87. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 8-10.

'Arūbah)—Qatādah, commenting on God's word: "And We made his offspring the survivors," as follows: All human beings are the offspring of Noah.

According to 'Alī b. Dāwūd¹¹⁵⁶ —Abū Ṣāliḥ ('Abdallāh b. Ṣāliḥ)—Mu'āwiyah (b. Ṣāliḥ)—'Alī (b. Abī Ṭalḥah)—Ibn 'Abbās, commenting on God's word: "And We made his offspring the survivors," as follows: Only the offspring of Noah remained.¹¹⁵⁷

The Use of Eras

The following report of al-Zuhrī and al-Sha'bī has been transmitted from 'Alī b. Mujāhid¹¹⁵⁸ —Ibn Ishāq—al-Zuhrī. Also (Ibn Ishāq—) Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ¹¹⁵⁹ —al-Sha'bī: When Adam fell down from Paradise and his descendants spread out, Adam's children established an era starting with his fall. This era continued, until God sent Noah. Then an era starting with Noah's mission (as prophet) was used, until the Drowning occurred and all those on the face of the earth perished. When Noah, his offspring, and all those in the ark came down to earth, he divided the earth among his sons into three parts.¹¹⁶⁰ To Shem, he gave the middle of the earth where Jerusalem, the Nile, the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Sayḥān,¹¹⁶¹ the Jayḥān (Gihon), and the Fayshān (Pishon) are located. It extends from the Pishon to east of the Nile and from the region from where the southwind blows to the region from where the northwind blows. To Ham, he gave the part (of the earth) west of the Nile and regions beyond to the region from where the westwind blows. The part he gave to Japheth was located at the Pishon

1156. Died in 272/886. See *TB*, XI, 424 f.; *Tahdhīb*, VII, 317 (with probable misprints in the dates of death); Horst, 293, n. 1. See above, n. 333.

1157. The preceding three traditions appear in *Tafsīr*, XXIII, 43 (*ad Qur.* 37:77). They are out of place here and probably were inserted by Ṭabarī as an afterthought when he remembered them from his commentary on the Qur'ānic passage.

1158. 'Alī b. Mujāhid died in or about 182/798. See *TB*, XII, 106 f.; *Tahdhīb*, VII, 377 f.; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 312.

1159. Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ b. Dīnār, an expert in the history of the Raids (*maghāzī*), died in 168/784–85. See *Tahdhīb*, IX, 225 f.

1160. The division of the earth in Jubilees is understandably different.

1161. In Muslim times, the names of Sayḥān and Jayḥān were given to two rivers in Cilicia. See *EI*², II, 502 f., s. v. Djayḥān. Sayḥān has no known Biblical or other literary antecedent. The reference here no doubt originated in the by then familiar pairing of Jayḥān with Sayḥān. A connection with Sihon, the king of the Amorites, is unlikely but not entirely impossible in the context.

and regions beyond to the region from where the eastwind blows.

The eras (thereafter) were: from the Flood to the fire of Abraham;¹¹⁶² (from the fire of Abraham) to the mission of Joseph; from the mission of Joseph to the mission of Moses; from the mission of Moses to the reign of Solomon; from the reign of Solomon to the mission of Jesus, the son of Mary; and from the mission of Jesus, the son of Mary, to when the Messenger of God was sent. [201]

These eras mentioned by al-Sha'bī must be those used by the Jews, for the Muslims started the (use of an) era only with the hijrah. Before it, they had no era, except that the Quraysh reportedly used the Year the Elephant for dating, while all the other Arabs used their well-known (battle) days, such as the Day of Jabalah, the First Kulāb, and the Second Kulāb.¹¹⁶³

The Christians used the period of Alexander Dhū al-Qarnayn (as the beginning of their era. I think they still use that era today.¹¹⁶⁴

The Persians used (the reigns of) their rulers for dating. As far as I know, they now (use) the period of Yazdjard b. Shahriyār, because he was the last of their kings to rule Bābil and the East.

1162. Cf. Qur. 21:69. See Speyer, *Biblische Erzählungen*, 142–44; Schützinger, 106 ff.

1163. For the famous pre-Islamic battle days see, for instance, Egbert Meyer, *Der historische Gehalt der Aiyām al-'Arab* (Wiesbaden, 1970). See also *EI*², II, 895, s. v. al-fil, for the Year of the Elephant, and II, 353 f., s. v. Djabala, for the Day of Jabalah.

1164. Note Tabarī's hesitancy with regard to the use of the Seleucid era and the era of Yazdjard in his time.

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