

CONTENTS

<i>TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH</i>	3
N. Tumanovich. An Indian Collection of Persian Folk Tales	3
A. Sadykhova. A Manuscript of "Tales of Some Lovers of the Past" in the Collection of the Oriental Faculty of the St. Petersburg University	9
Sh. Iakerson. An Unknown List of Hebrew Books	17
<i>TEXT AND ITS CULTURAL INTERPRETATION</i>	26
E. Rezvan. The Qur'ān and Its World: V. Language, the Unconscious and the "Real World"	26
<i>PRESENTING THE COLLECTIONS</i>	40
V. Kushev. The Formation and Study of the Afghan Manuscript Collection in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies	40
<i>ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS AND NEW INFORMATION TECHNOLOGIES</i>	50
J. Gippert. Digitization of Tocharian Manuscripts from the Berlin Turfan Collection	50
<i>PRESENTING THE MANUSCRIPT</i>	58
A. Mikhaylova. An Illustrated Arabic Manuscript of a Translation of a Seventeenth-Century Greek Chronograph	58
<i>BOOK REVIEWS</i>	64

Front cover:

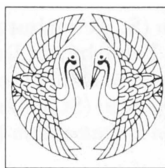
The portrait of the Roman Emperor Constantine the Great (r. 324—337), the founder of the Byzantine Empire. Miniature from a Christian-Arabic manuscript entitled *al-Durr al-manzūm fī tārikh mulūk al-Rūm* (C 358) in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 11b, 11.8 × 9.5 cm.

Back cover:

Plate 1. Portrait of two Roman Emperors — Stauracius (r. 811) and Michael I (r. 811—813). Miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 101b, 11.9 × 7.5 cm.

Plate 2. Portrait of the Roman Emperor Leo VI the Wise (r. 886—912). Miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 120a, 11.2 × 10.0 cm.

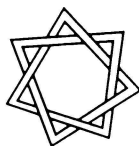
RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES
ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH



Manuscripta Orientalia

International Journal for Oriental Manuscript Research

Vol. 4 No. 1 March 1998



75ESA
St. Petersburg-Helsinki



TEXT AND ITS CULTURAL INTERPRETATION

E. A. Rezvan

THE QUR'ĀN AND ITS WORLD: V. LANGUAGE, THE UNCONSCIOUS AND THE "REAL WORLD"*

Nearly half a century ago, E. Sepir noted that the "real world" is to a significant degree unconsciously constructed on the linguistic experience of particular groups and that the dissimilarity of languages reveals concealed, distinct worlds rather than a common world equipped with various labels [1]. In previously published articles in this series, we have touched several times on particular features of Qur'ānic language. The Qur'ān represents in many ways a unique document. Among other things, it scrupulously records the language in use at a certain time and in a certain

place, namely, the Arabic of the settled centres of Arabia in the first third of the seventh century. This language described the "real world" as it appeared to a person who lived then amid the fundamental changes, which had engulfed Arabian society and which, naturally, found their reflection in language. The question arises if there is any method which would help in reconstructing the "real world" of Muḥammad and his contemporaries, relying in our work on the linguistic material contained in the Qur'ān and taking into account the particular features of this document.

1

The question of Qur'ānic language as an independent problem was first formulated by J. Willmet [2], author of a dictionary of the Qur'ān, which appeared in Rotterdam as early as 1784. For many years, this question was of a primarily applied nature and was merely considered in the context of producing translations. Until the end of the nineteenth century, the dominant view of Qur'ānic language in European scholarship was as the language of the Quraysh tribe, and at the same time the language of classical Arabic poetry. In supporting this view, European specialists relied on the opinion of the majority of medieval Arab philologists, who claimed that the Qurayshis and poets of pre-Islamic Arabia preserved the true, pure language of the Arabs. Karl Vollers seems to have made one of the earliest attempts to refute this view in a series of his articles (the first appeared in 1894) on the problem. These concluded in 1906 with a monograph which provoked a wide-ranging controversy about Qur'ānic language [3]. Vollers tried to prove that the texts which make up the Qur'ān were uttered by Muḥammad in the "spoken language" without final inflexions (*i'rāb*), that the "barbaric syntax" of the original can hardly be discerned from beneath the varnish which medieval Arab philologists applied to the text. Vollers' theory did not, however, receive significant scholarly support. In fact, it was only many years later that Paul Kahle introduced serious arguments in its favour [4].

The theory of Vollers' opponents — Th. Nöldeke and R. Geyer — was widely accepted among scholars [5]. Th. Nöldeke, supported in his views by F. Schwally, who re-worked his teacher's famous work "Geschichte des Qorans" [6], advanced the following hypothesis: Qur'ānic Arabic represented a sort of artificial *Hochsprache* which was understood everywhere in the Hijāz. At the end of the 1940s, Nöldeke and Schwally's position came under criticism, and at least three specialists, Ch. Rabin, R. Blachère, and H. Fleish [7], argued that Qur'ānic Arabic was the literary, super-dialectal poetic language of Arabia — a poetic *koinē* — with some traces of the spoken language of Mecca. At present, this view is shared by a majority of specialists. Only J. Wansbrough objected this view [8], pointing out that almost nothing was known about Qur'ānic Arabic before the text assumed its final form. In his view, this took place only in the 3rd/9th century. The arguments, which were brought forward in the discussion, leave us with the impression that they most often rest on their authors' intuition and are supported by facts taken mainly from the works of medieval Muslim writers.

Recent studies in the Arabic language seem to provide scholars with much more solid arguments for the old controversy. Research on the differentiation and integration of dialects in pre-Islamic Arabia has shown that the highly developed structure and relatively stable and regular gram-

* Articles in the series "The Qur'ān and its World" were prepared with the support of the Russian Scientific Fund for Humanities.

matical and lexical systems evident in the earliest Arabic texts — pre-Islamic poetry and the Qur'ān — testify to a long period during which grammatical forms took shape and were selected. By the time of Muḥammad's preaching, there were two large dialect zones in Central Arabia: Eastern (called Tamīm) and Western, known as Hījāz. The border between them lay somewhere in the middle of the Najd. The current state of knowledge allows us to see in Qur'ānic Arabic "a reflection of those integrating oral forms (common to the development of written and pre-written languages) as a form of sacral language, poetic language (*koinē*), and everyday *koinē* of inter-tribal communication" [9]. The latter evidently allowed for a diversity of forms, and was able to combine elements of spoken dialects with archaic lexical and grammatical forms.

On the whole, one must admit that Qur'ānic Arabic is distinguished by its fundamental incongruity on a number of levels with the absolute majority of contemporary texts which have come down to us. M. Zwetler's conclusion that the Qur'ān may be regarded as a first attempt to record the language of oral poetry [10] seems to be true only in the most general sense, and if, in particular, the poetry and Qur'ānic language are compared in the context of their shared formal base, conditioned by the oral character of their emergence. The *lingua sacra* of the Qur'ān, with its selective semantics, exhorting manner of expressions, and stereotypical and rhetorical syntax [11], implies a special sense code which is connected both with its situational as well as its broader socio-cultural context. R. Martin has rightly noted that Qur'ānic texts conceal their "thematic markers", which could evoke in Muḥammad's listeners associations that added symbolic significance to the preaching, and while the symbolic facets lay beyond the text of the Qur'ān, they nonetheless belong to its cosmogony [12].

Finally, E. Auerbach has shown in his "Mimesis" that "necessity of interpretation" (*Deutungsbedürftigkeit*) is a basic feature of Old Testament texts [13]. The original sacral text is meant to be "incomplete" without additional commentary. It was Wansbrough who succeeded in applying this concept to Qur'ānic text [14].

One of the famous Indo-Pakistani religious figures, Abū 'l-'Alā' al-Mawdūdī (1903—1979), stressed that intonation, voice modulation, gestures, and facial expressions played an enormous role in the words which Muḥammad uttered [15]. A literal record of such a text is almost always a failure. No doubt, this circumstance had its effect on the structural features of the Qur'ān. M. Sister pointed out in 1931 that in the course of his prophetic activity, Muḥammad spoke in various places, before various groups of listeners, and at various times. He would repeat at every convenient opportunity a successful simile once he was convinced of its effectiveness. What now seems monotonous or repetitive in normal reading would have produced its intended effect when conveyed "live" [16]. "God has sent down the fairest discourse as a Book, consimilar in its oft-repeated (*aḥsana al-ḥadīthi kiāban mutashābihan mathāniya*), whereat shiver the skins of those who fear their Lord; then their skins and their hearts soften to the remembrance of God"* (39:23/24).

Viewing the Qur'ānic language as a historical source is a practice which dates to the mid-nineteenth century. This

approach owes its appearance to the flourishing of European linguistics, to the borrowings made from rapidly developing Semitology, and to the influence of the latter on Biblical criticism. It was at that time that a series of works by J. Barth, S. Fraenkel, H. Grimme, A. Siddiqi [17] came to light which treated questions of linguistic connections within the Qur'ānic lexicon. They investigated the semantic and formal changes which foreign words underwent when they entered Arabic, provided a linguistic analysis of the Qur'ān's vocabulary, and indicated the paths by which ideas and concepts could find their way to Arabia from without. Their investigations demonstrated the great possibilities of linguistic analysis in the study of the history of cultural contacts. The vast linguistic material they contain provided a fine basis for further work.

The dominant conception of Muḥammad's ideas as resulting from external influences underlay the works by O. Pautz, H. Hirschfeld, H. Lammens, P. Casanova [18], to mention just a handful. In their work, they drew on all available Semitological material. H. Hirschfeld, in particular, was an author of the opinion that in trying to express newly arisen ideas and images, Muḥammad failed to find the necessary resources in the Arabic language [19]. This view stimulated the study of borrowings in the Qur'ān.

Turning to the works of Muslim theologians on the createdness or uncreatedness of the Qur'ān, European scholars used those works which tried to prove the createdness of the text on the basis of the numerous foreign words it contains. Basing their work in particular on the well-known treatise by al-Suyūfī, A. Sprenger and K. Dwōřak [20] discovered a large number of words which entered the Qur'ān from other languages. This work was nearly complete in 1938, when A. Jeffery's "Dictionary of Foreign Words in the Qur'ān" appeared [21]. In general, this approach suffered from a "mania of origins", besides it worshipped the "idol of sources" (Marc Bloch) — a common passion of historical works of the period.

However, even in works which stressed the role of "external influences" in the emergence of the conceptual apparatus of Muḥammad's message, one can find indications that their authors understood the exclusive complexity of the problem. Thus, Hirschfeld [22] wrote that one of the main difficulties in the study of the Qur'ān is the necessity of establishing whether certain ideas or expressions belonged to Muḥammad's own spiritual legacy or were borrowed from elsewhere. If the latter is true, then the question arises how did he learn of them and to what extent did he transform them in order to make them suit his aims. In "Le berceau de l'Islam" [23], H. Lammens indicated that the language of Muḥammad's preaching possibly had analogues in the linguistic past of Arabia. In 1925, in his "Lectures on Islam", I. Goldziher wrote not only of the stylistic, but also of the lexical connection of the Prophet's preaching with the speech of *kāhins* and *khāṭibs* [24].

One year later, H. Lammens' "Les sanctuaires préislamites dans l'Arabie occidentale" appeared [25]. Although the author retains his earlier view of Islam as an Arab adaptation of Biblical monotheism, he investigates in this work the purely Arab cultural contribution to the phenomenon of Islam. With this aim, he applies a new method to the study of the Qur'ān. His approach is distinguished by an attempt to explain the meanings of words and

* Here and below we use the Qur'ān translation of A. J. Arberry.

concepts in their Qur'anic context, without turning to the commentaries, which usually introduce meanings derived at a later time on the basis of a more developed religious consciousness. H. Lammens tried to reveal the semantics of terms by analysing them in their immediate linguistic surroundings [26].

Naturally, his own basic premise that the Qur'an's lexicon was borrowed contradicted the method Lammens pursued. Thus, in order to buttress his conclusions, which also contradict his basic premise, he turns not to an analysis of the external sources of new words in the Qur'an, but to pre-Islamic poetry.

Means of overcoming this contradiction were limned in independent works by K. S. Kashtaliova [27] and D. Küntlinger [28] which appeared at almost the same time as Lammens' study. In "Qur'anic terminology: a new interpretation" [29], K. S. Kashtaliova noted the wealth of new concepts introduced in this source, and the reconceptualisation and investment of old roots with new content which takes place there. She called for seeing in each term a phenomenon, which underwent proper development and remained sedimented in the term. Thus, each Qur'anic term is necessarily endowed with its own history and indicates a specific phase in the development of a certain phenomenon [30]. K. S. Kashtaliova pointed out that the language of the Qur'an, "representing in and of itself a *special type of source* (my emphasis — E. R.) on the history of Islam, requires independent study" [31]. The approach she suggests is based on the diachronic analysis of Qur'anic terms. As she puts it, it allows one "on the one hand, to penetrate with the aid of textual analysis to the essence of the concept hidden in it and, having traced its fate in the text, to determine the evolution of this concept. On the other hand, in establishing a specific phase in the development of a certain concept, terminology can serve as one of the most reliable starting points for criticism of the Qur'anic text" [32].

Such approaches were simply "in the air" when, in 1929, M. Bloch and L. Febvre founded in Paris the famed "Annales", the pages of which proclaimed rather similar ideas. Somewhat later (in the late 1930s and early 1940s), M. Bloch wrote that shifting terminology and mutations of meaning reflect "shocks to the systems of social values" [33]. He also pointed out that "the appearance of a word is always a significant fact, even if the object already existed; it betokens the advent of a decisive period of consciousness" [34]. It is important to note that the appearance of such approaches in Islamic studies indicated at the same time a crisis in its methodology and methods. This crisis culminated in an almost total loss of faith in the traditional sources on the early history of Islam.

The contextual analysis of Qur'anic terminology allowed K. S. Kashtaliova to establish a connection between the evolution of the meanings of a number of Qur'anic terms and a change in the role of Muḥammad, who became in the Medinan period a political leader in addition to a spiritual one [35]. She succeeded in refining the translation of a number of difficult passages in the Qur'an and in obtaining important additional material to establish the chronology in which *sūras* were uttered. Furthermore, K. S. Kashtaliova posed the question of creating a new chronology for the formation of the Qur'anic text based on the contextual analysis of its lexicon [36]. Unfortunately, an early death prevented the scholar from bringing her work to completion.

Later, many specialists employed this method with varying degrees of success. Perhaps foremost among them was R. Paret [37]. M. Bravmann and T. Izutsu made a major advance in the development of the method. If K. S. Kashtaliova set herself tasks of a primarily philological nature, M. Bravmann strove to arrive at an understanding of the social and cultural life of pre-Islamic and early Islamic Arabia with the aid of a lexical analysis of *jāhiliyya* poetry and the Qur'an [38].

T. Izutsu's accomplishment was that he was the first to attempt to analyse not individual terms but the aggregate thematic groups connected with the relation between "God and man" and the ethical and religious ideas of the Qur'an [39]. At a colloquium of Islamicists held in Tashkent in 1980, P. A. Griaznevich underscored the necessity of continuing the contextual study of the Qur'anic lexicon with the aim of creating a reliable source-study base for the multi-faceted investigation of all question in the early history of Islam [40]. As a precondition for an adequate understanding and description of the conceptual apparatus of the Qur'an, he formulated the task of studying the tribal dialects of pre-Islamic and early Islamic Arabia and the need for dictionaries of tribal poetry.

The comparative contextual and diachronic analysis of lexical-semantic groups in Qur'anic language and the juxtaposition of those groups with linguistic materials from the sixth and seventh centuries and basic Semitic lexical sources now appears to be one of the most promising approaches to the Qur'an as a historical source. The diachronic analysis of Qur'anic terms allows one to trace Muḥammad's actual preaching activity and the development of his conception of his mission, noting how these were reflected in the terminology which he used. The greatest obstacle to this approach is the lack of a serious, scholarly chronology of the appearance of *sūras*. The few attempts to create such a chronology which have appeared are based on the Muslim tradition and are of a preparatory nature.

Such an approach allows one to survey objectively, on the basis of strictly reliable material, the complex social processes, which were taking place in Arabia in the late sixth and early seventh centuries. At that period, an early class society was forming in conditions of ideological breakdown as pagan beliefs were transformed into the religion of Islam. Language necessarily reflects all changes, which occur in any sphere of human activity — its evidence is reliable because it is unconscious. This method of analysing the Qur'anic lexicon is all the more interesting because the shifts which were taking place in consciousness at that time indicated a fundamental re-structuring of the basic world-outlook, the entire structure of social concepts and religious consciousness. The Qur'an and the poetry of the *mukhadramūn* bear witness to an avalanche-like process which transformed previous concepts, to shifts in the semantics of the traditional lexicon, and to the appearance of new words.

The method under discussion here allows one to arrive at an understanding of the internal history of Islam through the history of its basic concepts, the history of its emergence and development. It allows one to present the early history of Islam as the history of a move from pagan beliefs to monotheism, and the emergence of Islam as a stage in the socio-cultural and ideological development of the settled population of Arabia. P. A. Griaznevich's work in this field

represents a serious attempt to trace the major stages of this development by analysing a group of key socio-cultural ideas [41].

The appearance of the first dictionaries of the language employed by poets of the pre-Islamic tribal groups, the Hudhaylites and 'Absites [42], allows us today to conduct far-reaching comparative lexicographic analysis. This will, in turn, enable us in the future to place on the agenda the question of creating a documented dictionary to the Qur'an, about which A. Jeffery wrote in 1935.

Modern linguistics states that "the significance of any phenomenon in human society can manifest itself in the frequency with which the word or group of words which denote that phenomenon is repeated" [43]. A frequency comparison of terms from various lexical-semantic groups in poetry or the Qur'an can provide new material to recreate the structural evolution of the conceptual apparatus of social consciousness in Arabia in the sixth and seventh centuries.

The comparison of Qur'anic terminology with materials from pre-Islamic Arabic (primarily South Arabian) epigraphy is of significant interest. This, in particular, can open perspectives on penetrating the ideology of the *ḥanīfs*, of which very little is known [44].

Today, however, an entire group of scholars has expressed doubts about interpreting this material and even about the very possibility of such an approach. Furthermore, Western literary criticism and religious studies have debated the very possibility of establishing the original meaning of a text, of reconstructing the thought process of its first listeners or readers. These discussions focused not so much on the Qur'an as on ancient and medieval historical sources as such. The major critical conclusion is that all historical reconstructions are admittedly relative and arbitrary. A twentieth-century scholar can never share the same feeling for the world as a seventh-century Meccan, for example [45]. Thus, the very possibility of conducting a contextual analysis of the Qur'anic lexicon with the aim of

achieving historical or cultural insights has been seriously questioned.

Meanwhile, contemporary methodologies in source analysis have convincingly shown that the semiotic systems embodied in language, the symbols and rituals contained in sources and encoded in documents of the most varied types, present objective connections, independent of evaluative judgements. A scholar who forces the past to "confess its secrets" can reveal these connections "directly" through contact with the "collective unconscious". More than 20 years ago, M. Bakhtin wrote: "We ask new questions of a foreign culture, questions it did not ask itself. We seek there answers to our questions, and the foreign culture answers us, revealing to us new aspects, new depths of meaning. Without one's own questions it is impossible to achieve a creative understanding of anything other and foreign (but these must be, of course, serious, genuine questions). In such a *dialogic* (my emphasis — E. R.) encounter between two cultures, they do not blend together and do not mix; each retains its unity and overt wholeness, but they are mutually enriched" [46].

It is obvious that the unique fashion in which the text of the Qur'an took shape — the literal recording of the Prophet's actual speech — provides special opportunities to the present-day scholar. The best answer to the question of whether it is possible to recreate the "real world" with the aid of a terminological analysis of the Qur'an is to be found in concrete analysis of Qur'anic language in correlation with the language of texts contemporary to it. This will allow us to approach closely those processes that led to the emergence of the Qur'an within the Arabian cultural tradition, to follow the formation of one of the new ideology's most important aspects — the conception of the Holy scripture, sent down in Arabia and in Arabic. It also permits us to interpret satisfactorily the primary features of the Qur'anic message features which largely determined the further development of Muslim ideology.

2

Among the numerous Qur'anic terms used to designate people and human collectives, we find the term *jibill* (*jibilla*). Researchers and commentators of the Qur'anic text have nearly overlooked it. This is possibly because it is used in the Qur'an, in both its forms, only twice. The term was understood and translated in different ways: only a sphere of meaning was established ("generations", "peoples", and "multitude") [47].

We did not succeed in finding the term in the pre-Islamic or early Islamic poetry, although other Qur'anic terms of this sort are easily found there. But the poetry does establish the meaning of the verb *jabala* as "to create". In verses ascribed to 'Adī b. Zayd, this verb is used to describe the act of divine creation (the creation of Adam) [48]. Derivations of the root were used to designate external appearance and the inborn qualities of people and animals [49]. The Qur'an uses the term *khalq* for this [50]. Dictionaries note the term *jibla* in the meaning of "origin", "source" (of something) [51]. The word *jabla*, derived from the same root, means "skin", "surface" [52]. In this connection, one might note that the semantics of a number of terms used to designate people — *ādam*, *bashar*, *riqq*, *jilda* — are linked to this definition of people through the word "skin". The

opposition of people to animals and birds, which are covered by hair and feathers, conditions this. This opposition represents one of the early forms of human self-consciousness [53]. Consequently, one can suppose that the meaning of the term *jibill* (*jibilla*) is possibly connected with extremely ancient conceptions of what is human.

In the Qur'an, the term *jibill* (*jibilla*) is used in *sūras* which date somewhere between 615 and 618. Shu'ayb, addressing the Madyanites, says (26:184): "Fear him who created (*khalāqa*) you, and the generations of the ancients (*al-jibilla al-awwalīna*)" [54]. And Allah, addressing the "sons of Adam", reminds them that Iblīs caused many peoples (*jibillan kathīran*) to stray from the path (36:62). As we see, in both instances, "ancient peoples" are at issue. In similar contexts in the Qur'an, we also find the terms *qurūn* (11:116/118) — *al-qurūn al-ūlā* (20:51/53) — "generations", "first generations" [55]; *al-awwalūna* — "the first [ones]" (23:83/85); *ābā'* (7:95/93) — *al-ābā' al-awwalūna* (37:126) — *al-ābā' al-aqdamūna* (26:76) — "the fathers", "the first fathers", "the ancient fathers"; *salf* (43:56) — "the predecessors".

Here one should note that in Lihyan inscriptions we encounter the term *gbl*, which is used there to designate

a popular assembly [56]. In Palmyrene epigraphy it is believed [57] to have indicated a popular assembly which brought together all of the Palmyrene tribal formations. I. Sh. Shifman adds that in Palmyra during the first century A.D. the term *gbl* indicated the civil collective as a whole [58]. It was later supplanted by the Greek term *dēmos* [59], which was used with the same meaning.

Juxtaposing the Qur'ānic usage of this term with epigraphic materials confirms that the term *jibill* (*jibilla*) is used in the Qur'ān specifically to designate the legendary ancient "peoples" of Arabia. Apparently, this term was current in stories and legends, which have not come down to us, but likely told of the fate of Arabia's ancient state formations. It goes back to the linguistic milieu of the peoples of Northern Arabia. In typical fashion, the dictionaries and *tafsīrs* of al-Ṭabarī and al-Bayḍawī note several vowelings for this word [60]. This testifies to the fact that by Muḥammad's time there was no stable pronunciation of the word,

which is characteristic of words which were perceived as foreign. We note that in poetry the term *jibl* was used in the sense of "numerous" (of people or of a kinship collective) [61]. This usage may also go back to ideas of the numerous ancient "peoples". It is significant that medieval Arab genealogists, who strove to find a place for each term known to them, and especially Qur'ānic terms, hardly ever used the term *jibill* (*jibilla*) in the hierarchy of ethnic groups.

This shows that at Muḥammad's time, at the dawn of the seventh century, memories of state formations, which had once existed in Arabia, still existed in people's memories and linguistic usage. This, in turn, may indicate that to a certain extent a cultural continuity was preserved between the society of settled centres in Inner Arabia of the sixth and seventh centuries and Arabian state formations at the beginning of our era.

3

The etymology of the term *sūra* and its Qur'ānic meaning caused difficulties both for medieval Muslim scholars and their modern European counterparts [62]. These difficulties stemmed from the fact that one cannot derive from the meanings of the Arabic verb *sāra* ("climb", "get up", "grow weak from wine") the traditional meaning of the word *sūra* — "a division of Qur'ānic text". While Muslim scholars generally strove to find another verbal root, which would allow them to derive the traditional meaning in some fashion, Europeans took to search for prototypes from other languages. Meanwhile, in the poetry produced by the Prophet's contemporaries, the word *sūra* was fairly wide-spread in the phrase *al-sūratu-l-'ulyā*, where it means "position", "rank", "glory", "fame". Thus, in the verses of the Tamīmīte 'Amr b. al-Ahtam, who was, according to tradition, among the participants in the "embassy" sent to Muḥammad by the Tamīmītes, we find: "I long ago exhorted Rabī'a b. 'Amr (the poet's son — *E. R.*): 'If your kinsmen encounter difficulties, see to it that you do not destroy what we are trying to build. It is not easy to preserve a high position (*al-sūratu-l-'ulyā*)'" [63].

'Absī al-Ḥuṭay'a exclaimed: "Good indeed is a man who does not forget about [his] high position (*al-sūratu-l-'ulyā*) and does not leave [others] without help" [64]. The following lines also belong to him: "And his children are white-faced and noble. The father elevated them to a high position (*al-sūratu-l-'ulyā*)" [65].

Hubayra b. Abī Wahb, who took part in the battle at Uhūd, praised his kinsmen thus: "And their matters were never lower than [their] high position (*al-sūratu-l-'ulyā*)" [66].

Although it was part of the formula *al-sūratu-l-'ulyā*, the term *sūra* could be used independently as well, in the sense of "excellence", "high position". Thus, Nābigha al-Dhubyānī praises Nu'mān the Fifth of al-Ḥīra: "Did you not know that Allah gave you a position (*sūra*) before which, as you see, every king shudders. For you are the sun, and the [other] kings are the stars. When the sun shines, you cannot see the stars" [67].

At first glance, there is no connection between the meaning of the term *sūra* in the poetry of Muḥammad's contemporaries and its meaning as a division of Qur'ānic

text. But here we come to another point, which has gone practically unnoticed. From the very beginning, scholars tried to discover in the term *sūra* a meaning such as "part", "piece". These attempts were inspired by later usage and failed to note that for Muḥammad himself, when he uttered the prophecy, there was no book of 114 *sūras*. An analysis of Qur'ānic contexts shows that Muḥammad used a number of terms to designate the smaller "revelations". "This Koran (*al-qur'ān*) could not have been forged apart from God ... Or do they say, 'Why, he has forged it'? Say: 'Then produce a *sūra* like it ...' (10:37—38/38—39). "Or do they say: 'He has forged it'? Say: 'Not so; it is the truth (*al-ḥaqq*) from thy Lord...'" (32:3/2). "Or do they say: 'He has invented it'? Nay, but they do not believe. Then let them bring a discourse (*al-ḥadīth*) like it, if they speak truly" (52:33—34).

Analogously, the following terms are used in similar contexts, and frequently in the same verse: *āya* (16:101/103); *āyāt Allāh* (2:231); *āyāt Allāh wa-l-ḥikma* (33:34); *al-kitāb...āyāt Allāh* (4:140/139; 13:38); *al-dhikr* (15:6—9); *dhikr wa-qur'ān mubīn* (36:69); *al-qur'ān... al-furqān* (2:185/181); *al-kitāb... al-furqān* (3:3—4/2—3); *tanzīl* (36:5/4). Each of these terms, however, designated only one of the "aspects" of the "divine revelation". The terms differ in their "motivation". They appear in Muḥammad's preaching at various times and to a certain degree reflect the evolution of his conception of his mission [68].

The application of the term *qur'ān* to the revelation is connected with how the revelation was conveyed and uttered: Muḥammad repeats what was told to him. Under the influence of ideas of a "heavenly prototype" of the divine book and in analogy with the holy texts of the Christians and Jews, the revelation is designated by the term *kitāb* ("book"). In the form of its exposition, it is a *ḥadīth* ("tale"). It is a "miracle", a "sign", a "banner" for people (*āya*), a "reminder" of that which was sent down before (*dhikr*), a "message sent down" (*tanzīl*), the "truth" (*ḥaqq*), "wisdom" (*ḥikma*), a "division" (*furqān*) [between believers and non-believers], and, finally, "primary", "first-rate", "most authoritative", "most important" (*sūra*) [69].

In Qur'ānic language, all of these terms belong to a single lexical-semantic group, equal and correlated to the

basic concept of *qur'ān*. Later, as we know, the terms *āya*, *sūra* and *qur'ān* would acquire narrow, terminological meanings: the first designates the smallest division of Qur'ānic text, the second a mid-level division, and the third the entire holy book. This is, in fact, how *āya* 24:1 was interpreted: "A *sūra* that We have sent down and appointed; and We have sent down in it signs, clear signs (*āyāt baiyy-nāt*) ..." [70]. Yet even here the terms *sūra* and *āyāt* do not designate variously sized sections of the revelation, but the revelation itself in its various "functions".

The terminological usages noted above in the lexical-semantic group around the basic concept Qur'ān are

4

In her work "Qur'ānic terminology: a new interpretation", K. S. Kashtaliyova noted that every Qur'ānic term has its own history and indicates a specific stage in the development of this or that phenomenon [72]. In our view, a diachronic analysis of the term '*abd*' (*'abīd*, *'ibād*) [*Allāh*] in Qur'ānic usage can confirm this, possibly revealing a minor "episode" in the evolution of Muḥammad's conception of the world of people and his mission.

The word '*abd*' is widely represented in Arabian theophoric names in the meaning "servant [of a divinity]" or of Allah [73]. In the verses of pre-Islamic monotheist poets, the term '*abd*' (*'abīd*, *'ibād*) [*Allāh*] is used in the meaning of "servant/servants of God" (= person/people) [74]. This usage reflected a move from the traditional concept of a divinity as the protector of its "servant" (the protected one) to the idea of a God-creator — an absolute master of people. This idea, which reached Arabia together with Judaism and Christianity, was taken up by the *ḥanīfiyya*, a monotheistic current of thought which directly preceded Islam [75].

All Qur'ānic usages of the term '*abd*' (*'abīd*, *'ibād*) [*Allāh*] can be divided into four groups. The first group includes those instances where the usage underscores the absolute power of Allah over his creatures — people who are in all ways dependent on their Creator (5:118): "If Thou chastisest them, they are Thy servants (*'ibād*); if Thou forgivest them, Thou art the All-mighty, the All-wise" (see also 19:93/94). Allah is the all-powerful God-creator; the pagan divinities are themselves created (7:194/193): "Those on whom you call apart from God, are servants (*'ibād*) the likes of you" (see also 43:15/14, 19/18; 18:102).

The Prophet's opponents claimed that the messenger of Allah should possess supernatural qualities, and since Muḥammad had no such qualities, his message was false. Muḥammad answered by noting that all prophets, himself included, were ordinary people. The use of the term '*abd*' (*'ibād*) [*Allāh*] in *āyāt* connected with this polemic reveals a second group of meanings of "servant of Allah" as "a member of the human race who possesses the same qualities as other human beings". In such contexts we observe a constant juxtaposition of the "servants of Allah" with beings of a higher sort (14:11/13): "Their Messengers said to them, 'We are nothing but mortals (*bashar*), like you; but God is gracious unto whomsoever He will of His servants (*'ibād*)...' [76] (see also 16:2; 40:15; 2:90/84). "He ('Īsā, son of Maryam — E. R.) is only a servant (*'abd*) We blessed, and We made him to be an example to the Children of Israel" (43:59, see also 3:79/73; 4:172/170).

retained up through the late *sūras* (for example, in 9:86/87, the term *sūra* is used where, in accordance with the usage which later became traditional, one would expect *āya*). This shows that, although some quantity of the revelations had apparently been recorded and collected toward the end of Muḥammad's life, the term *sūra* continued to retain a meaning based on pre-Islamic usage.

The preceding material gives reason to suppose that the accepted derivation of the Qur'ānic term *sūra* from the Syriac *surta* ("line", "handwriting", "writing") does not correspond to the facts [71].

The third group is of especial interest for us. In those parts of the message which all available chronologies date somewhere between 613 and 617 [77], the term '*abd*' (*'ibād*, *'abīd*) [*Allāh*] is used to indicate righteous men (the followers of Mūsā — the Jews, the followers of Muḥammad), to set them *apart from other people*. For example, 25:63/64: "The servants (*'ibād*) of the All-merciful are those who walk in the earth modestly, and who, when the ignorant address them, say, 'Peace'". (20:77/79): "Also we revealed unto Moses, 'Go with My servants (*'ibād*) by night; strike for them a dry path in the sea" (see also 89:29; 76:6; 44:18/17, 23/22; 26:52).

This use of the term '*abd*' goes back to its meaning in theophoric names. A "servant of a divinity" is not only dependent, but is chosen — a man taken under a god's protection [78]. A man, a servant of Allah, was chosen before the angels as his deputy (*khalīfa*) [79]. Muḥammad calls himself a "servant of Allah" (*'abd Allāh*) [80], as he does the other prophets [81]. Muḥammad's contemporaries also called him '*Abd Allāh*' ("servant of Allah"), as was recorded by the poets [82].

The expression '*abd*' (*'abīd*) [*Allāh*] — "servants of Allah" — was evidently one of the first designations of the followers of Muḥammad. The term which later became established, *muslimūn* ("those who have submitted"), contains the same connotation of dependence and chooseness.

As Muḥammad came to recognise the "universal" nature of his prophetic mission, he developed ideas of Allah as a creator and, hence, all-powerful master of the human race (*banū ādam*) and each person individually. The term '*abd*' (*'ibād*, *'abīd*) [*Allāh*] is used more and more often in the undifferentiated, general sense of "person — people" independent of their relation to Muḥammad's message. For example, 34:13/12: "for few indeed are those that are thankful among My servants (*'ibād*)" (cf. 12:38: "but most men (*al-nās*) are not thankful"). Here, *'ibād*, like the word *al-nās* ("people"), designates people in general, the "human race". In this neutral usage, for all intents and purposes formal (meaning 4), there is no longer any special emphasis on the absolute dependence of man on Allah (meaning 1), nor the opposition of human beings to the supernatural nature of divinity (meaning 2). This neutral usage of the term '*abd*' (*'ibād*, *'abīd*) [*Allāh*] is the most common and embraces all other instances of the term in the Qur'ān. Now, when Muḥammad speaks of the followers of his teaching, he no longer uses the simple expression "servants of Allah", as he did earlier, but "pure (*al-mukhlasūna*) servants of Allah" (for example, 15:40; 37:40/39, 74/72, 128, 160), "believing (*al-mu'minūna*)" (for example, 37:81/79, 111, 122), "the

righteous (*al-ṣālihūna*)" (27:19), "those of our servants We chose" (*alladhīna-ṣṭafaynā min 'ibādinā*)" (35:32/29), and so on. To these he opposes "[servants] gone astray (*ghāwūn*)" (15:42, compare 23:109/111; 36:30/29; 25:17/18). This usage testifies to Muḥammad's refusal to designate his followers with the terms '*abd*' (*'ibād*, '*abīd*) [*Allāh*] (meaning 3). In meanings 2 and 4, the term '*abd*' (*'ibād*, '*abīd*) [*Allāh*] belongs to the lexical-semantic group around the basic concept of *insān* (*al-nās*) [83], and in meaning 3 it is part of the lexical-semantic group around the basic concept of *umma* [84]. This instability, this mobility of meanings is typical of the lexical-semantic structure of Qur'ānic language and was conditioned, as we have seen, by the very history of the text's emergence. The Meccans' language lacked words capable of unambiguously expressing the necessary concepts, for the social conditions that they indicated were still at the formative stage. The terminological multiplicity and polysemousness noted above are connected with this phenomenon.

The semantic evolution of the terms in the last group is linked to the main stages in the development of original Islam: a purifying religious movement — a reform movement — an independent religion (the appearance of a small group of people (*fariq*, *tā'ifa*, *shī'a*) who separated from the larger society (*qawm*, *milla*) for religious reasons; the division of that society into two religious-political groups (*ḥizb*, *fariq*, *tā'ifa*, *shī'a*). As the number of Muslims grows, the terms *ḥizb*, *milla*, *tā'ifa*, *shī'a* begin to be used to designate the ethno-religious fellowship as a whole. In this meaning, they are later displaced by the term *umma*, which becomes the basic term for the Muslim community.

With the appearance of an opposition to Muḥammad in Medina, groups of opponents and supporters among the

"possessors of scripture" also begin to be designated with the terms *fariq*, *tā'ifa*, *umma*. The emergence of differences within the Muslim community, the appearance of "hypocrites" (*munāfiqūn*) — people who accepted Islam in name only — also found its reflection in the use of the terms *ḥizb*, *fariq*, *tā'ifa*.

Returning to the term '*abd*' (*'ibād*, '*abīd*) [*Allāh*], we note that it did not become established as a self-appellation for the members of the Muslim community, evidently because it could not be applied exclusively to them in the context of its pre-Islamic usage: a "servant of Allah" is not necessarily a follower of Muḥammad. We know that a *kāhin* could, in the name of a pagan deity, address to his listeners with the words *ya 'ibādī* — "oh my servants" [85]. The term could also designate a Jew, Christian or *ḥanīf*, among whom the expression '*abd Allāh*' was widely used [86].

The establishment of Islam as an independent religion took place in the course of struggles not only with pagan cults, Judaism and Christianity, but also with pre-Islamic monotheistic movements. An indication of this is the struggle conducted against Islam by the *ḥanīf* Umayya b. Abī 'l-Ṣalt, whom the Prophet's followers termed an "enemy of Allah" (*'aduww Allāh*) [87]. This apparently explains the changes, which according to the tradition were introduced into certain *āyāt* by Muḥammad, where the term *ḥanīfiyya* was either removed from the text [88], or replaced by the term Islam (3:19/17). A minor episode in the history of Muḥammad's and his followers' attempts at self-identification was, possibly, the rejection of the term '*abd*' (*'ibād*, '*abīd*) [*Allāh*] as a self-appellation for members of the Muslim community.

5

The *āya* "Surely, Abraham was a nation (*inna Ibrāhīma kāna ummātan*) obedient unto God, a man of pure faith and no idolater" (16:120/121) evoked and continues to evoke contradictory interpretations. The difficulty lies in the application of the term *umma*, usually translated as "community", to a single man — Abraham. H. Grimme [89], for example, believed that the word *umma* here is a synonym of the term *ummi*, which was then translated as "unlearned" [90]. E. Malov, and later J. Horovitz and J. Walker tied this usage to Biblical parallels [91].

I. Yu. Krachkovsky juxtaposed 16:120/121 with 2:124/118: "And when his Lord tested Abraham with certain words, and ... said, 'Behold, I make you a leader (*imām*) for the people'" and concluded that in 16:120/121 the word *umma* should be translated as *imām*. In this he concurred with the view of a number of medieval Muslim exegetes. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī and Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Maḥallī explained the term *umma* here through the expression *imām quḍwa* — "model for imitation". Al-Ṭabarī and al-Rāzī displayed a similar understanding of the word *umma* in 16:120/121, although the latter rejected the possibility of its use in 16:120/121 in the sense of "community". Contemporary Muslim theologians and Western translators of the Qur'ān follow these traditional interpretations [92].

F. Denny, who has devoted special study to the term *umma* in the Qur'ān, argues that Abraham in 16:120/121 is an "eponym" of the community of Muslims. He rightly

notes that "theologically and mythically, of course, Abraham is a 'paragon' or 'exemplar'; but that is not the meaning in 16:120" [93].

Meanwhile, the use of a term which denotes a multitude or fellowship to designate a single unit which is part of that fellowship is a common phenomenon in the language of the Qur'ān and pre-Islamic and early Islamic poetry. This is connected with the fact that terms, which we frequently understand as synonyms, differed from each other, in fact, in their narrow, *functional* meanings.

Thus, in most cases, the word *bashar* in the Qur'ān serves to designate a singular noun based on the collective meaning "people, who possess the same qualities as other human beings, unlike a spirit (*rūh*), an angel (*malak*), or Allah". 23:33/34—35: "This is naught but a mortal (*bashar*) like yourselves, who eats of what you eat and drinks of what you drink" [94]. But the word *bashar* can also convey this meaning as a collective noun: "We sent unto them two men, but they cried them lies, so We sent a third as reinforcement. They said, 'We are assuredly Envoys unto you.' They said, 'You are naught but mortals like us ... (*mā antum illā basharun mithluna*)" (36:14/13—15/14).

The term *raḥt* is used in pre-Islamic and early Islamic poetry and in the Qur'ān in instances of blood vengeance, the offering of protection, and the violation of clan laws. Under these conditions and in accordance with the level of social development of the poet's community, the term *raḥt* enjoyed stable usage to designate an extremely broad ethno-

social collective in which the laws of mutual aid and mutual defence functioned without fail to their full capacity. Hind b. 'Utba b. Rabī'a, grieving at the loss of her father, who fell in the battle of Badr, underscores the unnatural character of his death at the hands of those who, in accordance with clan law, were obligated to defend him: "Oh my eyes, shed many tears for the best of the Hindifites, who will never return. His kin, his defenders (*raḥt*) fell on him early in the morning — the banū Hāshim and the banū al-Muṭṭalib" [95].

This term could designate a single person obligated to avenge blood. Thus, a Muslim poet grieves at the death of three comrades-in-arms who perished during an expedition to Mu'ta: "Three people — each other's defenders (*thalāthatu raḥtīn*) — were sent ahead and reached the bloody watering place of death, from which no one wishes to drink" [96].

The basic meaning of words derived from the root *khl* in the Qur'an (9:102/103; 6:146/147), in pre-Islamic and early Islamic poetry is "to mix" [97]. This forms the basis for the use of the term *khalīl* in poetry, which could designate: (i) "a group of people of mixed descent" and "a person, one of whose parents came from another tribe" [98]; (ii) "a group of blood relatives who jointly own property" and "a kinsman who partly owns group property" [99].

The term *faṣīla* is used in the Qur'an in a meaning which stresses the clan's function in granting refuge in its dwellings and on its territory (70:11—13): "The sinner will wish that he might ransom himself from the chastisement of that day even by his sons, his companion wife, his brother, his kin (*faṣīlatihī*) who sheltered him". Important for us is that al-'Abbās, the Prophet's uncle on his father's side, was called *faṣīlat al-nabī* [100].

The Qur'anic term *sibt* (*asbāt*) could be used in reference to a tribe of Israelites, and could also designate the patriarchs [101].

And finally, the term *shī'a* in the Qur'an indicates a religious-political fellowship [102]. However, in verses attributed to Ḥassān b. Thābit, it is used in reference to a single man, Muḥammad: "Noble indeed are people whose party is the messenger of Allah (*akrim bi-qawmin rasūlu-l-lāhi shī'atuhum*), when the aspirations and parties (*al-shiya'*) shall split" [103].

The examples given above show that the use of a term which indicated a multitude or fellowship to designate a single element of that fellowship is linked to the semantic structure of Qur'an language and the language of pre-Islamic poetry. Each term had a narrow, functional meaning which stressed one of the links between the concept it described and the surrounding world and underscored one of the qualities of the indicated object or phenomenon. It was this aspect of the meaning which was fundamental for the speaker, while the opposition of a single element to a multitude was not of decisive significance in this system [104]. A person who embodied at a given moment the function of the clan collective — the function contained in the term — could himself be designated by the term [105].

In our view, the use of the term *umma* in 16:120/121 is connected with this particular feature of the semantic structure of Qur'anic language. Returning to this verse, we note that the Qur'anic meaning of the term *umma* was formed in a process where various ideas influenced each other as Muḥammad's prophetic activity unfolded and as

a view of the world which was in many ways new to Inner Arabia took shape in his consciousness.

As all people are sons of Adam (*banū ādam*) and creations of Allah, they are all kinsmen. Thus, a religious principle, rather than blood kinship, should ground the division of "humanity" into "peoples" and "tribes". The tribe is replaced by the religious community (*umma*), and the continuity of blood kinship (we are fellow tribesmen, we share the same blood, a common forefather, common heroes) is replaced by the idea of spiritual continuity (we profess the same faith, we share a common religious law, which was sent down through the Prophet, the leader of the community; our history is the history of God's appeal to people through the prophets) [106].

If the tribe received its name from its blood forefather, the *umma* is tied to the concept of a spiritual forefather. This, it seems to us, can explain the Medinan verse under discussion here (16:120/121). Muḥammad paraphrases it in 22:78/77: "He has chosen you, and has laid on you no impediment in your religion (*dīn*), being the creed (*milla*) of your father (*abikum*) Abraham; He named you Muslims". *Āya* 60:4: "You have had a good example (*uswa ḥasana*) in Abraham, and those with him" (cf. 60:6). 2:124/118: "He said, 'Behold, I make you a leader (*imām*) for the people.' Said he, 'And of my seed (*dhurriyya*)?' He said 'My covenant shall not reach the evildoers'".

We find here spiritual continuity rather than the succession of blood ancestry. The image of Abraham, it seems, encompasses the major features of the societal organism, which Muḥammad designated by the term *umma*. Abraham is declared the "spiritual forefather" of Muslims. His deeds become for them a *sunna*, an example (*uswa*), a model for imitation (*imām*). This function was previously performed by the deeds performed by the forefather of the tribe and its heroes. We cite here the Biblical verse on Abraham: "And I will make of thee a great nation (*lè-gōi gādōl*), and I will bless thee, and make thy name great; and thou shalt be a blessing" (Gen. 12, 2; cf. 18, 18) [107]. As the Qur'anic conception of a community and religion (*umma*, *milla*) of Abraham, which had been distorted by the "possessors of scripture", took shape in a polemic with the latter, one can surmise that the Qur'anic verse we treat here (16:120/121) took as its prototype the Biblical verse. However, as we have seen, such usage is conditional on the development of Muḥammad's message and the particular lexical structure of the language in which his message was conveyed (*fig. 1*).

Our conclusions are bolstered by an analysis of *āya* 11:48/50: "It was said, 'Noah, get thee down in peace from Us, and blessings upon thee and on the nations (*umam*) of those with thee; and nations (*umam*) — We shall give them enjoyment, then there shall visit them from Us a painful chastisement.'" Another *āya* (11:40/42) tells us that Allah ordered Noah to transfer to the ark "two of every kind, and thy family (*ahl*) — except for him against whom the word has already been spoken — and whosoever believes". The people who were on the ark with Noah and became the forefathers of the peoples (*umam*), are designated by the term *umma*. They owe their selection to the will of God and their own piety. The fate of each of the *ummas* was at the outset preordained on the basis of the forefathers' piety. There is a New Testament parallel to this verse (Hebrews, 11.7): "By faith Noah ... became heir of the righteousness which is by faith".



Fig. 1

Our analysis is further confirmed by al-Jāhīz comments on Mu'adh b. Jabala, Muḥammad's first emissary and, for all purposes, the founder of the Muslim community in Yemen [108]: "And Mu'adh was an *umma* (*ummatan*) and was like Abraham, the friend of the Merciful [one]". This shows that al-Jāhīz understood the term *umma* in 16:120/121 as designating Abraham the spiritual forefather and primary founder of the community of the faithful. A similar meaning of the term *umma* is found in the *ḥadīth* which states that the *ḥanīf* Zayd b. 'Amr will rise on the Day of Judgement "as if he were a single *umma* (*ummatan waḥdahū*)" [109].

Functional meanings, one of the features of which was demonstrated above, are attested not only in terms, which designate human collectives. An analogous situation exists in other lexical groups in the language of pre-Islamic texts, which have come down to us. There were many terms for dwellings in accordance with the materials from which they were constructed (earth, sheepskin, camel hides, wood, stone) [110]. Numerous words were also used to indicate the age of people and animals and "the very term by which an individual was designated indicated his age, more accurately, a specific moment in his biological development. Similar nuances were found in terms for times of day, especially periods when there was natural light" [111].

The lexical subdivisions noted here are connected with the functional meanings of words and are typical of the language of pre-Islamic poetry. Each word "describes" only one aspect of the indicated object, only one of its interconnections.

The existence of numerous words for the designation of an object or phenomenon in each of its functions and manifestations is connected with a concreteness of thought among speakers of the language. This characteristic of lexical

structure is typical of the languages of many ancient peoples. This reflects the primacy in thought and the lexical system of the so-called principle of supplementarity [112], where integrity of perception is achieved through multi-aspectual description.

It seems that the method proposed a half-century ago by Kashtaliova and Künstlinger gives us a unique opportunity to "force" the past to tell us what it did not realise or was not prepared to say. It allows us to recreate the fragments of a complex view of the world which differs greatly from our own, to reveal the connections and unexpected intersections in the development of concepts, the characteristic features of Muḥammad's religious psychology. These are linked to the ideas of clan society which were retained in his consciousness and which influenced the genesis of the Qur'an's religious terminology. Such an analysis allows us to reconstruct the fragments of the enormously complex mosaic, which reproduced reality as Muḥammad saw it together with those of his contemporaries who followed him.

Muḥammad is one of those few historical figures whose activities left an indelible imprint on the "unconscious element" in his people's language, and *Nec Caesar supra grammaticos* is not about him. Moreover, it was the language of his message, the language which reflected his view of the world, the Arabic of the Qur'an, which was soon fated to form the basis of a new social-communicative system in the vast zone of a new, syncretic culture which encompassed the Near and Middle East, North Africa and part of Southern Europe. Arabia itself formed only a small part — not the main part — of *dār al-islām*. The Arabs formed a minority among the peoples united by the new cultural movement. The Arabic language, however, became the major means of communication and one of the most important means of self-expression in the society, which created that culture.

Notes

1. E. Sepir, *Selected Writings* (University of California Press, 1949), p. 162. See also B. L. Worf, *Language, Thought and Reality* (MIT Press, 1956); F. B. Basin, *Iazyk i bessoznatel'noe* (Language and the Unconscious) (Moscow, 1968).
2. J. Willmet, *Lexicon linguae arabicae in Coranum* (Rotterdam, 1784).
3. K. Vollers, *Volkssprache und Schriftsprache im alten Arabien* (Strassburg, 1906).
4. P. Kahle, "The Qur'an and the Arabiyya", in *I. Goldziher Memorial Volume* (Budapest, 1948), i, pp. 163—82.
5. Th. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Strassburg, 1910); R. Geyer [Review on] K. Vollers, *Volkssprache und Schriftsprache in alten Arabien* (Strassburg, 1906), in *Göttinger gelehrte Anzeigen*, 171 (1909), pp. 10—56.
6. Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorans*, i (Göttingen, 1860). Second edition revised by F. Schwally, i (Leipzig, 1909); ii, Aufl. bearb. von (Leipzig, 1919); iii, bearb. G. Bergstrasser and P. Pretzl (Leipzig, 1938) (repr. Hildesheim, 1961).
7. Ch. Rabin, *Ancient West-Arabien* (London, 1951); *idem*, "The beginning of classical Arabic", *Studia Islamica*, IV (1955), pp. 19—37; R. Blachère, *Introduction au Coran* (Paris, 1947) (repr. 1959, 1977); H. Fleish, *Introduction à l'étude des langues sémitiques* (Paris, 1947); M. Zwetler, *The Oral Tradition of Classical Arabic Poetry* (Columbus, 1978), pp. 112—72.
8. J. Wansbrough, *Quranic Studies: Sources and Methods of Scriptural Interpretation* (Oxford, 1977), pp. 85—118.
9. A. G. Belova, "Integratsiia i differentsiatsiia arabskikh dialektov doislamskogo perioda" ("The integration and differentiation of Arabic dialects in pre-Islamic times"), *Vsesoiuznaia konferentsiia po problemam arabskoĭ kul'tury pamiati akademika I. Iu. Krachkovskogo. Tezisy dokladov i soobshchenii* (Moscow, 1983), pp. 4—5. See also *eadem*, "Arabskii iazyk v doislamskii i ranneislamskii periody: opyt funktsional'noi rekonstruktsii" ("The Arabic language in pre-Islamic and early Islamic periods: an attempt at reconstruction"), *Funktsional'naia stratifikatsiia iazyka*, ed. M. M. Gukman (Moscow, 1985), pp. 140—57. See also E. A. Rezvan, "The Qur'an and its world: III. "Echoings of universal harmonies" (prophetic revelation, religious inspiration, occult practice)", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, III/3 (1997), pp. 11—21.
10. M. Zwetler, *The Oral Tradition of Classical Arabic Poetry* (Columbus, 1978), p. 166. Cf. M. K. Waldman, *Toward a Theory of Historical Narrative: A Case Study in Perso-Islamicate Historiography* (Columbus, 1980); R. C. Culley, *Oral Formulaic Language in the Biblical Psalms* (Toronto, 1967).
11. Wansbrough, *op. cit.*, pp. 99—100.
12. R. C. Martin, "Understanding the Qur'an in text and context", *History of Religions*, XXI/4 (1982), p. 378.
13. E. Auerbach, *Mimesis* (Bern, 1967).

14. Wansbrough, *op. cit.*, pp. 100, 148—70. In his study of the prayer texts of the Navajo Indians, *Sacred Words: A Study of Navajo Religion and Prayer*, Westport, 1981, Sam Gill showed that it is possible to move from an analysis of the external structure of the text to an analysis which reveals specific features in the use of certain elements in ritual, mythological or situationally motivated contexts. One year later, R. Martin pointed out the possibility of adapting S. Gill's methodology to the specific features of Qur'anic material (Martin, *op. cit.*, pp. 379—81).
15. C. J. Adams, "Abū 'l-'Alā' Mawdūdī's Tafhīm al-Qur'ān", *Approaches to the History of the Interpretation of the Qur'ān*, ed. A. Rippin (Oxford, 1988), p. 309.
16. M. Sister, *Metaphern und Vergleiche im Koran*. Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde genehmigt von der Philosophischen Fakultät der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin (Berlin, 1931), p. 46.
17. J. Barth, *Ethymologische Studien zum Semitischen* (Leipzig, 1893); *idem*, "Studien zur Kritik und Exegese des Korans", *Der Islam*, VI (1915—1916), pp. 113—48; S. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen* (Leiden, 1886); H. Grimme, *Mohammed*. Vol. 1: Einleitung in den Koran; vol. 2: System der Koranischen Theologie (Münster, 1985); *idem*, "Über einige klassen südarabischen lehnwörter im Koran", *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete*, XXVI (1912), pp. 158—68; A. Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter im klassischen Arabisch* (Göttingen, 1919).
18. O. Pautz, *Muhammeds Lehre von der Offenbarung* (Leipzig, 1898); H. Hirschfeld, *New Researches into the Composition and Exegesis of the Quran* (London, 1902); H. Lammens, *Le berceau de l'Islam* (Rome, 1914), i; *idem*, "Une adaptation arabe du monothéisme biblique", *Recherches de science religieuse*, VII (1917), pp. 161—86; *idem*, "Les sanctuaires préislamites dans l'Arabie occidentale", *Mélanges de la Faculté orientale de l'Université St.-Joseph de Beyrouth*, XI/2 (1926), pp. 39—173; P. Casanova, *Mohammad et la fin du monde: Étude critique sur l'islam primitif* (Paris, 1911—1921).
19. Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
20. A. Sprenger, "Foreign words occurring in the Quran", *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XXI (1852), pp. 109—14; K. Dwořak, *Ein Beitrag zur Frage über die Fremdwörter im Koran* (München, 1884); *idem*, *Über die Fremdwörter im Koran* (Wien, 1885).
21. A. Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'an* (Baroda, 1938). The book was well received in the scholarly circles, see, for example, C. C. Torrey, "Vocabulary of the Qur'an", *Muslim World*, XXIX (1939), pp. 359—63. D. S. Margoliouth made some minor additions, drawn from sources which were unavailable to the author (see D. S. Margoliouth, "Some additions to Professor Jeffery's Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'an", *JRAS*, 1939, pp. 53—61), as did a number of other specialists.
22. Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
23. Lammens, *Le berceau*, p. 88.
24. I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam* (Heidelberg, 1925).
25. Lammens, "Les sanctuaires", pp. 39—173.
26. This method cannot really be termed new in the full sense of the word. Following the proponents of one line of thought in medieval Muslim exegesis, A. Sprenger called for explaining the Qur'ān by means of the Qur'ān itself, see his *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammed* (Berlin, 1869), i, p. XVI. In 1922, D. S. Margoliouth attempted to reveal the meaning of the term *khalīfa* by analysing its Qur'anic usage, see his "The sense of the title khalīfah", in *A Volume of Oriental Studies* (Cambridge, 1922), pp. 322—9.
27. K. S. Kashtaliova, "O terminakh "anba" i "aslama" v Korane" ("On the terms anba and aslama in the Qur'ān"), *Doklady Akademii Nauk SSSR. Vostokovedenie* (1926), pp. 52—5; I. Iu. Krachkovskii, *Ocherki po istorii russkoj arabistiki* (Essays on the History of Arabic Studies in Russia) (Moscow—Leningrad, 1950), pp. 154, 159, 168.
28. D. Künstlinger is the author of a series of articles in the field; see his *Przekład i objasnienie 53-ciej Surj Koranu* (Cracow, 1926). — Prace Komisji Orientalistycznej Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności, 8; *idem*, "Tūr und Ġabal im Kur'an", *Rosznik Orientalistyczny*, V (1927), pp. 58—67; *idem*, "Die Herkunft des Wortes 'Iblis' im Koran", *ibid.*, VI (1928), pp. 76—83; *idem*, "Ra'ina", *BSOS*, V/4 (1930), pp. 877—82; *idem*, "Einiges über die Namen und die Freuden des kuranischen Paradieses", *ibid.*, VI (1930—1932), pp. 617—32; *idem*, "Christliche Herkunft der kuranischen Lot-Legende", *Rosznik Orientalistyczny*, VII (1930), pp. 281—95; *idem*, "Uzair ist der Sohn Allah's", *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, XXXV (1932), pp. 381—3; *idem*, "Die 'Frau Pharaon' im Kur'an", *Rosznik Orientalistyczny*, IX (1934), pp. 132—5; *idem*, "Sura 95", *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, XXXIX/1 (1936), pp. 1—3; *idem*, "Shuhūd in Sura 74.13", *ibid.*, XL/10 (1937), pp. 273—4; *idem*, "Die Namen der 'Gottes-Schriften' im Quran", *Rosznik Orientalistyczny*, XIII (1937), pp. 72—84; *idem*, "Sab'un min al-mathānī", *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, XL/10 (1937), pp. 196—8.
29. K. S. Kashtaliova, "Terminologija Korana v novom osvshchenii" ("Qur'anic terminology: a new interpretation"), *Doklady Akademii Nauk SSSR. Vostokovedenie* (1928), pp. 7—12.
30. *Eadem*, "K perevodu 77 i 78 stikha 22 sury Korana" ("On the translation of the verses 77 and 78 of the 22nd *sūra* of the Qur'ān"), *Doklady Akademii Nauk SSSR. Vostokovedenie* (1927), p. 7.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
32. Kashtaliova, "O terminakh "anba" i "aslama"", p. 53.
33. M. Bloch, *La société féodale* (Paris, 1968), p. 364.
34. *Idem*, *Apologie pour l'histoire ou métier d'historien* (Paris, 1961), p. 364.
35. K. S. Kashtaliova, "O termine "shahida" v Korane" ("On the term "shahida" in the Qur'ān"), *Doklady Akademii Nauk SSSR. Vostokovedenie* (1927), pp. 117—20; *eadem*, "O termine "hanif" v Korane", *ibid.* (1928), pp. 157—62; *eadem*, "O termine "atā'a" v Korane" ("On the term "atā'a" in the Qur'ān"), *ibid.* (1926), pp. 56—7.
36. *Eadem*, "K voprosu o khronologii 8, 24, 47 sur Korana" ("On the chronology of the *sūras* 8, 24, 47 of the Qur'ān"), *Doklady Akademii Nauk SSSR. Vostokovedenie* (1927), pp. 101—7.
37. R. Paret, *Der Koran: Kommentar und Konkordanz* (Stuttgart, 1971) (repr. 1977).
38. M. M. Bravmann, *The Spiritual Background of Early Islam* (Leiden, 1972).
39. T. Izutsu, *God and Man in the Koran* (Tokyo, 1964); cf. J. Bouman, *Gott und Mensch im Koran* (Darmstadt, 1977); see also T. Izutsu, *Ethico-Religious Concepts in the Qur'an* (Montreal, 1966).

40. P. A. Griaznevich, "Proiskhozhdenie islama" ("The Origin of Islam"), in *Islam i ego rol' v sovremennoi ideino-politicheskoj bor'be razvivaiushchikhsia stran Azii i Afriki* (Moscow—Tashkent, 1980), p. 457.
41. *Idem*, "Razvitie istoricheskogo soznania arabov (VI—VIII vv.)" ("The development of the historical consciousness of the Arabs in 7th—8th centuries A.D."), *Ocherki istorii arabskoj kul'tury V—XV vv.* (Moscow, 1982), pp. 75—155.
42. B. A. Lewin, *Vocabulary of the Hudailian Poems* (Göteborg, 1978). — *Humaniora*, 13; V. V. Polosin, *Slovar' poetov plemeni 'Abs VII—VIII vv.* (The Vocabulary of the 'Abs Poets: 7th—8th centuries A.D.) (Moscow, 1995).
43. L. Blumfeld, *Iazyk* (The Language) (Moscow, 1968), p. 435; I. P. Veinberg made far-reaching use of such materials. see his *Che-lovek v kul'ture drevnego Blizhnego Vostoka* (Man in the Culture of the Ancient Near East) (Moscow, 1986).
44. Y. Moubarac, "Les noms, titres et attributs de Dieu dans le Coran et leur correspondances en épigraphie sudsémitique". *Le Muséon* (1955), pp. 68—78; M. B. Piotrovskii, *Iuzhnaia Aravia v rannee srednevekov'e: Stanovlenie srednevekovogo obshchestva* (South Arabia in the Early Middle Ages: the Formation of Mediaeval Society) (Moscow, 1985), pp. 156—7.
45. H. R. Jauss, "Literary history as a challenge to literary theory", in *New Literary History* (Baltimore, 1970), ii, pp. 7—37; A. Rippin, "The Qur'an as literature: perils, pitfalls and prospects", *British Society of Middle Eastern Studies Bulletin* (London, 1983), p. 10; W. C. Smith, "The true meaning of scripture: an empirical historian's nonreductionist interpretation of the Qur'an", *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, XI (1980), pp. 487—505; see also *Reader-Response Criticism: From Formalism to Post-structuralism*, ed. J. P. Tompkins (Baltimore, 1980). In essence, this view goes back to neo-Kantian ideas on the specificity of the formation of historical categories, and in more recent time to M. Weber's theory of "ideal types" and "research Utopias", and to the ideas of Croce and Huizinga on historical knowledge as a special type of self-consciousness inherent to the society of which the historian is a product. Especially influential was O. Spengler, who postulated the fundamental impossibility of a historian's knowing cultures other than his own. In the twentieth century, these ideas were most consistently followed by such American historians as C. Beard and C. Becker, the Englishman R. Coolingwood, and a number of others. For detailed criticism of this approach, see A. Iu. Gurevich's Introduction to the Russian edition of M. Block's *Apologie pour l'histoire ou métier d'historien* (Moscow, 1986), pp. 188—94.
46. M. M. Bakhtin, *Estetika slovesnogo tvorchestva* (The Aesthetics of Literary Creativity) (Moscow, 1979), p. 355. See also I. M. Di'akonov, "Iazyk kak istochnik po istorii drevnevostochnoj kul'tury" ("Language as a source for the history of the culture of the Ancient East"), in *Voprosy drevnevostochnoj kul'tury* (Daugavpils, 1982), p. 18.
47. See notes 54, 55, and 61.
48. 'Adī b. Zayd al-'Ibādī, *Dīwān*, compiled by Muḥammad Khabbār (Baghdad, 1965), No. 103. 8; cf. E. Rezvan, "The Qur'an and its world: I. The problem of reconstructing ancient Arabian cosmogonic and anthropogenetic lore", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, II/4 (1996), p. 30.
49. 'Adī b. Zayd, *op. cit.*, No. 6, 19—20.
50. The verb *jabala* is not used in the Qur'an. The verb *khalāqa* is used to designate the act of divine creation.
51. E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, pts. 1—8 (London, 1863—1893), p. 376.
52. *Ibid.*
53. K. Vollers, "Über Rassenfarben in der arabischen Literatur", in *Centenario della nascita di M. Amari* (Palermo, 1910), i, p. 87.
54. I. Yu. Krachkovsky proposed two possible ways of understanding the term *jibilla*, which is either a synonym of the term *jibill*, or has the meaning "nature", "characteristic". At issue here is the term *dhaw jibilla* — lit. "possessors of characteristics". See *Koran* (The Qur'an), trans. and commentary by I. Yu. Krachkovsky (Moscow, 1963), p. 572, n. 12.
55. This is close to how Blachère and Arberry translate the expression *al-jibilla al-awwalīna*: the first gives us "past generations"; the second — "generations of the ancients".
56. W. Caskel, *Lihyan und Lihyanisch* (Köln, 1954), Nos. 52, 71, 77, 91; I. Sh. Shifman, *Sirijskoe obshchestvo epokhi printsipata* (I—III vv. n. e) (Syrian Society of the Principate Epoch: I—III centuries A.D.) (Moscow, 1977), p. 207.
57. I. Starcky, *Palmyre* (Paris, 1952), p. 36 ff.
58. Shifman, *op. cit.*, p. 207.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 208.
60. Lane (*op. cit.*, p. 376) indicates that in the Medinan dialect the word *jibill* was vowelled and pronounced as *jibul*. Al-Ṭabarī in his *Kūbāb jamī' al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān* (Bulāq, 1329, vol. XXIII, p. 16) explains the term *jibill* with the word *khalq* ("a people", "people"), rightly noting a parallel between the meanings of the roots *khalāqa* and *jabala*. This is also the view of al-Bayḍawī. see *Beidhawī Commentarius in Coranum ex Codd* (Lipsiae, 1846—1848), vol. I, pp. 59, 163.
61. Lewin, *op. cit.*, p. 49. See also Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 376. Apparently influenced by this usage, Blachère translates the expression *jibillan kathīran* literally as "a numerous multitude".
62. For a detailed analysis of these points of view, see F. Buhl, "Sūra", in *Encyclopaedie des Islām* (Leiden—Leipzig, 1924), iv, pp. 606—7; see also Jeffery, *op. cit.*, pp. 181—2.
63. *The Muḥaddaliyāt*, ed. Ch. J. Lyall (Oxford, 1918), i, No. 123, 5—6.
64. *Der Dīwān des Ḡarwal b. Aus al-Ḥutej'a*, bearb. von I. Goldziher (Leipzig, 1893), No. 77. 20.
65. *Ibid.*, No. 68, 7; see also No. 6, 15.
66. Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sira al-nabawiyya* (al-Qāhira, 1955), ii, p. 131.
67. *Le Dīwān de Nābīga Dhoubayānī*, ed. M. H. Dérenbourg, *JA*, XII (1868), No. 8, 9—10.
68. W. M. Watt, *Bell's Introduction to the Qur'an* (Edinburgh, 1970), pp. 121—47.
69. Ibn al-'Arabī noted that the term *sūra* in the Qur'an has the meaning "most excellent", "elevated", see Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 1965.
70. According to 11:13/16, Muḥammad proposes to his opponents that they utter 10 *sūras*. This *āya* can also serve as a basis for designated the parts into which the Qur'anic text was divided.
71. Buhl, *op. cit.*; Jeffery, *op. cit.*, pp. 181—182.
72. Kashtaliova, "Terminologija Korana", p. 12.

73. G. Lankester Harding, *An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions* (Toronto, 1971), pp. 396—402. In Thamudic inscriptions, however, it was apparently the name of a deity. For references to published inscriptions, see T. Fahd, *La Panthéon de l'Arabie Centrale à la veille de l'Hégire* (Paris, 1968), p. 60, n. 7. A similar usage was evident in the term *imru'* (*al-mar'*), which formed part of theophoric names (Imru'-l-Qays, for example) in the meaning "man [of the deity]". It can also have the meaning "lord", "master", "deity" (*ibid.*, p. 45, n. 2; p. 181, n. 1; p. 238). Such usage is clearly a reflection of the idea of mutual "obligations" between man and pagan divinity which was widespread in pre-Islamic Arabia: see E. Rezvan, "The Qur'ān and its world: IV. "Raise not your voices above the Prophet's voice" (society, power and etiquette norms)", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, III/4 (1997), pp. 36—44.

74. See, for example, Fahd, *op. cit.*, pp. 112—9, where a corresponding usage in the verses of Umayya b. Abī 'l-Ṣalt is analysed; see also Jeffery, *op. cit.*, p. 210, n. 3; 'Adī b. Zaid al-'Ibādī, *op. cit.*, No. 101, 1.

75. Izutsu, *God and Man*, pp. 112—9.

76. In the course of this polemic, the basic terminological meaning of the word *bashar* in the Qur'ān took shape — "a person in his corporeal essence, as opposed to beings of another order" (see below).

77. E. A. Rezvan, "Koran i koranistika" ("The Qur'ān and Qur'anic studies"), in *Islam. Istoriograficheskie ocherki*, ed. S. M. Prozorov (Moscow, 1991), pp. 36—8.

78. I. Sh. Shifman, *Ugaritskoe obshchestvo XIV—XIII vv do n. é.* (Ugaritic Society of the 14th—13th centuries B.C.) (Moscow, 1982), p. 166.

79. See 2:28/30. This idea was developed by Muslim theologians who analysed the interrelation of 'abd Allāh — khalīfa. See also K. Bakker, *Man in the Qur'an* (Amsterdam, 1965), p. 186.

80. 53:10; 25:1; 72:19; 17:1; 2:23/21; 8:41/42; 57:9; 96:10 (?).

81. 54:9; 37:171; 19:1, 30/31; 38:17/16, 30/29, 41/40, 44/45; 21:26; 17:3; 18:65/64; 66:10.

82. Fahd, *op. cit.*, p. 143, n. 4. See also Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 593, where Muḥammad is thus indicated in the message attributed to him.

83. The term *insān* (*al-nās*) appears in the Qur'ān in a number of meanings shared by other terms. To designate the concept of "people" as a species, the terms *ins*, *insiy* (pl. *anāsiyy*) was used, as well as *anām* and *bashar*. This meaning is revealed through opposition: human (*insān*, *anām*, *insiy*) — non-human (animals, non-living objects); man (*ins*, *bashar*) — supernatural beings.

The meanings of the terms *imru'* (*al-mar'*), *rajul* have a clearly expressed social aspect, as they are connected with social rights and the role of the individual in society. The meanings of these terms are revealed primarily through the opposition of the adult man-warrior (spouse, individual with full social rights) and woman (wife, individual without full social rights) and the adult man (possessor of the most important components of social status) and child, youth (individual without full social rights).

Clearly delineated in this lexical-semantic group is the group of terms indicating social-ideological level (*banū ādam*, *bashar*, *bariyya*, *khalq*, *nafs*, 'abd ('ibād, 'abid) [Allāh]). The appearance of these terms in the Qur'ān and the development of their semantics is connected with a central idea in Muḥammad's message — the idea of the unity of God and the unity of all which exists as his creation. Man in the Qur'ān is primarily a religious being, as he was created by God and by His will. He is a descendant of Adam and in this sense a "brother" to all other people.

The term *bariyya* designates people as "creatures of God"; the term *khalq* as a part of the universe created by God; the term 'abd as beings absolutely dependent on God, beings which worship Him and are chosen by Him; the term *nafs* as a receptacle of vital substance, received from God; the term *bashar* as earthly beings, "corporeal", as opposed to supernatural beings. Such are the most important "components" of humanity as it is established in the Qur'ān. See E. A. Rezvan, "Koran i doislamskaia kultura (problema metodiki izucheniia)" ("The Qur'ān and pre-Islamic culture: the problem of the approach"), in *Islam. Religia, obshchestvo, gosudarstvo* (Islam. Religion, Society, State), eds. P. A. Griaznevich, S. M. Prozorov (Moscow, 1984), pp. 53—5.

84. The terms in this lexical-semantic group differed in their functional meanings, in the signs which were significant to Muḥammad and his listeners and which differ from our ideas on the hierarchy of human collectives and the signs which serve as the basis for their designation. For Muḥammad, his supporters and opponents, these signs were: religion as the basis for the existence of the human collective (*umma*, *milla*), the presence of a text sent down in the past in the language of members of the group (*umma*, *hizb*), spiritual succession as opposed to the succession of blood kinship (*umma*), the existence of specific signs common to all members of the group (*fariq*, *umma*).

The meanings of the terms reflected the nature of their emergence and aspects of the functioning of the religious community: the separation of a small group from the larger community (*fariq* < *tafarraqa*), cohesion, the formation of a political-religious group (*shī'a* < *tashayya'a*), the existence between members of the community of defence-protection relations (*shī'a*, *fi'a*, *uṣba*), which received new social-ideological grounding and formed the basic social organisation of the early Muslim community. See E. A. Rezvan, "Termin *shī'a* v Korane (k istorii poniatii "sekt", "religiozno-politicheskaia gruppirovka")" ("The term *shī'a* in the Qur'ān: on the history of the concepts "sect", "religious and political group")", in *Pis'mennye pamiatniki i problemy istorii kul'tury narodov Vostoka* (Moscow, 1983), ii, pp. 200—5.

85. Fahd, *op. cit.*, pp. 107—8.

86. Izutsu, *God and Man*, pp. 112—9.

87. *Ibid.*, p. 114.

88. Watt, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

89. Grimme, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 5, n. 7; *Koran*, trans. by I. Yu. Krachkovsky, p. 556, n. 36.

90. As specialist studies have shown, the term *ummi* in the Qur'ān designates a person who belongs to a "people" which does not possess Holy scripture. This is how the word was understood by the earliest commentators on the Qur'ān. It was apparently still used in pre-Islamic times by Arabian Jews and Christians to designate pagan Arabs. See F. M. Denny, "The meaning of *umma* in the Qur'ān", *History of Religions*, XV (1975); I. Goldfeld, "The illiterate Prophet (nabi ummi). An inquiry into the development of a dogma in Islamic tradition", *Der Islam*, LI/1 (1980); also H. G. Reissner, "The ummi Prophet and the Banu Israel of the Qur'ān", *Muslim World*, XXXIX (1949).

91. E. Malov, "Chto oznachaiut slova Korana (*inna Ibrahima kana ummatan*) Avraam byl narodom" ("What the Qur'anic words *inna Ibrahima kana ummatan* ("Abraham was a people") mean"), off-print from *Pravoslavnyi Sobesednik* (Kazan, 1914); J. Horowitz, *Jewish Proper Names and Derivatives in the Kor'an* (Paisley, 1931), p. 190; *Koran*, trans. by I. Yu. Krachkovsky, p. 556, n. 36.

92. Denny, *op. cit.*, pp. 38—9.
93. *Ibid.*, 39.
94. See also 19:17; 17:94/96—95/97; 12:31; 16:103/105; 42:51/50.
95. Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 410, cf. also p. 38; *ibid.*, i, pp. 5—6; Qur'an 11:91/93—92/94. The Qur'an and pre-Islamic poetry show that the terms *raḥṭ*, *faṣīla* and derivations of the root *qrb* could indicate all of a person's relatives on both father's and mother's sides. In sixth-seventh century Meccan society these were a person's defenders in questions of blood vengeance and they could grant him refuge in their dwellings and on their territory.
96. Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, ii, 421; see also Qur'an 27:49/48—50/49.
97. Lewin, *op. cit.*, p. 117; Polosin, *op. cit.*, p. 148.
98. J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten* (Berlin, 1884), i, p. 200, 1; Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 788.
99. Lane, *op. cit.*, pp. 787—8; 'Anṭara, *Dīwān* (Beyrouth, 1385/1966), No. 74, 31; 'Urwa b. al-Ward, *Dīwān* (Damascus, 1966), No. 9, 4; M. J. Kister, *Studies in Jahiliyya and Early Islam*. I—XVI. 1962—1979 (London, 1980), No. 1, pp. 123, 126; see also Qur'an 38: 21/20—24/23.
100. Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 2407.
101. Cf. 7:160 and 4:163/161; see also 2:136/130, 140/134; 3:84/78. For a discussion of the meaning of the term *asbāt*, see Jeffery, *op. cit.*, p. 57; Paret, *op. cit.*, p. 33; *Koran*, trans. by I. Yu. Krachkovsky, p. 509, n. 85; J. Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen* (Berlin—Leipzig, 1926), p. 90.
102. For example, 19: 69/70. For more on the term *shī'a* see Rezvan, "Termin *shī'a*".
103. Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 565.
104. Partative phrases found in ancient Icelandic are apparently connected with a similar stage in the development of linguistic consciousness. A. Gurevich notes that "in the consciousness of the age, relations within such a group appeared so close that the mention of only the name of the head of the group was enough to evoke in consciousness the thought of the group as a whole. Apparently, individuals who formed part of such a collective were conceived of only in relation to it, and not separately" (see A. Ia. Gurevich, *Kategorii sred-nevekovoi kul'tury* (The Categories of Medieval Culture) (Moscow, 1972), p. 74). A unique feature of ancient partative phrases is that "the part does not function in them as a direct subject or object of some specific action — action is attributed to the whole, and only the whole can carry predicates. The part here is not conceived of outside of a specific, concrete multitude, nor as an independent unit, nor in relation to other multitudes. For this reason, attributes which belong to individual parts are transferred to the entire multitude and individual parts of the multitude are endowed with attributes common to the multitude as a whole" (*ibid.*).
105. The terms noted which are derived from *khlṭ*, *fṣl*, *sbt*, and *rhṭ* belong to the lexical-semantic group around the fundamental concept of *qawm*, which is very widely used in the Qur'an and can replace other terms. Delineated here are the characteristics of ethno-social groups which form the basis for the functional meanings of the terms used to indicate them. This is, foremost, participation in military actions (*qawm*, cf. *shī'a*, *fi'a*, *'uṣba*).
- The terms *ma'shar* and *'ashīra* are connected with the designation of the male part of the tribe endowed with full social rights — participants in the tribal council. This usage determined the evolution of the meaning of the term *'ashīra*, most frequently used in discussions of inheritance. It was also employed where the ethno-social collective was viewed as one party in marital relations with another collective. The term *naḥar* was used when the ethno-social collective was viewed from the vantage point of the number of its male members, and the term *āl* when the speaker wished to stress the genealogical, diachronic aspect of the ethno-social collective's existence. The use of the terms *raḥṭ* and *faṣīla* is connected with the designation of the functions of the ethno-social collective in defending its members. The semantics and usage of the term *ahl* are connected with ideas of co-habitation. The term *khulaṭā'* is based on the idea of joint property and co-operation in production. The term *sha'b* was used to designate an ethno-social collective of settled dwellers. The term *qabīla*, based on the idea of the relation between "part" and "whole", was connected with the designation of ethno-social collectives, which led a nomadic way of life and formed a tribal union or ethno-political group. As we see above the term *jibīl* (*jibilla*) was used to designate the "ancient peoples" of Arabia, and the term *sibt* to designate Jewish tribes.
- Reflected in the designations of ethno-social collectives were ethno-differentiating factors (*sha'b*, *qabīla*, *sibt*), characteristics of social functioning (*ma'shar*, *'ashīra*, *faṣīla*, *raḥṭ*), important social characteristics such as number (*naḥar* — its synchronic aspect), duration of existence, and level of social stability (*āl* — its diachronic aspect).
- An analysis of Qur'anic material provides yet another convincing argument against attempts to introduce strict, static and mutually identical conformity into the rich kin-tribal nomenclature of the Arab world. A part of that nomenclature was reconceived in early Islam to designate the broad, ideo-political community of co-religionists.
106. E. A. Rezvan, "Adam i banu adam v Korane (k istorii poniatii "pervochelevek" i "chelovechestvo")" ("Adam and banu Adam in the Qur'an: to the history of the notions "the primal man" and "mankind")", in *Islam. Religii*, pp. 59—68.
107. Malov, *op. cit.*, pp. 60—1. Cf. the use of the names of Israel. Jacob in Biblical texts (Ex. 59, 20; Gen. 32, 28; 35, 10; Rom. 11, 26).
108. Al-Jāhiz, *Al-Bursān wa-l-'urjān wa-l-'umyān wa-l-'hūlāwān* (al-Qāhira, 1972), p. 213; Ibn Manẓur, *Lisān al-'Arab* (Bulaq, 1300—1307/1882-83—1889-90), xiv, p. 292.
109. Kister, *op. cit.*, XI, pp. 270—1.
110. V. M. Belkin, *Arabskaia leksikologiya* (The Arabic Lexicology) (Moscow, 1975), p. 40.
111. Griaznevich, "Razvitie", p. 108.
112. V. V. Ivanov, "Do—vo vremia—posle? (vmesto predisloviia)" ("Before—in time—after? (In place of a foreword)"), in Russian edition (pp. 7—8) of H. Frankfort, H. A. Frankfort, J. A. Wilson, Th. Jacobsen's *Before Philosophy* (Baltimore, 1967).

Illustrations

Fig. 1. "The sacrifice of Abraham (Ibrāhīm)", miniature by the famous Muḥammad Zamān in the *Muraqqa'* (E-14) from the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 89a, 24.9 × 17.8 cm. New European style (copy of a Flemish engraving), Iṣfahān school, 1096/1684—1685.