Christoph Luxenberg

THE SYRO-ARAMAIC READING OF THE KORAN
A Contribution to the Decoding of the Language of the Koran
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Revised and enlarged edition.
Die syro-aramäische Lesart des Koran
Ein Beitrag zur Enschlüsselung der Koransprache

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## Index of Koran Suras

FOREWORD

In the year 2000 the first German edition of this study (Die syro-aramäische Lesart des Koran) presented to the public a fraction of more extensive investigations on the language of the Koran. A second expanded edition followed in 2004. A third German edition has been published recently.

The basis of this first English edition is the first and, in part, the second German edition. Beyond that, the present English edition contains minor supplements and new findings.

It is hoped that the selection of results made in this publication will provide a stimulus to Koran researchers to begin discussing the methods and interpretations arising from them with regard to the contents of the text of the Koran. From the controversy provoked in the meantime over the language of the Koran, no objectively grounded refutation has emerged in view of the essential findings presented here.

What is meant by Syro-Aramaic (actually Syriac) is the branch of Aramaic in the Near East originally spoken in Edessa and the surrounding area in Northwest Mesopotamia and predominant as a written language from Christianization to the origin of the Koran. For more than a millennium Aramaic was the lingua franca in the entire Middle Eastern region before being gradually displaced by Arabic beginning in the 7th century. It is thought that the Greeks were the first to call Aramaic Syriac (as the language of Assyria in the time of Alexander the Great\(^1\)). This term was then adopted by the Christian Arameans, who in this way wanted to distinguish themselves from their pagan fellow countrymen. Syriac is also the name given by the Arabs in their early writings (for example in hadith literature\(^2\)) to this Christian Aramaic, which is an ar-

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2 Thus according to one tradition (hadith) the Prophet is said to have given his secretary, Zayd ibn Tabit (d. 45/665 A.D.), the task of learning Syriac and Hebrew in order to read him the writings he received in these languages. Cf., for
argument for the importance of this language at the time at which written Arabic originated.

As a written language, and especially in translations of the Bible, which presumably existed as early as the second century of the Christian era, Syro-Aramaic achieved such an influence that it soon stretched beyond the region of Syria to, among other places, Persia. The Christian Syriac literature, which was in its heyday from the 4th to the 7th century, is especially extensive.4

With its Syro-Aramaic reading of the Koran this study in no way claims to solve all of the riddles of the language of the Koran. It is merely an attempt to illuminate a number of obscurities in the language of the Koran from this particular perspective. The fact, namely, that Syro-Aramaic was the most important written and cultural language in the region in whose sphere the Koran emerged, at a time in which Arabic was not a written language yet and in which learned Arabs used Aramaic as a written language,5 suggests that the initiators of the Arabic

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4 Cf. on this subject Theodor Nöldeke’s Kurzgefasste Syrische Grammatik, Leipzig 1898 (second edition), reprint, Darmstadt 1977, Introduction xxxi-xxxiv. [Compendium Syriac Grammar, Engl. translated by A. Chrichton, London, 1904.] On the importance of Aramaic or Syriac in general, Nöldeke says: “This language was dominant for longer than a millennium in a very extensive area of the Near East far beyond its original boundaries and even served for the less educated neighboring populations as a written language” (xxxii).

5 On this subject Nöldeke says in his sketch Die semitischen Sprachen [The Se-
written language had acquired their knowledge and training in the Syro-Aramaic cultural milieu. When we consider, moreover, that these Arabs were for the most part Christianized and that a large proportion of them took part in the Christian Syrian liturgy,\textsuperscript{6} then nothing would be more obvious than that they would have naturally introduced elements of their Syro-Aramaic cult and cultural language into Arabic. To indicate the extent to which this is the case in the Koran is the task this study has set for itself. The samples contained herein may be considered as representative of a partially attainable deciphering – via Syro-Aramaic (that is, Syriac and in part other Aramaic dialects) – of the language of the Koran.

In this study it has not been possible to look into the entire literature on the subject, since such literature is fundamentally based on the erroneous historical-linguistic conceptions of traditional Arabic exegesis of the Koran and therefore scarcely contributes anything to the new methods presented here. This includes, in particular, the late lexical works of so-called Classical Arabic, which, though they may have their value as reference dictionaries for post-Koranic Arabic, they are not etymological dictionaries\textsuperscript{7} which means that they are no help at all in understand-

\textit{mitic Languages\textsuperscript{,} Leipzig 1899, second edition, p. 36: “Aramaic was the language of Palmyra whose aristocracy, however, was in large part of Arab descent. The Nabateans were Arabs. It is probable that many Arameans lived in the northern part of their empire (not far from Damascus), but further to the south Arabic was spoken. Only Aramaic was at that time a highly respected civilized language which those Arabs used because their own language was not a written language.”}


7 Included here is the project of the WKAS (\textit{Wörterbuch der klassischen arabischen Sprache \textdagger [Dictionary of Classical Arabic]}), which has been in preparation since 1957. Cf. Helmut Gätje, \textit{Arabische Lexikographie. Ein historischer
ing the pre-Classical language of the Koran. An etymological dictionary of Arabic continues to be a desideratum. The reason for its lack is probably the notion that the (presumably) older Arabic poetic language and the younger written Arabic are identical. To be consistent, Arabic (due to a number of archaic characteristics) was classified from the point of view of historical linguistics as older than Aramaic. This historical-linguistic error makes understandable much of the criticism, even from competent Semiticists who have expressed their opinions on individual findings in the course of the debate that this study has provoked in Germany and abroad since its first appearance in 2000.

It is here not the place to go into this criticism in detail. This remains reserved for a soon-to-follow publication that will treat morphologically, lexically and syntactically the Aramaic basic structure of the language of the Koran. This English edition has been insubstantially supplemented, in particular by the appending of the index of Koranic passages and terms, the prospect of which was held out to readers in the first German edition.

Berlin, January 2007

Überblick [Arabic Lexicography: A Historical Overview], in Historiographia Linguistica XII: 1/2, Amsterdam 1985, 105-147, loc.cit. 126-138 under No. 7, Allgemeines zum ‘WKAS’ [On the ’WKAS’ in general], with bibliographical information on p. 142 under (B) Secondary Literature.
1. Introduction

According to Islamic tradition the Koran (in Arabic, قرآن / Qurān), the sacred scripture of Islam, contains the revelations, eventually fixed in writing under the third caliph ʿUthmān (Othman) ibn ʿAffān (644–656 A.D.), of the Prophet Muḥammad (Mohammed) (570–632 A.D.), the proclamation of which had stretched over a period of about twenty years (approx. 612–632 A.D.) in the cities of Mecca and Medina.

As the first book written in Arabic known to tradition, the Koran is considered by speakers of Arabic to be the foundation of written Arabic and the starting point of an Arabic culture that flourished intellectually in the High Middle Ages. Moreover, according to Islamic theology its contents are held to be the eternal word of God revealed in Arabic.

Non-Muslims see in the Koran a cultural heritage of humanity. It is from this they derive their interest and justification in studying this literary monument from the standpoint of cultural history and the history of religion, as well as from a philological perspective.

Precisely this philological perspective will be occupying us here, since there is naturally a danger of making false inferences on the basis of a text that, in large parts of the Koran, has not been clarified philologically, as not only Western scholars of the Koran, but also the Arabic philologists themselves admit. Whence derives the fundamental interest, not only of the historian of culture and religion, but also and especially of the philologist, to endeavor, as a matter of priority, to clarify the Koranic text.

A good start in this direction was already made by the Western Koran scholarship of the 19th century. Here, listed in the chronological order of their appearance, are the most important publications looking into the text of the Koran in more detail:

THEODOR NÖLDEKE (1836–1930), Geschichte des Qorâns [History of the Koran], Göttingen, 1860. This publication, recognized among Western experts as the standard work in the field, was preceded in 1856, as the author reports in his Foreword (v), by a Latin monograph, De origine et compositione Surarum Qoranicarum ipsiusque Qorani. It later experienced a revision, in a second edition, by the following editors: Teil I (Über den Ursprung des Qorâns) [Part I (On the Origins of the Koran)] and Teil II (Die Sammlung des Qorâns) [Part II (The Collection of the Koran)] by Friedrich Schwally, Leipzig, 1909 and 1919, respectively, and Teil III (Die Geschichte des Koran_texts) [Part III (The History of the Koran Text)] by G. Bergsträßer and O. Pretzl, Leipzig, 1938 (cited in the following as: GdQ).

SIEGMUND FRAENKEL (1855–1909), De vocabulis in antiquis Arabum carminibus et in Corano peregrinis, Leiden, 1880. In this summarized dissertation, Fraenkel, a student of Nöldeke, produces a list of Koranic expressions borrowed for the most part from Aramaic. The author subsequently followed up on this first study with a more extensive study in which additional Koranic expressions are discussed: Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen [The Foreign Words of Aramaic Origin in Arabic], Leiden, 1886 (cited in the following as: Aramäische Fremdwörter [Aramaic Foreign Words]).

KARL VOLLERS (1835–1909), Volkssprache und Schriftsprache im alten Arabien (Kapitel 5: “Die Sprache des Qorâns”) [Vernacular Language and Written Language in Ancient Arabia (Chapter 5: “The Language of the Koran”)], Strasbourg, 1906 (cited in the following as: Volkssprache und Schriftsprache [Vernacular Language and Written Language]). In this monograph Vollers, on the basis of a minutely precise philological analysis of a series of Koranic forms, argues that the Koran was originally composed in a Western Arabic dialect (of Mecca and Medina) and only later, in the second half of the second century of the Hiğra/Hegira (loc. cit. 183), reworked by Arabic philologists and adapted to the classical linguistic form of Old Arabic poetry.
THEODOR NÖLDEKE, *Neue Beiträge zur semityischen Sprachwissenschaft* (S. 1–30): Zur Sprache des Korâns, I. Der Korân und die 'Arabîya, II. Stilistische und syntaktische Eigentümlichkeiten der Sprache des Korâns; III. Willkürlich und mißverständlicb gebrauchte Fremdwörter im Korân [New Essays on Semitic Linguistics (pp. 1–30): On the Language of the Koran, I. The Koran and 'Arabîya, II. Stylistic and Syntactic Peculiarities of the Language of the Koran, III. Arbitrary and Confusing Use of Foreign Words in the Koran], Strasbourg, 1910 (cited in the following as: *Neue Beiträge* [New Essays]). In his introduction Nöldke, to whom Vollers had dedicated the preceding study, dismisses Vollers’ thesis as erroneous and, despite admitting the existence of dialectal variations, pronounces himself in favor of the 'Arabîya (the classical Arabic language) in the Koran. He ends the second chapter, however, by concluding that the good linguistic common sense of the Arabs has almost completely protected them from imitating the characteristic peculiarities and weaknesses of the language of the Koran. According to Nöldke, the Koran constitutes a literature for itself, which is without real predecessors and which has also had no successors, and the Koran passages and individual Koranic expressions that have been added by later Arab writers as decoration are nothing but linguistic oddities (op. cit. 22 f.).

JACOB BARTH (1851–1914), *Studien zur Kritik und Exegese des Qorâns* [Studies contributing to criticism and exegesis of the Koran], in: *Der Islam* 6, 1916, pp. 113–148. In this article J. Barth attempts to read critically certain isolated passages of the Koran based exclusively on his comprehension of Arabic. In so doing, Barth was one of the first scholars who dared occasionally to change the diacritical dots of the canonical text of the Koran. In all Barth was successful in only four cases in reestablishing the original or authentic reading (Sura 37:76 (78); 12:9; 9:113 (112); same reading in 66:5).

IGNAZ GOLDZIHER (1850–1921), *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung* [The Trends in Islamic Koranic Exegesis], Lei-
den 1920. In the first chapter of this work (pp. 1–52) Goldziher treats neutrally of the emergence of the controversial readings of the Koran according to Islamic tradition, but without proposing any alternative textual criticism. This monograph draws attention to the uncertainty of the textus receptus on which Islamic Koranic exegesis is based.

- **Josef Horovitz** (1874–1931), *Koranische Untersuchungen [Koranic Investigations]*, Berlin, 1926. In the first section of this study Horovitz deals thematically with selected Koranic terms; in the second he discusses Koranic proper names.

- **Alfons Mingana** (1881–1921), *Syriac Influence on the Style of the Kurān*, in: Bulletin of the John Rylands Library 77–98, Manchester, 1927 (cited in the following as: *Syriac Influence*). In this essay Mingana, an East Syrian by birth, takes up both of the aforementioned authors and faults their analyses for the insufficiency of their criticism of the Koran text itself. By drawing attention to the Syro-Aramaic influence on the style of the Koran, he to a certain degree builds a bridge between Vollers' thesis of the dialectal origin of the Koran and the classical thesis advocated by Nöldeke. But the examples he provides in the essay to support his view were probably of little help in its gaining general acceptance since their number fell far below what in part had already been identified by Arabic philologists, and even more so by Western Koran scholars, as borrowings from Aramaic and Syriac. Although the route of research he had proposed would have been an entirely appropriate way to approach the solving of the mystery of the language of the Koran, the lack of conviction in reconstructing it has probably had as a consequence that no other scholar of the Koran has pursued it further.

- **Heinrich Speyer** (1897–1935), *Die biblischen Erzählungen im Quran [The Biblical Stories in the Koran]*, Breslau (?), 1931, reprint Hildesheim, 1961. This work continues in a much larger scope the work by Geiger mentioned at the outset. The author succeeds in providing impressive proof of the existence of a number of biblical passages in the Koran, not only from the canonical
Bible, but also from Jewish and Christian apocrypha and literatures. Although the listing of Koranic expressions in Index II does contribute further to their clarification, these expressions are not subjected to closer philological analysis. Probably for this reason Jeffery, in the next work, seems not to have taken any notice of Geiger’s book.

— Arthur Jeffery (1893–1959), *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qurʾān*, Baroda, 1938 (cited in the following as: *The Foreign Vocabulary*). In this work Jeffery essentially summarizes the philological investigations of foreign words in the Koran published in Europe up to 1938 and at the same time also takes into account the opinions of the Arabic philologists and commentators of the Koran. His work, however, restricts itself to the purely etymological presentation of these expressions without arriving at meanings divergent from those accepted by either the Arab commentators or the modern European translators of the Koran. Of the approximately three hundred words (including around fifty proper names), those of Aramaic and Syro-Aramaic origin predominate. An examination of a series of those foreign words found by Jeffery to be of non-Aramaic origin has revealed that this is in part based on a misreading or misinterpretation of the Koranic expressions; some of these expressions will be discussed individually to the extent permitted by the scope of this work.8

In fact, Mingana’s contribution to our understanding of the *Syriac influence on the style of the Koran* – never since refuted by Western Koran scholars – could have furthered Koranic studies had anyone taken up and consistently pursued the theoretical guidelines he proposed nearly three quarters of a century ago. The examples given to support his thesis, however, were obviously inadequate. Still, Mingana cannot be far from the truth with his statistical rough estimate of the foreign language portion of the Koran. On a scale of 100, he divides up this portion as

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8 See the following examples to صیرط (širāf), قصر (qāṣr), سطر (ṣatāra), (sayfāra) and اضطر (ittāra) below p. 226 ff.
follows: 5% Ethiopic, 10% Hebrew, 10% Greco-Roman, 5% Persian and nearly 70% Syriac (= Syro-Aramaic) including Aramaic and Christian Palestinian (cf. op. cit. 80). The evidence he provides for this he then divides into five categories: (a) proper names, (b) religious terms, (c) expressions of ordinary language, (d) orthography, (e) sentence constructions and (f) foreign historical references.

While the items listed under (a), (b), and (d) (I, II, and IV) are for the most part sufficiently well known, the examples cited for (c) turn out to be relatively few, considering that it is, after all, precisely the expressions of ordinary language that make up the brunt of the language of the Koran. Category (e) (V), on the other hand, is examined from four points of view, which could, in itself, have served as the basis of a more in-depth investigation. A prerequisite for an investigation of this kind, however, would be a mastery of both the Syro-Aramaic and the Arabic language at the time of the emergence of the Koran. Finally, in (f) (VI), it is essentially a question of a thematic examination of the text of the Koran in which the author, at times with convincing results, follows up, in particular, on the above-mentioned work by Speyer.

- Günter Lüling, Über den Ur-Qurān. Ansätze zur Rekonstruktion vorislamischer christlicher Strophenlieder im Qurān [Regarding the Original Koran. Basis for a Reconstruction of Pre-Islamic Christian Strophic Hymns in the Koran], Erlangen 1974 (2nd ed., Erlangen 1993). This study is, after that of Jacob Barth’s, a further, more extensive attempt to elucidate obscure passages of the Koran by changing certain diacritical dots. Lüling’s thesis depends on the one hand on the supposition of an “Ur-Qurān” (Original Koran), in which the author sees, not without reason, Christian hymns, which he then undertakes to reconstruct. On the other hand, as to his philological method for elucidating obscure passages of the Koran, Lüling supposes a pre-Islamic Christian Arabic

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koine, but one whose essential nature he fails to define. However, by basing himself on an essentially theological argument to achieve the goal of reconstruction and elucidation, Lüling only occasionally succeeds and is, on the whole, unable to solve the enigma of the language of the Koran. His merit is, however, to have re-posed the question of the nature of the language of the Koran. The kernel of his thesis of a Christian “Original Koran” would have engendered further research, had it not been rejected categorically by the representatives of this discipline in Germany.
2. Reference Works

The present study has originated impartially, i.e. independently of the works of Western scholarship listed above, as well as of Koran-related Arabic philology and exegesis. They would also, in all probability, have been detrimental to the method, which has gradually been worked out here in the course of this study, for research into the language of the Koran, and will thus only be referred to for comparative purposes during the philological discussions of individual passages in the Koran. In the discussion of the Koranic expressions requiring clarification, the following Arabic reference works have been consulted:

(a) the most important Arabic commentary on the Koran by Ṭabarî (d. 310 H. /923 A.D.), which also takes into account earlier Koran commentaries: Abū Ga’far Muḥammad b. Ṣarî al-Ṭabarî, Ġāmi‘ al-bayān ‘an ta’wil āy al-Qurʾān (30 parts in 12 vols.), 3rd ed., Cairo, 1968 (cited below as Ṭabarî / Tabari followed by the part and page number);

(b) the principal Arabic lexicon, لسان العرب Lisān al-ʿarab of Ibn Manẓūr (1232–1311 A.D.), based on the Arabic lexicography begun in the second half of the 8th century with كتاب العين Kitāb al-ʿayn by al-Halîl b. Ṭḥmād (d. circa 786 A.D.):10 Abū l-Faḍl Ḥamāl ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mukarram b. Manẓūr al-Ifriqī al-Miṣrī, Lisān al-ʿarab ("Tongue" of the Arabs), 15 vols., Beirut, 1955 (cited in the following as Lisān with the volume number, page number and column letter, a or b).

Furthermore, for comparative purposes, the translations of the main most recent representatives of Western Koran scholarship will be given in the following order – Richard Bell (English), Rudi Paret (German) and Régis Blachère (French) – based on the following editions:


(Cited in the following as: Bell, Paret or Blachère [vol.] and page.)

To verify the readings interpreted according to Syro-Aramaic, the following Syro-Aramaic lexicons will be used:

- PAYNE SMITH, ed., *Thesaurus Syriacus*, tomus I, Oxonii 1879; tomus II, Oxonii 1901 (cited in the following as: Thes./Thesaurus volume and column).
- JACQUES EUGÈNE MANNA, *Vocabulaire Chaldéen-Arabe*, Mosul, 1900; reprinted with a new appendix by Raphael J. Bidawid, Beirut, 1975 (cited in the following as: Mannā and column).

The translations cited will show how these Western scholars of the Koran have understood the Koran passages in question, even after a critical evaluation of the Arabic exegesis. The expressions that are to receive a new interpretation will in each case be underlined. This will then be followed by the proposed translation according to the Syro-Aramaic understanding, and also in some cases according to the Arabic understanding, accompanied by the corresponding philological explanations.
3. The Working Method Employed

The aim of this work was in the first place to clarify the passages designated in Western Koran studies as obscure. However, apart from the previously unrecognized Aramaisms, the investigation of the overall Koranic language, which is considered to be indisputably Arabic, has uncovered, so to speak as a by-product, a goodly number of not insignificant misreadings and misinterpretations, even of genuinely Arabic expressions. Precisely in relation to the latter, it has turned out again and again that the meaning accepted by the Arabic commentators of the Koran has not at all fit the context.

In such cases the reference works of Arabic lexicography, which originated later and were thus, in their developed form, unknown to the earlier commentators of the Koran, have often been able to set things straight. In this regard it should be noted that in his large Koran commentary Tabart invariably refers to the oral Arabic tradition, but not once to a lexicon of any kind. Only occasionally, in order to explain an unclear Koranic expression, does he quote verses from Arabic poetry, but these comparisons are often misleading since the vocabulary of this poetry differs fundamentally from that of the Koran.

As a departure from traditional Western methods of interpretation, which for the most part rely closely on the Arabic tradition, in the present work the attempt is made for the first time to place the text of the Koran in its historical context and to analyze it from a new philological perspective with the aim of arriving at a more convincing understanding of the Koranic text. The results will show that perhaps even more passages have been misunderstood in the Koran than those whose uncertainty has been conceded by previous Koran commentators and translators. Beyond this, the analysis will in part reveal considerable deficits in the previous interpretation of many aspects of the syntactic structure of the language of the Koran. The major points of the acquired method, which has evolved in the process of the detailed textual analysis, will be presented in the following.

The canonical version of the 1923/24 Cairo edition of the Koran will
serve as the textual basis. Koran citations, orthography (without vowel signs) and verse numbering refer to this edition. This modern Koran edition differs from the earlier Koran manuscripts as a result of the subsequent addition of a large number of reading aids worked out for the faithful by Arabic philologists over the course of the centuries. Included among these are, in the first place, the so-called diacritical dots, serving to distinguish the equivocal and ambiguous letters in the early Arabic alphabet. These twenty-two letters requiring clarification will be discussed in more detail below.

Starting from the understanding that the Arabic readers, in view of the fact that the basic form of the earlier Koranic manuscripts is not easy to decipher even for educated Arabs, have for the most part correctly read today’s accepted version of the Koran, this version is fundamentally respected in the forthcoming textual analysis following the principle of lectio difficilior. Only in those instances in which the context is obviously unclear, in which the Arabic commentators of the Koran are at the limit of their Arabic, in which it is said over and over again in ِتَابَرَ اختلف أهل التأويل في تأويل ذلك “the commentators disagree on the interpretation (of the expression in question),” or, not infrequently, when the listing of a series of speculations both in ِتَابَرَ and in the لِسَان is concluded with the remark وَاللَّهُ أَعْلَمُ (wa-l-lāhu a’lam) (God knows it best – or in plain English, God only knows what the expression in question really means!), only then will the attempt be made, while paying careful attention to the given context, to discover a more reasonable reading. The procedure employed in doing so will be as follows:

(a) For an expression designated as obscure by the Western Koran translators, a check is first made in the Arabic commentary of ِتَابَرَ to see whether one or the other of the cited interpretations ignored by the Western Koran translators does not, in fact, fit better in the context. Namely, it occasionally happens that the Arabic tradition has kept an accurate or an approximate memory of an earlier Aramaic expression. If this is not the case, then

(b) in the لِسَان the Arabic expression in question is examined for possible alternative semantic meanings, since ِتَابَرَ and the earlier Arabic commentators did not have an aid of such scope at
their disposal and in any case in his commentary Tabari never refers to any Arabic lexicon whatsoever. This step also occasionally results in a better, more fitting sense. However, if the search remains unsuccessful, then

c) a check is made to see whether there is a homonymous\footnote{I.e. etymologically related.} root in Syro-Aramaic whose meaning differs from that of the Arabic and which, based on a consideration of objective criteria, clearly fits better in the context. In a not insignificant number of cases this Syro-Aramaic reading produced the better sense. Here one must see to it that according to the context the two homonyms can occur both in the Arabic and in the Syro-Aramaic meaning. Then, if this check leads nowhere,

d) an attempt is made in the first place to read the Arabic writing differently than in the Cairo version of the Koran by changing the diacritical points, which were not there originally and which were later and perhaps erroneously added. Not infrequently it can be determined that the Arabic readers have apparently falsely read an expression in itself genuinely Arabic because they lacked the appropriate background information. However, if all of the possible alterations do not result in a sense that fits the context, then

e) the attempt is made, while changing the diacritical points, to make out an Aramaic root beneath the Arabic writing. In an almost incalculable number of cases this has been successful to the extent that the Aramaic expression has given the context a decidedly more logical sense. However, if this attempt also fails, then

f) a final attempt is made to reconstruct the actual meaning of the apparently genuine Arabic expression by translating it back into Aramaic by way of the semantics of the Syro-Aramaic expression. This attempt exceeds in importance, extent and level of difficulty the discovery of actual Aramaisms (or Syriacisms) for, as there are still no Arabic-Aramaic dictionaries, the researcher must here depend solely on his or her own knowledge of (the) lan-

\footnote{I.e. etymologically related.}
guage(s). In the process, what appear to be genuinely Arabic expressions can be divided into: (1) loan formations and (2) loan translations (or calques).

(g) Another category involves, in turn, those for the most part genuine Arabic expressions that are neither susceptible to plausible explanation in the *Lisān* nor explainable by translation back into Syro-Aramaic, either because they have a completely different meaning in modern Arabic or because their basic Arabic meaning is unknown. In such cases the important lexical works by the East Syrian physicians *Bar Ḍar* (d. 1001) and *Bar Bahltl* (mentioned in a document in 963) occasionally provide information on their real meanings. These Syro-Aramaic lexicons were created in the 10th century, presumably as a translating aid for Syrian translators of Syriac scientific works into Arabic, as Syro-Aramaic was being displaced more and more by Arabic. The Syro-Aramaic- (Chaldean-)Arabic dictionary of *Mannā* mentioned at the outset, by taking into account, among other lexicons, that of *Bar Bahltl*, continues to a certain extent this tradition of Eastern Syrian lexicography. The Arabic vocabulary that these lexicons employ for the explanation of Syro-Aramaic words and expressions is of eminent importance here, especially when, as an equivalent of a Syro-Aramaic expression, several Arabic synonyms are listed, of

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12 With its appended *Index Iatimus* Brockelmann's *Lexicon Syriacum* does offer a stopgap, however.

13 Anton Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* [History of Syrian Literature] (Bonn, 1922) 241. It is said of *Bar Ḍar* in the same work that he worked as an eye doctor and spoke Arabic. On the importance of these works, Baumstark writes (242): "The work by B. Bahltl, which was later on often published in a combined edition with the other and which is especially valuable due to its exact citation of sources, was also geared from the start to the explanation of foreign words of Greek origin and enriched by objective erudition of a philosophical, scientific and theological nature. Naturally, a considerable element of the West Syrian scholarly tradition begins to make itself felt in the complicated textual history of this codification of Eastern Syrian lexicography...".

14 Cf. Theodor Nöldeke, *Die semitischen Sprachen* [The Semitic Languages], 2nd edition (Leipzig, 1899) 43.
which one or the other occasionally occurs in the Koran. In this respect, the *Thesaurus Syriacus* has proven to be a veritable treasure trove whenever it cites, although irregularly, at least relatively often, the Arabic explanations of the Eastern Syrian lexicographers.\(^{15}\) In this way it has been possible, thanks to the *Thesaurus Syriacus*, to explain many an obscure Koranic expression. A systematic exploration of the Arabic vocabulary in these early Eastern Syriac lexicons, however, would bring even more to light. Also, the early Christian-Arabic literature of the Eastern Syrians,\(^ {16}\) until now ignored by Koran scholars, yet whose Arabic vocabulary reaches back, in part at least, to the pre-Islamic usage of the Christian Arabs of Mesopotamia and Syria, would lead to more convincing results than the so-called *Old Arabic* — though for the most part post-Koranic — poetry, whose vocabulary is extremely inappropriate and misleading for understanding the Koran.\(^ {17}\)

This is namely the case when misunderstood Koranic expressions are used improperly or in a completely different context in this poetry and then cited as authentic evidence for the interpretation of these same Koranic expressions by the later Arabic philologists. This inner-Arabic methodology proper to later Arabic lexicography consists in explaining obscure expressions, for the most part speculatively and in the absence of other literature, on the basis of the often hard to unravel context of earlier Arabic poetry,

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16 Thus, for example, Nöldeke (*loc. cit.* 43) refers to the learned metropolitan of Nisibis, Elias bar Schinnājā (975 – c. 1050 A.D.), who had written “his works intended for Christians either in Arabic or in parallel columns of Arabic and Syriac, i.e. in the spoken language and in the language of the learned.”

17 For example, Nöldeke says in this regard (*loc. cit.* 53): “Admittedly the poems of the Arab heathen period were only recorded significantly later and not at all without distortion,” and further (58), “In particular the literature of satirical and abusive songs has with certainty introduced many arbitrary and in part quite strangely devised expressions into the (Arabic) lexicon.”
in the course of which a borrowing from a foreign language is only sporadically identified correctly. Western scholars of the Koran have not considered these circumstances with sufficient scepticism. Although one often notes the clumsiness of the Arabic commentators, it is mostly without being able to help them out. Compared to this, the fully mature Syro-Aramaic – especially theological – literature existing long prior to the Koran and the reliably traditional semantics of the Syro-Aramaic vocabulary – even after the Koran – offer an aid that, on the basis of the results of this study, will prove to be an indispensable key to the understanding, not only of the foreign-language vocabulary, but also of what is considered to be the Arabic vocabulary of the language of the Koran.

(h) Now and then one also finds genuine Arabic expressions that have been misread and misunderstood because, though they are written in Arabic script, they have been produced orthographically according to the Syro-Aramaic phonetic system and are to be pronounced accordingly, so that one can only identify them as meaningful Arabic expressions in this roundabout way. An example that will be discussed more fully below (p. 111 ff., Sura 16:103; 41:40, Koranic يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَون يَلِحْزَон = Syriac ملِعِidente phonetically Arabic يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَون يَلِغْزَن gives a first hint of the assumption that the original Koranic text was written in Garshuni (or Karshuni), that is to say Arabic written in Syriac letters. Further evidences corroborating this hypothesis will be given with empiric accuracy in a forthcoming publication.18

These are the essential points of the working method that has resulted from the present philological analysis of the Koranic text inasmuch as it has involved an analysis of individual words and expressions. Added to this are problems of a syntactical nature which have cropped up in the course of the textual analysis and which have been discussed in detail, case by case. The examples that follow in the main part of this study may be seen as putting this method to the test.

But beforehand it seems necessary to introduce non-Arabs to the problematic of Koranic readings. This problematic is connected in the first place with the virtually stenographic character of the early Arabic script, which for this reason is also called defective script. This can per-

stehung und frühen Geschichte des Islam [The Obscure Beginnings: New Researches on the Rise and the Early History of Islam], Berlin, 2005, 2006, 2007, p. 124–147, C. Luxenberg: Neudeutung der arabischen Inschrift im Felsenrom zu Jerusalem [New Interpretation of the Arabic Inscription within the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem]. In this contribution the author has shown that the Arabic letter ل/L in the word لبدأ (traditional reading libadan) in Sura 72:19 is a mistranscription of the Syriac letter ﯾ/y that the copyist has confused with the quite similar Syriac letter ﯾ/L. No wonder that the Koran commentators in East and West were perplexed in the face of this riddle. So Bell translates (II 611 f.) this verse (وانته ما قام عبد اللـه يدعو كادوا يكونون عليه لبدأ) following the Arab commentators, as follows: “And that, when a servant of Allah stood calling upon Him, they were upon him almost in swarms [note 3: The meaning is uncertain. The “servant of Allah” is usually taken to be Muhammad, and “they” to refer to jimm, which is possible if angels now speak]. However, to solve this puzzle we just need to restore the original Syriac spelling ﯿ/
unh that leads to the Arabic reading عبدأ / ﯿbadan (servants of God) instead of the meaningless لبدأ / libadan (allegedly “in swarms”). The philological discussion with regard to the context of the verses 18–20 had as result the following understanding:
18. and that the worship belongs (only) to God; so along with God you shall not invoke any one; 19. and that, when the servant of God (i.e. Jesus, Son of Mary – cf. Sura 19:30, where the child Jesus, immediately after his birth, says about himself: ﯾأني عبد الله “I am the servant of God!”) had risen (from the dead) going on to invoke Him, they (i.e. the people) almost would have worshiped him (as God); 20. he said (NB – not say): I invoke indeed my Lord and do not associate with Him any one! (Cf. Sura 5:117).
haps be best explained by the following outline of the chronological origins of the Arabic script.
4. The Arabic Script

Except for a few pre-Islamic 4th–6th century A.D. inscriptions stemming from northern Hijāz and Syria, the Koran is considered to be the first book ever written in Arabic script. The early form of the Arabic letters and the type of ligatures employed suggest that the Syro-Aramaic cursive script served as a model for the Arabic script.

Both scripts have the following in common with the earlier Aramaic (and Hebrew) script: the writing runs from right to left; in principle the letters designate the consonants with only two letters serving to reproduce the semi-long and long vowels /w/ و and /y/ ي as so-called *matres lectionis*.

Later on, the *alif* /ا, which in Aramaic only serves in certain cases as a long ā, mainly when final, but occasionally also as a short a, was introduced by the Arabs as a third *mater lectionis* for a long ā, in general and also in context.

To the extent that this writing reform was also carried out in the text of the Koran, the consequences for certain readings were inevitable.

An initial marking of the short vowels a, u and i by points, likewise modeled upon the earlier Syro-Aramaic vocalization systems – according to which the more lightly pronounced vowel (a) is indicated by a point

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20 As to this still discussed thesis see John F. Healy, *The Early History of the Syriac Script. A Reassessment*. In: *Journal of Semitic Studies* XLV/1 Spring 2000, p. 55-67. The question whether the Arabic script is of Syriac or Nabatean origin (p. 64 f.) – or a combination of both – is ultimately of minor relevancy, since a next study will prove that the prototype of the Koran, as mentioned above, was originally written in *Garshuni* (or *Kashiuni*), i.e. Arabic with Syriac letters.

21 According to R. Blachère the exact time at which this writing reform took place cannot be established (Introduction au Coran, 1st edition, 93 f.).

22 The examination of single words will show that the incorrect insertion of the *alif* /ا (for long ā) has on occasion resulted in a distortion of the meaning.
above and the more darkly pronounced vowel (e/i) by a point below the consonant, to which was added in Arabic a middle point to mark the u – is said to have been introduced as the first reading aid under 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān (685–705).\(^{23}\)

The real problem in the early Arabic script, however, was in the consonants, only six of which are clearly distinguishable by their form, whereas the remaining 22, due to their formal similarities (usually in pairs), were only distinguishable from each other by the context. This deficiency was only gradually removed by the addition of so-called diacritical dots. The letters to be differentiated by points together with their variants depending on their position at the beginning, in the middle or at the end of a word, connected or unconnected (and accompanied by their Latin transcription), appear as follows (whereby it should be noted that six letters are connected with the preceding letters on the right, but not with the letters following them on the left):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ب} & / b & \text{ت} & / t \\
\text{خ} & / \ddash & \text{ج} & / g & \text{ح} & / h \\
\text{د} & / d & \text{ذ} & / d & \text{ر} & / r & \text{ز} & / z \\
\text{s} & / s & \text{ض} & / s & \text{ص} & / s & \text{ط} & / s & \text{ظ} & / s & \text{غ} & / s & \text{ع} & / s & \text{ف} & / f & \text{ق} & / q \\
\text{ن} & / n & \text{ي} & / y & \text{ر} & / r & \text{ي} & / \ddash & \text{(final) a}
\end{align*}
\]

By taking into account the last letter as a final a as opposed to the variant i and if one imagines that all of the diacritical points above and below the letters are non-existent, we would even have 23 varieties that could occasion misreadings. Added to this are the possibilities of mixing up the optically similar groups of letters د/د, د/د, and ر/ر, ز/ز as well as of confusing those of the latter group with the و/w/أ, further,

of confusing the phonetically proximate phonemes /h/ and /h/ and mistaking the guttural /a/ /u/ /i/ for the stop (hamza) ء /ā/ /ū/ /ī/ that was introduced later on as a special symbol.

Occasionally the voiceless س /s has been mistaken for the corresponding emphatic sound ص /ṣ, something which, though trivial when considered in purely phonetic terms, is nonetheless significant etymologically and semantically. In individual cases, a confusion has also occurred between the final ه /-h as the personal suffix of the third person masculine and the same special symbol accompanied by two dots ء /-t used to mark the feminine ending /a'um/, as well as between the connected final ن /n, the connected ٍ /y with a final a and even the connected final ر /r. In one case, the three initial peaks in the voiceless س /s were even taken to be the carriers of three different letters and were – regrettably for the context – provided with three different diacritical points (e.g., س /s = نبطة /n-b-t).24

In comparing the letters that are distinguishable by means of diacritical points with those that are unambiguous due to their basic form - these are the letters:

\[
\text{ا} / \text{a} \quad \text{ك} / \text{k} \quad \text{ن} / \text{n} \quad \text{ه} / \text{h} \quad \text{و} / \text{w} \quad \text{أ} / \text{a} \quad \text{ت} / \text{t}
\]

- one would have, considered purely in mathematical terms, a ratio even worse than 22 to 6 if one takes into account further sources of error, the extent of which can not yet be entirely assessed.

Compared to the Aramaic / Hebrew and the Syro-Aramaic alphabet, whose letters are unambiguous (except for the /d/ and /r, which because of their formal similarity are distinguished from each other by a point below or above the letter, which may in turn have served as a model for the subsequently introduced and further developed punctuation system of the Arabic script), the early Arabic script was thus a kind

of shorthand that may have served the initiates as a mnemonic aid. More, it would seem, was also not required at the beginning, since reliable *lectors* or *readers* (قُرَاء / *qurrāʾ*) were said to have heard the proclamation of the Koran directly from the Prophet and learned it by heart.
5. The Oral Tradition

According to Islamic tradition, the Koran was handed down by an unbroken chain of lectors, in part by notable contemporaries of the Prophet, such as Ibn ʿAbbās (d. at 73 in 692 A.D.) and early authorities, such as Anas Ibn Mālik (d. at 91 in 709 A.D.). They are also said to have contributed considerably to the fixing of the Koranic text and to have retained their authority as Koran specialists even long afterwards.25

This is contradicted, though, by the report that ʿUṯmān had gotten the “sheets”26 (of the Koran) from Ḥafṣa, the Prophet’s widow, and used them as the basis of his recension. This was the “fixed point backwards from which we must orient ourselves.”27

In any case the Islamic tradition is unable to provide any date for the final fixing of the reading of the Koran by means of the introduction of the diacritical points, so that one is dependent on the general assertion that this process stretched out over about three hundred years.28

Only the long overdue study and collation of the oldest Koran manuscripts can be expected to give us more insight into the development of the Koranic text up to its present-day form. In this regard Koran scholars will always regret that the historical order issued by Caliph ʿUṯmān, conditioned as it was by the political circumstances at the time, has resulted in the irretrievable loss of earlier copies of the Koran.29

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25 Blachère 102 ff.
26 Ṭabarī reports of one sheet, however, on which ʿUmar had written down the notes collected by the companions of the Prophet: وكان عمر كتب ذلك في صحيفة واحدة (cf. Ṭabarī 126 f.).
28 Blachère 71.
29 Ṭabarī 127 f.
6. The Arabic Exegesis of the Koran

In the history of Koran exegesis there has been no lack of attempts to provide ever new interpretations of the irregular and occasionally rhythmical rhyming prose of the Koran text. In his *Geschichte des Qorâns* [History of the Koran] cited at the beginning, Theodor Nöldeke gives an overview both of the creators of the Arabic exegesis, with Ibn ʿAbbâs30 (cousin of the Prophet, d. 68 H./687 A.D.) and his disciples, and of the extant Arabic commentaries of Ibn Išâq (d. 151/786) and Waqîdî (d. 207/822), of Ibn Hîşâm (d. 213/828), of Buḫârî (d. 256/870) and of Tîrmiثî (d. 279/829).31

Although the Islamic exegesis refers to Ibn ʿAbbâs as its earliest authority, he himself appears never to have written a commentary, considering that he was only twelve years old at the death of the Prophet.32 This seems all the more to be the case since the Prophet himself – according to Islamic tradition – is said to have responded with silence to the questions of his contemporaries on the meaning of particular verses of the Koran. Thus, among other things, it was reported of some who were in disagreement over the reading of a Koran Sura:

"We thereupon sought out the messenger of God – God bless him and grant him salvation – and met him just as ʿAlî was conversing with him. We said: 'We are in disagreement over a reading.' Whereupon the messenger of God blushed – God bless him and grant him salvation – and spoke: 'Those who have preceded you went to ruin because they were in disagreement with each other.' Then he whispered something to ʿAlî, whereupon the latter spoke to us: 'The messenger of God – God bless him and grant him salvation – commands you to read as you have been instructed'; (the version following this adds): 'Each (reading) is good and right'."33

30 *GdQ* II 163.
31 *GdQ* II 170 f.
33 Ṭabarî I 12 f.
In the introduction to his Koran commentary, Ṭabarī (224/25–310 H./839–923 A.D.) lists a series of variant statements concerning the confusion of the first readers of the Koran, all of which at bottom agree with each other. Thus, among other statements, he gives the following, which is traceable back to Ubayy:

"Two men were arguing over a verse of the Koran, whereby each maintained that the Prophet – God bless him and grant him salvation – had taught him to read it so and so. Thereupon they sought out Ubayy in order for him to mediate between them. However, he contradicted both of them. Whereupon they sought out the Prophet together. Ubayy spoke: ‘Prophet of God, we are in disagreement over a verse of the Koran and each of us maintains that you taught him to read it so and so.’ Whereupon he spoke to one of them: ‘Read it out to me,’ and this one read it out to him. Whereupon the Prophet said: ‘Correct!’ Then he asked the other to read it out to him, and this one read it out differently than his friend had read it out. To this one too the Prophet said: ‘Correct!’ Then he spoke to Ubayy: ‘Read it out yourself as well,’ and Ubayy read it out, but differently than both. Yet to him too the Prophet said: ‘Correct!’ Ubayy reported: ‘This gave rise to such a doubt in me with regard to the messenger of God – God bless him and grant him salvation – as that of heathens!’ And he continued: ‘However, because the messenger of God – God bless him and grant him salvation – noticed from my face what was occurring in me, he raised his hand and struck me on the breast and said: ‘Pray to God for protection from the accursed Satan!’ To this Ubayy said: ‘Then I broke into a sweat’."34

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34 Ṭabarī I 18.
7. THE SEVEN READINGS

This evidenced embarrassment on the part of the Prophet, which, as reported, evinced considerable doubts about his mission among some of his contemporaries, is explained in the Islamic tradition by the following sequence:

Gabriel had at first commanded the Prophet to read the Koran in one reading, but upon the Prophet’s imploring indulgence for his people and Michael’s support, Gabriel, in consideration of the variety of Arabic dialects, had granted the Prophet two, then according to different reports three, five, six and finally seven readings, all of them valid as long as verses dealing (for example) with God’s mercy did not end, say, with His meting out divine judgment – and vice versa – that is, as long as a given reading did not result in an obvious contradiction. Finally, at the behest of Caliph ‘Uthmān and for the preservation of dogmatic unity among the Muslims, the controversy over the actual meaning of the disputed seven readings was resolved once and for all in favor of one reading by means of the fixing of the Koran in writing. Tabari, however, seems not in the least to have been concerned that in the establishment of the canonic version of the Koran the lack of any diacritical points or other vowel signs made one reading a fiction. By his time (the 10th century A.D.) the consonant text of the Koran already appears to have been fixed by the diacritical points introduced in the meantime (or by the oral interpretation that had prevailed in the meantime).

But when and according to what criteria or according to what tradition these points were introduced, and to what extent the originators disposed of the necessary philological and also, considering the biblical content of the Koran, of the necessary theological competence, for such questions the historical critique of Tabari, though he was considered a scholar in his day, do not seem to have been adequate. He begins as a matter of course from the premise that there had been nothing to critici-

35 Tabari I 18-26.
36 Tabari I 26-29.
ze to that point about the established reading of the Koran and does not allow any other variant readings – at least where the original consonant text is concerned. He does, to be sure, permit divergent readings, but only when vocalic indicators are lacking in the original text and only if the variants in question are supported in the Islamic tradition by a majority or minority of commentators, in which case he usually gives precedence to the majority interpretation.

What exactly, though, is to be understood by what Ṣabāṭ calls the سورة أحرف (sab‘at ahruf) (seven letters), whether by that the consonants are meant, or the vowels, or both at the same time, on this subject Ṣabāṭ says nothing, especially considering the fact that Ubayy does not identify the disputed reading. However, because there are twenty-two consonants in the Arabic alphabet distinguishable by diacritical points (in a given case either with or without points), these can scarcely be meant. On the other hand, if one understands أحرف (ahruf) simply as bookmarks, then it would be more plausible to understand them as the missing vowel signs. This all the more so since the Thes. (I 419), for ملاك / ملاك (ملاك / ملاك), although it cites حرف (ḥarf) under (2) particula, lists among other things under (3) lierea alphabetic, ملاك ملاك (ملاك ملاك) ( قائمقًا دقیقتا) (= accentuation mark vocalis (BHGr. 351v).

Though one could argue against this that this late piece of evidence from the Syriac grammar of Bar Hebraeus37 (1225/6–1286), likely modeled on the Arabic grammar of Zamaḥšarḥ (1075–1144), is poorly suited to explain حرف (ḥarf) in the sense of vowel sign, it is still permitted to see in the number seven a reference to the seven vowels of the Eastern Syrians mentioned by Jacob of Edessa (c. 640–708) in his Syriac grammar ملاك ملاك (ملاك ملاك) (ملاك ملاك) (The Rectification of the Mesopotamian Language).38

These seven vowels were collected by Jacob of Edessa in the model sentence ملاك ملاك ملاك ملاك ملاك (ملاك ملاك) (ملاك ملاك) (b-nîhû tehên Õrhûy emman) =

38 Baumstark 254.
39 Manna 13.
Insofar as Tabari also mentions the variant reading خمسة أحرف (‘hamsat ahruf’) (five letters), a corresponding allusion may thereby be given to the five Greek vowels introduced by the Western Syrians. This would be important, at least in terms of Koranic pronunciation, to answer the question as to whether it was not arbitrary that the post-Koranic Classical Arabic system of vowels was fixed at the three basic vowels a, u, i (for short and long).

In terms of comparison, the at least five vowels of the modern-day Arabic dialects of the Near East in the former Aramaic language area provide a better lead than the uncertain pronunciation of the so-called Old Arabic poetry, from which, moreover, for whatever reason, the Koran distances itself (Sura 26:224; 36:69; 69:41). In this connection, Theodor Nöldeke also remarks:

“We don’t even have the right to assume that in Proto-Semitic there were always only three dynamically distinct vowels or vocal spheres.”

*Final ی (yā’) as a Marker for final ē*

In any case, the Arabic tradition documents the existence of the vowel ẹ to the extent that it designates by the term إملاءة (‘imāla) the modification of ă to ē as a peculiarity of the Arabic dialect of Mecca. However, from

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40 I.e. “our capital” or the “city in which we grew up” (cf. Thes. I 222).
this one can make conclusions about the pronunciation not only of Arabic, but especially of Aramaic loanwords. For example, keeping just to proper names, whose pronunciation is taken to be certain, the transliterated name میکیل (= Michael), which faithfully reproduces the Syro-Aramaic written form میکیل, should not be pronounced میکیل / Mīkāl, as it is vocalized in the modern Cairo edition of the Koran (Sura 2:98), but Mīkāl according to the Syro-Aramaic pronunciation. The same applies for the name جبریل, which should not be pronounced Ǧibrīl, as the Cairo edition reads today (Sura 2:97, 98 and 66:4), but as a transliteration of the Syro-Aramaic Gabriel (with the more common spelling Gabriel).

Of the Arabic expressions, one can mention, for example, بَلَى, which the modern Koran reads in twenty-two passages as bala, although the pronunciation bale (or bale – with the accent on the first syllable) is still attested today, among other places, in the Arabic dialects of the Mesopotamian region and in Bedouin dialects. The Līsān (XIV 88b) even refers explicitly to the fact that the final ی in بَلَى, like أَنْتَي (annē) and مَتَى (matē), can be pronounced with an ʾimāla (balē).

In his chapter entitled "Die wichtigsten orthographischen Eigentümlichkeiten des othmanischen Textes" [The Most Important Orthographical Peculiarities of the Othmani Text] (GdQ III 26 ff.), Nöldeke goes into more detail on this phenomenon. According to Nöldeke, the use of the final ی cannot be explained (in these cases) on the basis of etymology. On that basis, one can instead deduce a particular pronunciation of the vowel. Words like أَنْتَي were not pronounced with a pure ʾa, but with a "tendency towards ya (= e)" (ʾimāla nahwa l-ya), and thus as a long or short e. This explanation is supported not only by the orthography, but also by the rhyme.45

43 Cf. Thes. II 2088, which gives this written form in addition to the more common میکیل. On the other hand, with the pronunciation remaining the same, the variant given in Nöldeke میکیل (see the following note) corresponds to the Hebrew spelling ملکیل.
44 Cf. Nöldeke, GdQ III 17.
Also belonging here among the Koranic proper names is موسى, which the Cairo edition reads as موسى, whereas according to the Syro-Aramaic form Ṣaṣ (in Hebrew Ṣaḥ) Mošē (in Western Syriac Mūšē) would be the pronunciation.

*On the Spelling of عيسى (Îsa)*

On the other hand, it is doubtful whether one can explain the name عيسى (read in the Cairo edition as Îsa) on the basis of an assimilation to موسى, as S. Fraenkel has done (WZKM IV 335 ff.), even though Horovitz backs this view by remarking “how fond indeed the Koran is elsewhere of name pairs and of the assimilation of one name to another.” In other words, although for موسى the pronunciation Mošē is attested, for عيسى the pronunciation Ṣē / Îsē is not. Though it is possible in this case that this is based on the Eastern Syrian name Ṣṣ (for Jesus), it is scarcely imaginable, as Horovitz says (*loc. cit.*), that “its final [ayn] ... has shifted its position.”

Arguing against both this thesis and Landauer’s thesis, mentioned by Horovitz (in Nöldeke *ZDMG* XLI 720, note 2), of an assimilation to Esau, is the final ṣ in موسى / Ṣṣ (whose final c / כ is usually not pronounced by the Eastern Syrians) and the final b in ماesa / Ṣb (or the final aw in Hebrewโยשע / Ṣaw). Meanwhile, what comes closest to the spelling orthographically is the Biblical name יְשָׁע (in Hebrew ישוע / Yāšay), Ṣay (David’s father / Jes. Sir. 45:25; Is. 11:1,10).

Here one must bear in mind that among the Eastern Syrians the initial c / כ is frequently weakened and produced exactly like the ʼi with an initial glottal stop, while the final c / כ totally disappears. This pronunciation is to this extent identical with that of the Mandaeans, who use a ʼi / ʼ to reproduce the initial ʼi and leave off the final ʼa, as is also attested by Nöldeke in his *Mandäische Grammatik [Mandaic Grammar]* (§ 55,

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p. 56), and precisely in connection with the name يَسُوع / Ṣaḥa “Jesus” = Ṣahā / Ṣay.

This finding is interesting not only because it once again points to the Eastern Syrian region, but also and especially because it raises the question — relevant to the history of religion — as to whether with the name عَيسَى (مازِل / Tsa‘ay) the Koran has intended the connection between the historical Jesus and Isai, a genealogical ancestor of his, named in Isaiah 11:1,11 and Luke 3:32, or whether it consciously or unconsciously confused مَعْصِر / Ṣa‘ay (ך) with مَعُصِر / Ṣay or perhaps took them to be dialectal variants of one and the same name.48

That in any case the modern Koran reads عَيسَى = Ṣa‘a is with certainty the result of post-Koranic phonetics, especially considering the fact that this name does not appear in Old Arabic poetry, as Horovitz (loc. cit. 129) remarks. The Koranic spelling does correspond, on the other hand, to the Eastern Syriac orthography and the phonetics of Biblically documented names. This is why عَيسَى is certainly not to be read Ṣa‘a, but rather Ṣay.

Therefore, the fact that, especially in Mandaic, the ך/蜇/י is used to reproduce the initial plosive צ in place of the originally weak initial צ/י (and not simply as Horovitz falsely believes [loc. cit.], in citing Nöldeke, “for the designation of צ”) is important in explaining historically the later introduction by Arabic philologists of the hamza (i.e. glottal stop) symbol (which is actually an initial צ/י or ʿayn reduced in size).

In the examples given by Nöldeke (loc. cit. §55), the י/ץ does replace the initial צ/י, but what is crucial is that it is supposed to indicate the glottal stop preceding the vowel, something which Nöldeke, however, does not especially emphasize. This becomes clear, though, on the basis of examples in which the י/ץ also replaces an initial צ/צ, the articulation of which always starts with a glottal stop; thus Mandaic צ צ (there is). This is particularly evi-

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48 It is well known that among Western Syrians the pronunciation צ was used for long צ in contrast to the pronunciation צ among the Eastern Syrians. As Mingana has already pointed out in Syriac Influence 83, the Eastern Syriac pronunciation is to be assumed in the Koran.
dent in the examples cited by Nöldeke in §16 (p. 15) where initial ָא and ֱא alternate and have the same function: נָאָרָה and נְאָרָה (אָמְרָאִ֑ת) "she said"; נָאָרָה and נְאָרָה (אָזָלָ֑ת) "she went," etc.

According to this pattern, then, the spelling עִבְרִ֑י is to be realized like Mandaic עִבְרִ֑י / Ḥay. Finally, one should not fail to mention the fact that the name מִשְאָרָה / Ḥsar, presumably created from מִשְאָרָה / Ḥsay by monophthongizing the final diphthong, is widespread among Eastern Syrians today. The possibility can thus not be excluded that the Koran considered this name, common among the Aramean Christians of its day, to be a variant form more suitable to the Arabic pronunciation than the actual name מִשְאָרָה / Ḥsar (Jesus), which is realized in the Eastern Syriac dialect as Ḥsar (or Ḥso with the accent on the first syllable). But even in this case the initial עִבְרִ֑י in עִבְרִ֑י is to be understood as the glottal stop before the initial Ḥ, and hence: עִבְרִ֑י = עִבְרִ֑י / Ḥay > עִבְרִ֑י / Ḥsar.49

**Final ʕ (alif) and Final ָֽה (h) as Markers for Final ָֽא**

However, the Arabic philologists could no longer know that the vowel ָא / ṣ can be designated not only by a final ָא / ְא, but also occasionally by a final ʕ / ָא. Such cases can be found, among other places, for example, in sentences in which the verb is in dual or plural, but the corresponding subject, on the face of it and seen from the point of view of Arabic morphology, is singular.

Apparent inconsistencies of this sort can be easily removed, though, when one knows that singular and plural endings in Syro-Aramaic remain for the most part unchanged graphically, whereas phonetically they

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49 According to this, the monophthongization of the final diphthong ָא need not necessarily end in ṣ as Nöldeke assumes. The other alternative would be, as in the present case, the substitutive lengthening of the vowel ָא : ָא > ָא. We can find another example of this in the name מִשְאָרָ֑ה / Smaay (Hebrew סִינָ֑י), which became the Arabic سَيَّا / Sinā (in a hypercorrect pronunciation with an unjustified vowel stop سَيَّا / Sinā). On the basis of this phonetic law one could also explain the original name of Abraham's wife, Sarai, which according to Genesis 17:15 was, at God's behest, henceforth to be Sara.
are inflected in the masculine from ܐ to ܟ. We encounter such endings, for instance, in Sura 11:24 and 39:29 where in each case the Koran has similes with two opposing examples followed by this question:

هل يستويان مثلا

The modern Koran reads *hal yastawiyān* ܡܬܠܐ” (literally): “Are the two equal to each other as example?” It is understandable that the later readers of the Koran could not otherwise interpret the final ا in مثلا (< Syro-Aramaic ܡܬܠܐ / *maṭla*) than as تمييز (tamyīz) (accusative of specification), in accordance with the rules of Arabic grammar first created toward the end of the 8th century. However, if one were instead to read مثلا as a transliteration of the Syro-Aramaic plural ܡܬܠܐ (maṭla) “the examples” (= الأمثال / *al-amṭāl*) (since there is no dual in Syro-Aramaic except for the dual suffix of the two-numbers نِين / tēn [masc.], بِهج / tartēn [fem.], and مَه / māṭēn / (two hundred) and the emphatic ending makes the Arabic definite article ال / *al-* superfluous), the sentence would yield a coherent meaning: “Are the two examples somehow equal?” (and not “The two equal as example?”). According to this, when translated into modern-day Arabic (and taking into account the Koranic dual), the sentence would then read: هل يستويان المثالان (in Classical Arabic: هل يستوي المثالان / *hal yastawīl-maṭalān*).

Besides the fact that the Arabic verb استوى / istawa (in the VIIIth verbal stem) is also derived from the Syro-Aramaic verb with the same meaning، / estwaï, the Koran here combines the Arabic dual in the verb with the Syro-Aramaic plural in the subject. In this passage، مثلا is therefore not to be read as the Arabic singular *maṭla*, but as the Syro-Aramaic plural ܡܬܠܐ / maṭla (with an *imāla* to the ܐ / *y*).

Furthermore, we find a similar final ܚ in the plural of ساَد (sāgid) (< Syro-Aramaic ܣܟ / sāged), whose unusual Classical Arabic plural formation سَد (sugād) (occurring 11 times in the Koran in Sura 2:58, 4:154, 7:161, 12:100, 16:48, 17:107, 19:58, 20:70, 25:64, 32:15, and 48:29) again turns out to be a transliteration of the Syro-Aramaic plural form ܣܟ (sāged). The Koranic spelling سَد is thus to be pronounced
not suḡğad"n, but in conformity with the common pronunciation of vernacular Arabic: sāḡdē (= ساجدين / sāḡidīn > sāḡdīn). 50

Sura 6:146

Another example is provided to us by الحويا (al-hawāyā) (Sura 6:146), a reading that is considered uncertain, 51 but whose meaning (innards) has been correctly suspected even though the ح in it (whose form in the early Koran manuscripts corresponds initially to the Syro-Aramaic ح / g) has been misread as an Arabic ح / h. As a transliteration of the Syro-Aramaic plural حويا (gawwāyē > gwāyē), 52 الحويا should read – based on the Syro-Aramaic expression – الحويا / al-gawwāyē.

Here, in accordance with the original Syro-Aramaic pronunciation, one can also assume that the ending (with an imāla to the ی / y) was probably pronounced al-gawwāyē, especially since this expression is neither traditional in Arabic nor correctly recognized in the Koran itself. On closer examination of the two readings, one discovers first of all that the Lisān (XIV 209b), referring to this passage in the Koran and citing al-Farrā' (761–822), explains الحويا (hawāyā) in the same way as Tābarī (VIII 75f.), who quotes thirteen authorities for the meaning “intestine, large intestine.” What is surprising in this is that under the root جوا (gawā) the Lisān (XIV 157b) has exactly the meaning that coincides with the here correct Syro-Aramaic meaning. This is how it explains it: وجوج...

50 Some critics, who, in accordance with post-Koranic Classical Arabic grammar, take this plural form as genuinely Arabic, generally overlook the historical-linguistic environment in which the Koranic text came into being. More details to this plural will follow in a next study.

51 Rudi Paret, Kommentar [Commentary], at the conclusion of his remarks on Sura 6:146: “The interpretation of the expression hawāyā is uncertain.”

52 Thes. (1 667) gives under حويا (gawwāyē): حويا (haddāmē barrāyē w-gawwāyē) membra externa et interna (the external and internal extremities / organs); and on page 668 under gwāyē: (1) id quod in ius est, viscera, intestina (that which is inside, intestines, inner organs), (from the Syrian lexicographers): جوف: بطن. احشاء. داخل ما في الجو، البطن: (gwāyē) viscera (intestines), (kēhā ḡa-ḡwāyē) (gastric complaint, dysentery).
There can be no doubt that the *Lisān*, with the masculine ُجو (gaww) and the feminine-looking ُجوة (gawwa'), is reproducing nothing more than one and the same Syro-Aramaic masculine form, once in the *status absolu tus* or *constructus* (gaw), and another time as the phonetic transcription of the *status emphaticus* (gawwâ), whereby in this case the Arabic final ُا (a') is to be pronounced as ُا insofar as it is taking on the function of a *mater lectionis* in the place of the Syro-Aramaic final ُ/â. The later Koran readers were no longer aware that this final ُ was originally thought of as a final ُ /h = ُ to mark a *status emphaticus*, as this is also the case in Biblical Aramaic ⁵³ and Jewish Aramaic. ⁵⁴

Only after introduction of the post-Koranic Classical Arabic grammar was this final ُ /h misinterpreted as a feminine ending (ُ/ ُmarbûta, which is considered a special symbol in the Arabic alphabet) and provided with the two originally lacking dots of the actual ُ/t, which on the other hand suggests an adaptation of the graphically similar-looking Aramaic (or Hebrew) letters ُ and ُ as variants for designating the feminine ending of the Hebrew *status absolu tus* or *constructus* (see for example ُ gnâ / ُ ginnât or gnâ ⁵⁵).

Carl Brockelmann has already drawn attention to this parallel and to the Koranic spelling of the feminine ending with ُ in the *status constructus*, e.g. نعمة الله *nimâtu l-lâh* “the blessing of God”) (cf. Carl Brockelmann, *Arabische Grammatik* [Leipzig, 1960] 81, §66a, note). This becomes even clearer on the example in the Koran of

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⁵³ Franz Rosenthal, *A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic* (Wiesbaden, 1963) 8 (5): "may be used as vowel letters (par. 10). ن and نر are used for final ُ or ُ, ُ for ُ or ُ, and ُ for ُ and ُ. Final ُ, which occurs very rarely, is indicated by ُ.

the alternating feminine ending – at times in ة (actually ه / ه = a), at other times in ت / ات – of جنة (ganna) (garden, paradise) and جنت (gannat), respectively, which the later Arabic readers took to be a plural form and read as جنات (gannat). Insofar as it is here a question of paradise, the word in Syro-Aramaic is always in the singular, namely in the combination جنَت عدن (11 times in the Koran, according to the modern reading: جنَت عدن (ganna t’aden) (the Garden of Eden = Paradise; Thes. I 743).

Even in the remaining genitive combinations جنَت (gannat) is always to be understood as singular. On the other hand, determined with the Arabic article al- and probably to be pronounced with a pausal ending, الجنة (al-ganna) is clearly in the singular in 52 passages in the Koran, but understood as plural الجنات (al-gannat) in one single passage (Sura 42:22). Perhaps it is as a result of an inconsistently executed orthographic reform and of a misunderstood text that جنَت (to be read gannat) appears correctly in the Koran 18 times in the status constructus, whereas جنَة ganna(t) appears in this function at least five times (presumably because the later writers of Arabic could no longer comprehend the real meaning of these variants).56

Namely, there is otherwise no way to explain to what extent the sound ه / ه, which is a component of the Arabic alphabet, can also function both as a final ت, primarily in designating a feminine ending, and for certain masculine endings in singular and plural. Hence we must assume that originally words ة / ه in the Koran that ended in a ه (a) ه – later spelled with two dots as ة (a) ت – were as such indeclinable, as the alternating orthography of جنَت (ganna) / جنَت (gannat), لعنة (la‘na) / لعنة (la‘naa), نعمة (nu‘ma) / نعمة (ni‘mat) suggests.

This is best illustrated on the example of a well-known Arabic term taken up with the masculine Syro-Aramaic emphatic ending ا: الخليفة

halfa(tu), which in English is correctly translated by the caliph. Namely, if one reads the Arabic case ending, e.g. in the nominative al-halfa-tu, it would be like saying “the caliphette (female)” in English. At the same time, خليفه (actually خليفه, without the points over the ك, or خليفه halfa) is nothing other than the phonetic transcription of the Syro-Aramaic substantivized masculine passive participle *سلمخ (hîn) (he who is put in the place of, substitute, deputy, successor), i.e. a status emphaticus with a final a, which is not common in Arabic. Later on, this was misunderstood as a pausal pronunciation of the feminine ending at and the word was additionally provided with the Arabic article al. The Arabic خ / h in خليفه renders mirely the vernacular Eastern Syriac pronunciation of the ح (h > h).

Furthermore, one encounters similar Syro-Aramaicisms in such still commonly used expressions as طاغية / tagiya(tun) (< Syro-Aramaic ضاغ / tấyâ / misled, led astray, in Arabic with secondary گ, misunderstood as “tyrant,” in addition to the Arabic correct active participle طاغ / tâg / 57), as well as in such analogous formations as علامة / ُاللامة(a(n outstanding scholar, an “authority”), داهية / dâhiya(tun) (a shrewd, cunning person), whose apparently feminine ending is explained by the Arab philologists المبالغة as a mark of “exaggeration, emphasis.”

This misinterpretation is also given by Carl Brockelmann in his Arabische Grammatik [Arabic Grammar] (loc. cit. 82, § 66c): “The feminine ending … (also) serves as a mark of emphasis, e.g. علامة (ُاللامة)‘a know-it-all’ from the adjective علام (ُاللامة), § 55a.” Brockelmann, however, will surely have been aware that this supposedly feminine ending, pausally pronounced, is nothing other than the reproduction of the Aramaic emphatic ending a, which here has nothing to do

57 The same Aramaic root tâ was borrowed twice into Arabic, firstly as the above-mentioned taga with the secondary sound correspondence ُاو / گ, and secondly as the semantically corresponding root da’a with sonorization of the first radical, possibly due to its unaspirated articulation. This latter phenomenon has hitherto been overlooked by scholars dealing with Semitic linguistics and will be treated in more detail in a later publication. The semantic identity of Arabic da’a and Aramaic tâ is a strong argument against the interpretation as “tyrant.”
either with the *feminine* or with an *emphasis*, but which has nevertheless been interpreted by the Arabic grammarians, in ignorance of Syro-Aramaic, as such a marker. The same applies to his concluding remark: “Such forms are sometimes also applied to persons, as in راويةُ (rāwiya‘), *‘traditional’*; خليفةُ (halīfā‘) *‘deputy, successor’*.”

Also deserving of further attention is the reference to § 55a (Arabische Grammatik [Arabic Grammar] 68) in which Brockelmann says the following about these “emphasizing forms”: “فعلُ (fā‘al) intensive form of فعلٌ (fā‘il) and other verbal adjectives, e.g. كاذِبُ (kaddāb) ‘lying’; this form can derive tradesman names from *nomina*, e.g. خباز (habbaz) ‘baker’ from خبز (hubz) ‘bread’.” Brockelmann himself shows that he was well aware that these forms were Syro-Aramaisms in his Syrische Grammatik [Syriac Grammar] 70, § 131, where he explains *nominal stem formations* of the type qattāl as intensive adjectives and vocational names for the most part from pe‘al. 58

In the canonical version of the Koran, once كاذبة (kādība‘) occurs (Sura 56:2) and another time كاذبة (kādība‘) (Sura 96:16), each read with a hypercorrect feminine and case ending. In Syro-Aramaic, however, both passages are to be read, as above, as كاذب (kaddāb) and كاذب (kādīb), respectively, in the sense of “liar,” but Syro-Aramaic in the modern Arabic understanding of كاذب / mukaddāb “denier.”

In individual instances the final ه / h was presumably also used to designate the Syro-Aramaic plural ending ي، as is made clear, for example, in the orthography of سفرُ (Sura 80:15) = (ṣāḥib) (writer), but especially in the plural form of *angel* / ملك / malākē (68 times in the Koran). One can see from both cases that the final ه / h is not meant as a final ي / t but as a final ي. Since both endings are borrowed from Syro-Aramaic, the reading with the case vowel (سفره / safarā‘ or الملكة / al-malā‘ika‘ / ti‘ / ti‘a ) can hardly be based on a certain Arabic tra-

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58 Cf. also in this regard Th. Nöldeke in his *Syrische Grammatik* [Syriac Grammar] 70, § 115, where he says concerning these forms as *nomina agentis* that they belong to verbs of the simple stem *peal* and of the doubling stem *pael*, e.g. كاذب (kaddāb) (> كاذب / kaddāb‘).
dition, whereas the Syro-Aramaic expression is attested in both cases, in the latter even, among other places, in the modern Arabic of the Near East (ملكه / malāykē).

Excursus: On the Morphology of ملائكة (malʾīka = malāykē)

This word, which has been identified in Western Koranic research as a foreign word, is most likely borrowed from Aramaic. The grammatical form of the singular already makes this clear: Arabic malāk is namely nothing other than the pausal form of the Syro-Aramaic substantivized passive participle malāḵā. Here, the lengthening of the central ā results, after the dropping of the original central hamza (*malaʾāk), from the combination of the two consecutive short a. If this root were originally Arabic, the passive participial form of the IVth Arabic verbal stem would have to be mulʾak and not malʾak (like mursal and not marsal).

Meanwhile, the final h in the Koranic plural form malāykē orthographically reproduces the Aramaic plural ending ē. This Aramaic final h, which was falsely provided with two diacritical points and misinterpreted as tāʾ marbūṭa by later Arabic philologists, has nothing to do with the final t of the corresponding Ethiopic plural form. That this final h before a personal suffix (as in ملائكته / malāykatuḥu / malāʾikatuḥu, Sura 2:98,285; 4:136; 33:43,56) (or in status constructus) is nevertheless realized as t, occurs by analogy to the feminine ending, from which the Arabic linguistic consciousness no longer differentiates the phonetically homonymous Aramaic plural ending (nor likewise the masculine Aramaic status emphaticus). The Lisān (XIII, 134b) gives us an example of the latter case with the masculine name طلحة / Tālhā, whose final h is transformed into a t (of the “feminine”) before a personal suffix, so that

one has: 

This / hāda Ṭalḥatūnā, this is our Ṭalḥa(t). Until now, however, no one in Arabistics or Semitistics has investigated how the central y lacking in the Syro-Aramaic plural form malāḵē and inserted in the Arabic malāyḵē comes into being.

The most plausible explanation seems to be the following: According to the more recent Arabic feel for language, the unaltered adoption of the Syro-Aramaic plural form ملاكة / malakē would in Arabic be felt to be the feminine singular of the masculine form ملاك / malak. To avoid this, the Arabic feel for language looked for an analogy in the system of Arabic plural formation and found one in the pattern of the substantivized passive participle faʿīl, which forms the plural in Classical Arabic as faʿā il( but actually as faʿāyel).

The Lisān (X, 481b f.), which correctly gives the root of malak under لاک / laʾaka, also confirms this explanation by stating (482a, 2 f): "the plural is malāʾika (actually, however, malāykē), one (at first) formed the plural perfectly (i.e. correctly) (namely malāʾīk) and then added the h to it as sign of the feminine (namely malāykē)." From this one sees that the Arabic philologists were unable to explain to themselves this Syro-Aramaic final h, which marks a masculine plural ending, any other way than as a characteristic feature of the feminine, which is out of the question here.

To sum up: If J. Barth (op. cit., 483) characterizes this final h in foreign words in Arabic as compensation, for which, among others, he cites ملاكة / malāʾika (malāykhē), it must be said that it is not this final h, which in current Arabic usage is correctly received as an Aramaic plural ending, but the inserted medial y that serves as a compensatory element for the clarification of the Arabic plural form.

We thus have a typical mixed form composed of elements (a) of the primary Aramaic, and (b) of the secondary Arabic plural formation.61

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60 The Lisān cites actually this plural form under the root ملك / malak (X 496a -6) and refers here to a verse of Umayya b. Abī ṣ-Salt.

61 J. Barth comes fairly close to this explanation when he notes in connection with the formation of such double plurals arising from mixed forms in Arabic and Ethiopic (loc. cit. 483): "Both languages often form new plurals on the basis of broken plurals. The process of these formations is then once again subject to the
This is only one example for many critics who uncritically, in terms of philology and history of language, take traditional erroneous notions as their starting point. Further explanations relating to Koranic orthography and morphology follow elsewhere.

To be added, then, to the final ُ/h as a rendering of the Aramaic emphatic ending ِ/ā as the final ٌ/ā as the regular emphatic ending in Syro-Aramaic. This final ِ/-ā, which in Arabic, in contrast to the earlier Aramaic, marks the indetermination of nouns, adjectives and participles exclusively in the accusative (but remarkably does not appear on a ُ/-t or ِ/-t suffix), has in many passages of the Koran been interpreted as accusative under its various grammatical aspects (such as حَالٌ / ḥāl “accusative of condition,” تمييز / tamyīz “accusative of specification,” etc.) in terms of the later Arabic grammar. But in some Koran passages this

formal rules of the normal plural formation. The individual form belongs in the Arab(ic) and Eth(opic) grammar.”

One must add here that in the case of مَلائِكَة / malāʾika (= malāʾykat) one ought not to take as one’s starting point the secondary Arabic broken plural, but instead the regular Syro-Aramaic plural. There thus subsequently arose, for the reasons presented, out of an originally regular external Syro-Aramaic plural an internal (broken) Arabic plural, which resulted in a new type of Arabic plural. The further extent to which Aramaic has contributed to the variety of Arabic plural formation will be examined in a forthcoming essay. Moreover, on this example the deficit of a linguistic-historical grammar of Classical Arabic becomes apparent.

62 Typical in this respect is the account mentioned by K. Vollers (Volkssprache und Schriftsprache [Vernacular and Written Language] 183) concerning ʿIsā b. ʿOmar (d. 149 H.), who as a “reformer” of the grammar (of Nāḥiyy) was said to have had a conspicuous preference for the accusative. This funny remark is in reality significant, for it confirms to a certain extent the suspicion that the Arabic “accusative ending” in ِ/ā as a sign of indetermination is in the end nothing other than a substratum of the Syro-Aramaic emphatic ending, which at the origins of written Arabic had already lost its originally determining function. As a sign of indetermination it therefore presented itself to the early Arab grammarians as an alternative to the determining Arabic particle ُال / aḥ, which in turn confirms the hypothesis that originally it was probably Christian Arabs of Syria and Mesopotamia who, as the originators of written Arabic, imported elements of their Syro-Aramaic cultural language into the so-called Classical Arabic.
final /a occurs in such disharmony to the Arabic syntax that as an Arabist one is compelled to view it as faulty Arabic. Theodor Nöldeke, for example, expresses his surprise as follows in the second part of his chapter, "Zur Sprache des Koräns – II. Stilistische und syntaktische Eigentümlichkeiten der Sprache des Koräns [On the Language of the Koran – II. Stylistic and Syntactic Peculiarities of the Language of the Koran]" in his Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft [New Essays on Semitic Linguistics] (Strasbourg, 1910), page 11:

In Sura 6:162 is quite rough, since following the construction of the accusative with the accusative [note 2: are not, as one might think, accusatives of state or condition]; then comes an accusative of state and a clause of state to the effect that he (Abraham) was a righteous (man), no idola-

Here Nöldeke is right to draw attention to the fact that in the case of دِينَ (dīnā) and مَلِّي (milla) it is not a question, as some have thought, of an accusative of state. In other words, his point is that the accusative ending here (instead of the expected genitive) is in obvious contradiction to the rules of Classical Arabic grammar. Nöldeke, however, surely must have been able to recognize that what we have here is not incorrect Arabic, but correct Syro-Aramaic. Namely, if one compares the Koranic spelling with the Syro-Aramaic equivalents دِينَ (dīnā) qayyāmā = permanent, constant – in this context: straight precept or rule), it becomes clear that here the Arabic ending is a faithful render-

63 Thes. II 3532: (qayyām), (qayyāmā) (1) permanens, durans. Now one could dispute the etymology of Arabic دِينَ (dīn < Syro-Aramaic دِينَ / dīnā. C. Brockelmann (Lexicon Syriacum) lists the word under two forms with the following information: (a) (145a ult. f.): "(dīnā) (AR [dialectis aramaeis commune], ut h. 77 ex acc. dēnu, dīnu = ar. دَينُ, 8th. dāin, min. qat. 177, Jens., acc. e sum. dī? Haupt ZDMG 63 506, Zimm 23); (b) (151b 5): (pers. dāna, dīn ex elam. dēn e bab. dēnu Jens in Horn Grundr p. 133 n 2) religio..." Yet the Persian form daena with the diphthong ae, as preserved in Arabic dayn (loan, debt, the reimbursing of which is an obligation, right and
ing of the Syro-Aramaic *status emphaticus*, which is the reason this ending as such cannot be inflected. Therefore, in this respect it is not to be understood as a sign of the accusative, but rather the word here is grammatically in the genitive, which is why the next word, standing in apposition to it, ميمة (milla), must likewise be in the genitive and not, as the modern Koran reads, in the accusative (millaُ). Yet here too the case vowel is actually superfluous since ميمة (milla), as a loanword from Syro-Aramaic ميام (mellā) in the *status constructus*, was in all probability pronounced ميمة أبراهيم / millat Abrāhām (and not Ibrāhīm)⁶⁴—corresponding to the Syro-Aramaic ميام / mellat Abrāhām.⁶⁵

proper), and the Aramaic emphatic ending, points rather to a borrowing from the Semitic. In the Koranic context دينا قيمه (dīnān qayyīmān = dīnā qayyāmā) is, in imitation of صراط مستقيم (ṣirāt mustaqīm), rather to be understood in Arabic in the sense of دين قومي (qawīm) or مستقيم (mustaqīm) (straight, proper and lawful conduct).

⁶⁴ On the meaning of the originally unpointed letter carrier intimated as a little peak in the Koran (here read as ры instead of ى), see below p. 72 ff.

⁶⁵ Under the meanings of the Syro-Aramaic ميام (mellā) (whose basic meaning is “word”) Mannā, 400a, cites in Arabic under (3): شريعة . ميثاق . عهد (ṣarī‘a, mīqaq, ‘ahd) (law, alliance, covenant). Thus, what must be meant is the *covenant* that, according to Gen. 17:2 ff., God (El Schaddai) entered into with Abraham, but actually the word that He gave him. Whence the meaning *word = covenant*. As a Syro-Aramaic loanword ميمنة (milla) was not correctly understood in Arabic and was interpreted as everything from “faith” and “religious sect” to “nation.” Mannā, 142b, also explains سنة . شريعة (سنة, ُسُرِّا) (law, rule, precept) and (9): دين . مذهب . عقيدة (دين, madhhab, ‘aqīda) (religion, confession, belief) with a synonymous meaning. The latter is late in Arabic (cf. C. Brockelmann, Lexicon Syriacum, 145a ult., who refers to Accadian دین, دین). In the *Psitta* the expression in Gen. 17:2 is ميمنة (qūmā) “covenant”. We encounter this term in the Koran in Sura 5:97:

جَعَلَ الله الكعبة البيت الحرام قيماً للناس

Our Koran translators have understood this expression (قيماً < Syro-Aramaic ميمنة / qūmā) as follows: (Paret 99): „Gott hat die Ka‘ba, das heilige Haus zum Unterhalt (?) [W (literally): Bestand (qūmā)] für die Menschen gemacht,...“. (Blachère 147): «Allah a institué la Kaaba, Temple Sacré se dressant (?) pour les hommes,...» [note 97: *La nourriture qui s’y trouve. Text.: et sa nourriture.]. (Bell I 108): 98a. "Allah hath appointed the Ka‘ba, the Sacred House, as a standing (institution) for the people,...".
As concerns the attribute حنيف (hanīfā), in whose ending the Arabic Koran readers saw an accusative of condition – similarly puzzling to Nöldeke – this again has nothing to do with the Arabic accusative; on the contrary, it is a question here too of the Syro-Aramaic status emphaticus ساحب (hanpā), whose ending in this case is a sign of determination: ساحب (hanpā) = حنيف (al-hanīf) (and not, as in the Arabic reading, حنيفا / hanīfā").

On the Meaning of حنيف (hanīf)

In accordance with the Syro-Aramaic meaning of ساحب (hanpā)66 (heathen), the expression is to be understood as an epithet for Abraham. As a rendering of ساحب (Abraham hanpā), this could be translated into what today is considered the correct Arabic form, شهر حنيفا, or roughly شهر الـ حنيف (Ibrāhīm al-hanīf = Abraham the heathen). The fact that in the Koran this expression is regularly in the Arabic accusative proves precisely that it had been taken up in its Syro-Aramaic form and become an established epithet for Abraham. But what is meant by this epithet, “the heathen,” is that Abraham, who actually was a heathen, believed precisely as such in the one God. It is also thanks to this special merit that heathen as Abraham’s epithet has acquired a positive significance, so that in the later Islam it was interpreted as an attribute of Abraham in the sense of “being of pure faith.”

Already the Koran transfers this epithet to the “faith” itself (actually the rule of conduct, the guiding principle) when it says in Sura 30:30: فآقام وجهد للدين حنيفا “so turn (unswervingly) to the hanīf faith (actually

With his epithet (institution) Bell has approximately guessed the conjectured sense; with “standing,” however, he has understood the word qiyām it itself according to its meaning in Arabic. For it is only the Syro-Aramaic meaning مسح (qyāmā) “covenant” that lends the verse its real intent: “God has made the Ka’ba, the sacred house, as a covenant for the people.”

66 Thes. I 1322. Grammatically this form is an early passive participle of the first stem pa’al which is still preserved in a number of Syro-Aramaic adjectives and substantives, whereas the Koranic form حنيف / hanīf accords with the Syro-Aramaic paradigm of the regular formation of passive participles of the same stem.
to the ‘heathen’ rule of conduct = to the guiding principle of Abraham the ‘heathen’). Here too حنيفاً (hanīfa’) is not an Arabic accusative of condition (“turn ... as a hanif”), as it has been misinterpreted, among others by the Koran translators, in accordance with the Arabic idea. What is therefore of importance here in terms of the history of religion is the observation that the Arabicized form الدين الحنيف (al-dīn al-hanīf) (actually “the heathen rule of conduct”) has been reinterpreted positively and has become the epitome of the “pure faith,” the “true religion.”

Nöldeke had already correctly traced the Arabic حنيف (hanīf) back to the Syro-Aramaic حنیف (hanīf) “heathen.” Still, in terms of its Kuranic usage (loc. cit. 30), he says the following:

“It is difficult to say, however, how the other meanings emerged from this original meaning. One must consider, though, that the naïve Arab heathens had no idea of the nature of other religions and thus could easily have misunderstood and falsely employed such expressions.”

But the fact that the Koran consciously links this term with Abraham can be inferred from the stereotypical clause that comes after Abraham’s epithet, the “heathen” حنيفاً (Suras 2:135; 3:67,95; 6:161 and 16:120, وما كان من المشركين: 123). Now if this appositive is translated literally, “and he was not one of the idolaters,” one has here missed the connection with hanīf, “heathen.” For in reality, this subordinate clause conceals within itself a contradiction to the appositive “heathen.” This only becomes clear, however, when one takes an adversative function as the basis for the introductory conjunction و / wa; only then is the sentence given its correct meaning. With regard to Abraham, who was a “heathen,” this additional clause then says, “he was (as a heathen) nonetheless not an idolater!” Therefore what is meant is: Abraham was indeed (by birth) a heathen, but he was no idolater!

The idea that Abraham as a heathen already believed in God and was therefore no longer an idolater is pre-Koranic and we encounter it in a similar way in Saint Paul. In his Epistle to the Romans (4:9–12) Abraham’s faith was already imputed to Abraham before the circumcision
(hence when he was still a heathen). Through this he is said to have become the father of all those who as the uncircumcised (and thus as heathens) believe.

Koranic Arabic and Koranic Aramaic

As someone thoroughly familiar with Syro-Aramaic, Nöldeke ought surely to have been able to recognize the nature of the Koranic language, had he only expressed himself as follows, during the controversy over the language of the Koran initiated by Karl Vollers, on the side of the advocates of the ʿArabīya (the classical Arabic language):

“And thus it remains that the Koran was written in the ʿArabīja, a language whose area was broad and which naturally exhibited many dialectal dissimilarities. Such are also reflected in the Koranic readings, and such have also been preserved, unchanged or transformed, in modern dialects.” (ibid. 5)

The fact, however, that in the case of these dissimilarities it is a question not only of dialectal variants of the Arabic language, but in particular of borrowings from the civilized Aramaic language nearby, is evidenced by many further features in the Koran. Precisely this final ʿ/ʿā, which evoked surprise in Nöldeke, is especially striking. So, for example, in Sura 2:26 and 74:31 it says ʿما أراد الله بهذا مثلا “(But) what does God aim at with this parable.” According to the Arabic understanding “parable” is in the accusative of specification demanded by its final ʿ/ʿā. Accordingly the verse is then understood: “(But) what does God aim at with that as parable.”

It should no longer come as a surprise that the Koran frequently combines grammatical forms of Arabic and Syro-Aramaic, since at the time the Koran originated Syro-Aramaic was the most widespread written language of a civilized people in the Orient, and there was still no Arabic grammar. The extent to which the Koran follows different rules than those of the subsequent grammar of so-called Classical Arabic is demonstrated by another example in which the number twelve is not fol-
lowed by a singular – as it would normally be according to the rules of Arabic – but by a plural. For example, it is said in Sura 7:160: وَقَطَعْنِهِمُ الْثَّنَى عَشْرَةِ اسْبَاطًا (wa-qattā‘nāhum ʿīnatay ʿāsrata ʿasbātān) “And we divided them into twelve tribes”, instead of the Arabic اثني عشر سبطًا (ʿīnay ʿāšara sibtān) twelve tribe. This, too, would be characterized as false according to the rules of Arabic, but as fully correct according to the rules of Syro-Aramaic.\(^{67}\)

Moreover, this raises the question as to whether in this case the ʿ/ -an ending, explained as a kind of accusative of specification according to the rules of Arabic, does not come instead from a Syro-Aramaic plural ending in ʾā. This, because the Arabic rule, according to which the nouns following numbers between eleven and ninety-nine must be (a) in the singular and (b) in the accusative, is not exactly logical. A more logical explanation would be that such a phenomenon interpreted formally in Arabic as a singular with an accusative ending was originally a Syro-Aramaic plural ending. This, in turn, would mean that the Arabic explanation is secondary and not at all classical. A similar case would be the singular prescribed in Arabic after the number one hundred, which is contradicted by the plural following the number three hundred in Sura 18:25 (ثلث مائة سنوات), although an attempt has been made with the current Koran reading tālāt miʿāthin sinīna to uncouple the number three hundred from “years” and to suggest the reading “in years” in order to cover up this Arabic irregularity, which in reality is perfectly correct Syro-Aramaic.

The same is true for the phoneme ʾā, which is lacking in Classical Arabic, but documented in the Koran. On this Nöldeke remarks:

“This spelling of the ʾā with ʾā is opposed to another, limited to a few specific words, with ʿā. Since the grammarians expressly remark that the pronunciation of the Ḥīḡāz (Hijaz) in these words is broader (تفخيم ، تغلب) and tends toward the ʿā (imāla nahl al-wāw), we have to assume that the vowel here was pronounced

\(^{67}\) See Th. Nöldeke, Kurzgefasste syrische Grammatik [Compendious Syriac Grammar], with an appendix prepared by Anton Schall (Darmstadt, 1977), 95, §§ 151, 152.
These words are: زَكَرَة، صُلْوَة [Footnote 2: In both these words the vowel is probably influenced by the vowel of the Aramaic original forms Zeilah, Ḥov (Schwally); cf. Nödeke, _Neue Beiträge (New Essays)_ 25, 29; مشكورة، حِبْوَة Sura 24:35 [Footnote 3: Ethiopic maskōt (actually maskōt is more likely), Nödeke, _Neue Beiträge (New Essays)_ 51]; نجوة Sura 40:44 and منة Sura 53:20 [Footnote 4: Also Nabatean Ḥawā (Schwally)], as well as الرِّبَا [Footnote 5: Sura 30:38 has transmitted many a رُبَا (the only passage with nunation, cf. p. 38 above)]. Here the spelling with و applies only if the word is without a suffix, whereas with the addition of a suffix the vowel is indicated by 1 or is written defectively."

As cited here by Nödeke, these words, in which the و according to Arabic tradition was probably originally pronounced as ِ, do not exhaust the other examples that occur in the Koran. To be mentioned would be formations based on the Syro-Aramaic type pāʾḏā, which Nödeke himself defines as follows in his _Syriac grammar_ (op. cit., 68, § 107):

“The _nomina agentis_ can be formed with a on the basis of the 2nd root from any active participle of the simple verbal stem (Peal):

- ّتَلا (qāṭāla) “murderer,” َتَمَ (qāyāmā), َتَأَ (gālā-yā), etc.”

Accordingly, سجود, which in four passages is intended as an infinitive (Sura 48:29, 50:40, and 68:42,43), should in two other passages be understood as a rendering of the plural form of the Syro-Aramaic _nomen agentis_ َتَمَ (sāgdā) (without the emphatic ending) (Sura 2:125: للطائفين والقائمين والركع and Sura 22:26: للطائفين والركع السجود). The meaning “those who prostrate themselves” for سجود is

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clear from the context of the two passages. The fact that the *Lisan* (III 204a) gives for the active participle ساجد (sāǧid) (= ساجدة / sāǧda) both سجاد (sugād) (= سجاد / sāǧad) and سجود (sugād) (= سجدة / sāǧde) as plural forms is with certainty traceable to these unrecognized Koranic Syriacisms. These uncommon, arbitrarily vocalized and odd-sounding plural formations have also never been accepted in Arabic usage. The plural form سجداً (sūgāda‘) occurring in eleven passages in the Koran is obviously the transliteration of سجدة (sāǧde), which again gives us an indication of the pronunciation ꙸ for certain endings that come from Syro-Aramaic plural forms. By comparison, in eleven other passages the Koran uses the correct and today still common Arabic plural forms, الساجدون (as-sāǧidin) (once) and الساجدين (as-sāǧidin) (ten times).

Another expression corresponding to the سماح (qāyōmā) cited above by Nöldeke as an example of the type پَرْدُ (Sura 2:255, 3:2 and 20:111), vocalized al-qayyūm in the modern Koran, but in Syro-Aramaic qāyōma69 and thus to be read al-qāyōm in Arabic.

To these *nomina agentis* Nöldeke (op. cit. §107) adds a few substantives such as يارِير (yārārā) “jackal” and پَرْدُ / pāderā “table.” This, in turn, gives us a clue towards clarifying a substantive, herefore considered a puzzle, which occurs in the Koran in Sura 74:51, قسورة, and which in the modern Koran is read qaswara.

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69 Karl Ahrens, *Christliches im Quran* [Christian Elements in the Koran], ZDMG 84, new series, vol. 9 (1930): 44, refers here to Dan. 6:27. In the corresponding passage of the *Pšiḥa*, سماح / qayyām is in the *status absolutus* and is used verbally, سماح لام (qayyām l-ālmīn): “(he is) existent = he exists for ever.” In the Koran passage in question, القيم is attributive and corresponds orthographically to the form سماح / qayyomā. Although this expression is usually used as a substantive (in the sense of head, administrator), the Thes. (II 3532) also refers to the Eastern Syrian lexicographers, who, among other things, cite as its Arabic equivalent قائم، ثابت (qā‘im, tabīt). Whence the meaning “he who is living, he who is constant” (i.e. he who is constantly living) for الحي القيم (al-ḥayy al-qayyūm / al-qāyōm).
Sura 74:51

In context, the verses 49 to 51 say:

فما لهم عن الذكرية معرضين / كانهم حمر مستنفرة / فرث من قسورة

In this connection, the disputed word *gaswara* has been understood by our translators as follows:

(Bell II 619): 50. “What is the matter with them that they from the reminder turn away; 51. As if they were startled asses fleeing from a *lion*?”

(Paret 490): 49: “Warum wenden sie [Note: D.h. die Ungläubigen] sich von der Erinnerung [Note: D.h. von der mahnenden Botschaft des Korans] ab, 50: (scheu) wie aufgeschreckte (Wild-)esel, 51: die vor einem *mächtigen* (Löwen) fliehen?”

(Blachère 625): 49 “Qu’ont-ils eu à se détourner du Rappel (*tagkîra*) 50 comme des onagres effarés 51 qui ont fui devant un *lion*?”

For *قسورة* (*gaswara*), Jeffery (*Foreign Vocabulary* 31 f.) first refers to *Tabari* who on the basis of a tradition going back to Ibn ʿAbbās explains the word as *Ethiopic* in the meaning of “*lion*.” A check of the lexicons, however, shows that there is nothing of the kind in either Aramaic or Ethiopian. Examining the problem in more detail, he continues (35 f.):

A word like *قسورة* in lxxiv, 51, is a puzzle at the present day, so that it is no wonder if it gave some trouble to the early exegetes. It is usually taken to mean *lion*, and as-*Suyūṭī* quotes authorities for its being an Abyssinian word. There is no such word, however, in Ethiopic or any of the later Abyssinian dialects... As far as one can see there is nothing in any of the other languages to help us out, and perhaps the simplest solution is to consider it as a formation from *قسر* (*qasara*), though the great variety of opinions
on the word given by the early authorities makes its Arabic origin very doubtful.

In any event, on this point Jeffery is right, for the word is Syro-Aramaic, appearing in the Thes. (II 3681) under the variant וְשָׁרָא (qusrā) and explained by the East Syrian lexicographers as “asinus decrepitus” (“an ass that is decrepit, wasting away”):

(�סינוס_Decrepitus.qusra:łemara sāhā d-lā m-saybar ṭa’nā), (Arabic): حمار هرم ما يحمل (an old ass that is incapable of carrying loads).

It thus turns out that the word is a dialectal form of the actual root قصر (qasura “to be incapable, to not be able,” as opposed to قس / qasara “to force, to compel”). Under this root the Thes. (II 3707) again gives the expression as an additional variant, accompanied by the same explanation from the Eastern Syrian lexicographers.

70 Interestingly, the Lisān (V 104b) refers to the inhabitants of Basra, who are said to have called an outcast ابن قصوره (ibn qawṣara, but actually ibn qusrā). Ibn Durayd, however, considers the expression non-Arabic (لا أحدت عربية). In fact, pronounced וְשָׁרָא / qusrā, it is still used today contemptuously in the sense of “failure, incapable” in New Eastern Syriac dialects (e.g. among the TYAR in Iraq).

Finally, it should be mentioned that the Koranic spelling قصوره (qasūrā) can denote an early Aramaic form of passive participle as explained by Th. Noldeke in his Syrische Grammatik [Syriac Grammar] (p. 69):

“With a short vowel of the first and ̀ (o) of the second radical” (§ 113): “The short vowel was a (more often in adjectives) or u (more often in abstractions). Between ̀ and o no specific difference seems to exist; a (o) is presumably secondarily tinted from a (u) (– or vice versa). A small number of them have the sense of a passive participle (as in Hebrew): מַעָלֵב (rhmēlā) “beloved,” f. מַעָלֵב (rhmēlēb); מַעָלֵב (smūlā) “hated” מַעָלֵב (smūlēb) “unloved wife”; ... מַעָלֵב (šmuēlā) “rumor”; ... מַעָלֵב (lḥūsā) “garment”; etc.

Forms of passive participles like these also occur in a few examples in the Koran, e.g.: رسول (rasīl) “sent = messenger,” طهور (tahūr) “purified = pure” – as in Sura 25:48, and We have sent down from the heaven pure water (وعندنا من السماء طهورا, and Sura 76:21, and their Lord will give them to drink a pure beverage), where the passive sense of طهورا (tahūrā) (purified) appears clearly in comparison with the passive participle of

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and the corresponding Latin translation: قُسُور (qusurā): *asinus e senectute decrepitus qui onus sustinere non possit* (an old, exhausted ass incapable of carrying a burden).

Now, if the Syro-Aramaic – perhaps metathetically created – dialectal variant exemplifies the genuine meaning of the Koranic expression, it can be noted in favor of the Koranic form قُسُور that the Koran has preserved the more classical Syro-Aramaic form. Namely, this coincides exactly with the *nomina agentis* described above by Nöldeke. Thus, according to the basic form قُسُور is not to be read as qaswara, as it has been read until now, but as qasūrā.

As to the meaning of this expression in the Koranic context, it can be said that the comparison to a frightened ass, in referring to those who turn away from the Koranic admonition, is explainable in two ways: (a) either one runs away from something that represents a real danger (say, from a lion – and that would be logical), or (b) one runs away from something which by its very nature cannot involve a threat. The latter is here the case. With this metaphor the Koran wants to say that there is nothing frightening about its admonition. It therefore compares those who nevertheless turn away from it in fright to asses who let themselves be scared away, not, say, by an intimidating lion, indeed not even by a normal ass like themselves, but of all things by a hoary, feeble and decrepit ass about which there is no longer anything threatening at all.⁷¹

Concerning the term أحرف (aḥruf) (letters / bookmarks), the Arabic tradition ultimately is not incorrect to have taken it purely and simply as a

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⁷¹ If قُسُور / qasūrā was taken here to be a lion, whereas it is in fact a hoary, feeble ass, the spelling حمام (read in Arabic ḥimār) was understood in Sura 2:259 as “ass” where the Koran, with the Syro-Aramaic قمر (gmūrā), means the perfection of human beings raised to life from the dead (see below p. 191 ff.).
synonym of قراءات (qir̲āṭ), variant readings, to the extent that it has related them not just to the missing vowels, but also – and especially – to the defective writing of the basic consonant form of the original Koranic text before this text became fixed, in the course of a process lasting centuries, in the one variant reading of the currently accepted canonical version.

Yet, the Prophet is said to have remained silent for the most part, not only about the variant readings themselves, but also about the meaning of individual verses of the Koran. There is, for example, a report of the following statement by ʿĀʾisha (Aisha), the youngest wife of the Prophet:

“The Prophet – God bless him and grant him salvation – had the habit of interpreting nothing from the Koran except for a few verses that Gabriel – may salvation be upon him – had taught him.”

It is therefore no wonder that the earliest commentators on the Koran were also unable to know any better, which ledṬabarî, the author of the most substantial Arabic Koran commentary to date, to exclaim:

إني لأعجب ممن قرأ القرآن ولم يعلم تأويله ، كيف يلذ بقراءته ؟

“Yet I am surprised at anyone who reads the Koran without being able to interpret it: How on earth can he take pleasure in reading it?”

The encyclopedic work ofṬabarî (consisting of 30 parts in the Cairo edition) is characterized by Theodor Nöldeke as a turning point in the history of the interpretation of the Koran. Among Muslims his commentary is considered an incomparable achievement:

“It is indeed, due to the wealth, variety and reliability of the communicated material, the most informative interpretive work that the Mohammedan world has ever produced.”

72 Ṭabarî 137.
73 Cited by Mahmud Muhammad Shaker in his introduction to the Koran commentary ofṬabarî (Cairo 1374 H./1955) vol. I 10.
74 Th. Nöldeke, GdQ II 172 f.
As Paret remarks in his *Encyclopedia of Islam* article, in this commentary Ţabarî has

"collected for the first time the ample material of traditional exegesis and thus created a standard work upon which later Koranic commentators drew; it is still a mine of information for historical and critical research by Western scholars."\(^{75}\)

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8. Western Koranic Studies

Without intending to go into a detailed history of the origins of Western Koran studies, which emerged around the middle of the 19th century, some indication will be given here of the actual results of this Koranic research as represented by the translations of Western Koran scholars. August Fischer provides an overview of the subject in his essay, "Der Wert der vorhandenen Koran-Übersetzungen und Sura III [The Value of the Existing Koran Translations and Sura III]."76 On dealing with the task of translating the Koran, Fischer remarks:

"A Koran translation is no easy task. The renowned Arabists, scholars such as Reiske, Sacy, Fleischer, De Goeje, Nöldeke, and Goldziher, among others, have avoided it, at least partially because they knew of its great difficulties. Most of the previous Koran translators have been second-, indeed even third- and fourth-rate Arabists. 77

This was August Fischer's opinion in 1937. However, with the more recent Koran translations by the Briton Richard Bell,78 the Frenchman Régis Blachère,79 and the German Rudi Paret,80 we in the meantime have translations by Arabists of the first rank. Yet despite their scholarly meticulousness, these translations have also contributed little to an essential improvement of our understanding of the Koran. With their ap-

77 Cited from Rudi Paret, ed., Der Koran, Wege der Forschung [Directions of Research], vol. 326 (Darmstadt, 1975) 7.
paratus criticus they have merely confirmed the problems identified by August Fischer. He summarizes the major difficulties a Koran translator has to cope with as follows:

1. A considerable number of words and sentences in the Koran are obscure and ambiguous.

2. The numerous allusions in the Koran are hard to interpret and their clarification in the Arabic tradition is contradictory and inadequate, so that in such cases only internal criteria can be of further assistance.

3. There is no systematic or chronological ordering of the Suras.

4. There is a lack of a real textus receptus with secure bookmarks. The imperfection of the script in the old Koran manuscripts permits numerous variant readings. The Arabic commentaries on the Koran differ considerably one from the other and not infrequently provide more than half a dozen\textsuperscript{81} possible interpretations for one obscure passage in the Koran. All the same, one can by no means do without these commentaries.

The result is that one is never able to be sure of understanding the Koran in all of its details. A conscientious translator of the Koran will instead always have to work with numerous question marks and lists of the various possible interpretations.\textsuperscript{82}

The Koran translators, and in particular Rudi Paret, have fulfilled these requirements and at the same time revealed the limits of Koran studies. Yet it must be granted to Western scholarship that, thanks to its historical-critical methods, it has released the study of the Koran from its inflexibility and made considerable advances, more so from a theological-historical than from a philological perspective. The works of principal interest to this study were cited at the outset.

\textsuperscript{81} According to Régis Blachère, sometimes up to a dozen (see his Introduction au Coran [Paris, 1947] xxxii).

\textsuperscript{82} Der Koran, ed. Rudi Paret (Darmstadt, 1975) 7 f.
Although justifiable doubts have been entertained concerning the reliability of the oral transmission, considering the fact that, as mentioned above, Ṭabarī reports several times that the Prophet was not accustomed to expressing himself either on disputed readings or on the meaning of individual verses or Suras in the Koran, there has nevertheless until now been no doubt among the specialists about the language of the Koran, since after all it is said in ten passages in the Koran itself that it was sent down, i.e. revealed, in Arabic (Suras 12:2, 13:37, 16:103. 20:113, 26:195, 39:28, 41:3, 42:7, 43:3 and 46:12).

However, since Arabic at the time at which the Koran originated still possessed no standardized written language, but instead consisted of spoken dialects, it was naturally assumed that the language of the Koran was identical with the dialect of the Prophet and his sib, the Qurayš in Mecca. In Ṭabarī this view is grounded on the following verse of the Koran (Sura 14:4):

وَمَا أُرِسَلْنَا مِنْ رَسُولٍ إِلَّا بِلِسانٍ قُوْمِهِ لِيُبِينَ لَهُمْ

“We have never sent a messenger but in the language (i.e., speaking the language) of his people, that he may explain (the message) to them.”

Given this statement it must come as a surprise that the Prophet – as reported in Ṭabarī – was supposedly unable to explain this language to his contemporaries. Also concerning Saʿīd ibn al-Musayyab, one of the seven scholars of Medina (d. 712), Ṭabarī reports that in response to questions about a Koranie verse he “kept quiet as if he had heard nothing” (سكت كأن لم يسمع). To another such knowledge-hungry individual he responded: “Do not ask me about a verse of the Koran; rather ask him who maintains that nothing of it remains concealed from him,” by which he was referring to ʿIkrima (a companion of the Prophet who

83 Ibid. 29.
84 Ibid. 28.
died in 634). The fact that even after the Prophet nobody has succeeded in penetrating the final mystery of this language for as long as the Koran has existed has led in the Islamic tradition to the belief that the language of the Koran is of heavenly origin and thus finally unfathomable for mortals. With the term إعجاز (iʿgāz) (on the basis of Suras 2:23, 10:38, 11:13) the Islamic tradition does indeed characterize the Koran as a miracle that cannot be imitated by mortals, but this may refer in general to the human inability to understand the Koran completely into its last detail.

Yet when the Koran speaks of the “Arabic language,” one can well ask what language it was talking about at the time of its origin. Faithful to Islamic tradition, which has always encouraged the search for knowledge (طلب العلم), and keeping in mind the well-known sayings of the Prophet “Knowledge is light” and “Seek knowledge, and be it in China.” Tabart takes the view that philologists (أهل اللسان) are fundamentally authorized to explain the language in which the Koran was sent down (اللغة الذي نزل به القرآن) because outside of them nobody else is capable of acquiring a knowledge of it (لا توصل إلى علم ذلك إلا من قبلهم), in so far as they are able to provide irrefutable and philologically verifiable arguments for the explanation and interpretation of this language (وأوضحهم برهانا فيما ترجم وبيان من ذلك مما كان مدركًا علمه من جهة اللسان), and regardless of who the interpreters in question may have been.85

In the sense of Tabart we therefore intend in the following – by taking a philologically prior linguistic phase as a starting-point – to undertake the experiment of reading the text of the Koran differently than the Arabic commentators of the Koran have done it, partially according to an understanding of the Arabic of their time and partially with recourse to Old Arabic poetry. Only on the basis of the results of this linguistic analysis may one judge whether it actually also leads to a better understanding of the Koranic text or not.

85 Ibid. 41.
The present study is based on the elementary finding that the term *Koran* (قرآن / qur'ān) holds the key to the understanding of the Koranic language. Whereas, namely, the Arabic philologists in the interpretation of the word قرآن (qur'ān), whose Arabic origin they do not doubt, have not made up their minds yet between the verbal roots قرن (qarāna) (to bind, to put together) and قرأ (qara'ā) (to read), it was first recognized in Western Koranic studies that cultural terms like قرأ (to read) – and accordingly also كتب (kataba) (to write) – could not be Arabic in origin. As Theodor Nöldeke says in his *Geschichte des Qorāns* [History of the Koran] (I 31–34):

"Now, since a cultural word like ‘read’ can not be proto-Semitic, we may assume that it migrated into Arabia, and indeed probably from the north. ... Now, because Syriac has besides the verb نعرف the noun قرينة, and indeed in the double sense of ανάγνωσις ([the act of] reading, reading aloud) and ανάγνωσμα (reading or lesson, reading matter), the assumption gains in probability, in connection with what has just been said, that the term Qorān is not an inner-Arabic development out of the synonymous infinitive, but a borrowing from that Syriac word with a simultaneous assimilation to the type فلان."^87

Nöldeke’s probable assumption of the Syriac origin of qur’ān has in the meantime become so well accepted in Western Koranic research that the

87 *Ibid.* 33 f. Furthermore, it remains to be seen whether فلان is a genuinely Arabic type. The fact is that in practice the nominal form qur’ān has never become generally accepted, though it is cited by the Arabic lexicographers as a variation of the common infinitive qirā‘a and also actually occurs in this function in the Koran. One can also identify the non-Arabic origin in the fact that in Arabic usage *Qurān* is only understood as a proper name used to designate the holy scripture of Islam.
indication of its Christian-Aramaic origin has today become a matter of course in the standard Western encyclopedia of Islam,\(^88\) whereas this has been completely ignored by both the earlier and modern Islamic exegetes. Thus Erwin Gräf accurately defines the Koran as follows:

"The Koran, according to the etymological meaning of the word, is originally and really a liturgical text designed for cultic recitation and also actually used in the private and public service. This suggests that the liturgy or liturgical poetry, and indeed the Christian liturgy, which comprises the Judaic liturgy, decisively stimulated and influence Mohammed."\(^89\)

As an ecclesiastical *terminus technicus* (technical term), the Koran thus corresponds originally to the *lectionarium* (lectionary) still used in Western Christianity today as a liturgical book containing excerpts from scripture to be read aloud during the service.

If it has now been established that the Arabic *qurān* is a direct borrowing from the Syro-Aramaic *q̄eryānā*, then the question must be asked as to the extent to which – in Nöldeke's words – the assimilation of *qurān* to the type *fūlān* has taken place.

Information on this subject is provided for us by the Islamic tradition. Thus the *Lisān* (I 128b f.) records a statement reaching back from *aš-Šā'īr* by way of a traditionary chain to *Mugāḥid*, *Ibn Ṭabbās* and *Ubayy*, according to which the Prophet had pronounced قْرآن (qurān) without a *hamza*, i.e. without the glottal stop before the *ā* (long a), قْرآن (qurān). On the basis of the *alif* and *hamza* signs (ٍ), which were gradually introduced as a reading aid, but scarcely before the middle of the 8th century,\(^90\) the later Arabic readers, who were no longer familiar with the Prophet's original pronunciation, *q̄eryān*, went on the assumption that قْرآن (qurān) was to be pronounced without the *hamza*, simply قْرآن (qurān). In doing so they ignored the view widely held in the Arabic tra-

\(^{88}\) See, for example, the article al-Kurān in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 5 (Leiden, 1986) 400.

\(^{89}\) *ZDMG* 111, new series no. 37 (1962): 396-398.

\(^{90}\) Blachère says in his *Introduction au Coran* 94 that it is impossible to establish more precisely the point in time at which this writing reform took place.
dition according to which the hamza was pronounced softly in the Arabic dialect of Mecca. This does not at all mean in this case, however, the absence of the hamza without replacement, but its realization as a soft /y/. Accordingly, the pronunciation of the Prophet documented by Islamic tradition must have been قریان (qaryān), a pronunciation that exactly corresponds to that of the Arabic-speaking Aramaic Christians of Syria and Mesopotamia. This is also said by the Thesaurus with a reference to the Eastern Syrian lexicographers as follows: “Ap. lexx. القریان (qaryānā: al-qaryān); it. القراءة (Thes. II 3716). In this case the vowel e in qaryān is to be produced, in accordance with the oral tradition of the Eastern and Western Syrians (usually in a single closed syllable), as a so-called murmur vowel (dark ə or “shwa”).

The hamza spelling in the medial and final position adopted according to the will of later Arabic philologists against the documented pronunciation of the Prophet has finally had as a consequence that the original Syro-Aramaic pronunciation qaryān has been abandoned in favor of the Arabicized pronunciation qurʾān (following the pattern offurqān < هصبة / purqānā). 91

Consequences of the Orthographic Transformation of qaryān to qurʾān

The Arabic transcription of Syro-Aramaic قرین (qaryānā) must originally have been pronounced قرین (qaryān). Until now, however, research on old manuscripts of the Koran has been unable to establish this spelling. In today’s spelling قرآن (qurʾān) it is generally recognized that both the hamza and the alif ʼā (long a) are secondary. In two passages (Suras 12:2, 43:21) the canonical version of the Koran gives evidence of the earlier written form with an accusative ending قرنا (qurʾānā), as has already been pointed out by Nöldeke (Bergsträßer-Pretzl) (GdQ III 43). 92

91 Thus what Nöldeke called the fulān type would not exactly be Arabic.
92 Further reference is made, under note 3, to earlier manuscripts of the Koran with the spelling قرآن (al-qurān) and قرآن (qurʾānā).
Yet even if the extant manuscripts of the Koran have until now not confirmed the presumed spelling قرآن (qoryān), the original Syro-Aramaic term suggests this written form. Accordingly, one can imagine the following four phases in the transformation of the Arabic orthography to today's accepted canonical spelling قرآن (qurān): (1) original pronunciation: qoryān; (2) defective spelling: قرآن (pronunciation: qurān); (3) full spelling قرآن (same pronunciation: qurān); and last of all (4) with the inserted hamza: قرآن (accepted pronunciation: qurān).

This hypothesis is based on the assumption that in a first post-Koranic orthographic reform the Arabic philologists no longer recognized the real meaning of the little peak of the letter carrier ب/y in قرآن (qoryān) as a defective spelling for ی. On the basis of the pronunciation of the Prophet (qurān), as documented according to Arabic tradition, they must have read the spelling قرآن as "qarīn." Whence the removal, without replacement, of the ب/y, from which emerged, in a second phase, the defective spelling قرآن with the pronunciation qurān. The introduction of the alif as a mater lectionis for ḍ (long a) logically led, in a third phase, to the full spelling قرآن (with the same pronunciation: qurān). The

93 Cf. W. Diem, Untersuchungen zur frühen Geschichte der arabischen Orthographie [Studies on the Early History of Arabic Orthography]. I. Die Schreibung der Vokale [The Spelling of the Vowels], Orientalia, vol. 48 (1979). In § 62 (252) under number 3, W. Diem gives the spelling at Sura 10:61 قرآن < Qurān among the types "in which the written form has been retained unaltered." In § 64 (253) he accordingly counts the spelling (12:2; 43:3 Qurānah) among the "few spellings" in which the alif "would have been expected etymologically." Just as doubtful is the allegedly primary spelling (4:18 etc. as-sayyiyāt < as-sayyīʿat “the evil deeds”), whose secondarily inserted alif has distorted the original spelling, سنيت, as the transliteration of the Syro-Aramaic سيتة (sanyāt) (Thes. II 2669: plerumque ut subst. usitata, facinora, sceletar, vitia; Ap. lexx.: السينات، القبائح، النوب / as-sayyīʿat / "disgraceful, wicked deeds, vices"). The basis for this reading is the following facsimile edition of the Koran Manuscript No. 328(a) in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France: Sources de la transmission du texte coranique [Sources of the Transmission of the Text of the Koran] eds. François Déroche et Sergio Noja Noseda, vol. 1, Les manuscrits de style ḥāṣaṭ [Manuscripts in the Ḥāṣaṭ Style], Le manuscrit arabe 328(a) de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France [Arabic Manuscript No. 328(a) in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France] (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de
acceptance of the hamza resulted finally, in a fourth phase, in what is today the common spelling in the canonical edition of the Koran, قرآن (with the pronunciation *qurān*).

However, if the Arabic tradition according to which the Prophet said *qurān* is correct, then this would lead to the understanding that the Koran readers of the first generation did not read the little middle peak َـ in the original spelling قرين as َ or ِ, but as long َـ. Later copyists, interpreting this peak as a long ِ, would have then omitted it as an apparently incorrectly written character. Previously, however, it was known (for etymological reasons) that the little peak only functioned in Koranic orthography to indicate the long vowel َـ in the reproduction of a secondary َـ in a final position for *tertiae yā* roots before suffixes (e.g. بنیها = بناها / *banā-hā* in Sura 79:27).

The conjecture that the little peak َـ for indicating a long َـ was not exclusively used for a secondary َـ in *tertiae yā* verbs before suffixes, but was used in other cases as well during the first phase in the editing of the Koran, does not depend solely on earlier Koran manuscripts for its confirmation. On the contrary, evidence can already be provided now on the basis of a few misread words in the modern Cairo edition of the Koran. 94 Of these the following examples may suffice:

France, 1998). As opposed to the spellings السبالتْ (as-sayyi‘āt) (Sura 4:18), سِبَائَمْ (sayyi‘ātikum) (Sura 4:31; 5:12) and سِبَائِمْ (sayyi‘āthim) (Sura 3:195) in the Cairo edition of the Koran, the Paris Ms. 328(a) has (without diacritical points): السبالتْ ، سِبِائَمْ ، سِبِائِمْ. According to Koranic orthography, for these spellings a *hamza* carrier is out of the question. The *Lisān* cites this root both under َـ (šanā) (XIV 444b) and under َـ (šana‘ā) (I 101b ff.), each with the same original meaning (to hate). See also the spellings reproduced under chapter 6 (55) in connection with the “orthography of the Lewis palimpsest” in Th. Nöldeke (Bergsträßer-Pretzl), *GdQ* III.

94 This observation, made by the author in a lecture in 1996, was the starting point for the initiative to make microfilms of the Koranic fragments of Sanaa in the expectation that one would there be able to find further proofs. These microfilms have been available since 1998. Subsequently, a first (and till now sole) confirmation has been provided there by the spelling of the word الله = الَّلَّهُ / *ilāh* (god, deity), where the middle peak marks the long َـ as *mater lectionis*, however without any alteration of the meaning (see G.-R. Puin, *Über die
Sura 41:47
Example 1: ءاذنک (aḍānnāk⁹⁵)

وئیوم یندیهم ابن شرکای قالوا اذنک ما منا من شهید

Following the understanding of the Arabic commentators,⁹⁵ our Koran translators have rendered the underlined expression in the context of the cited part of the verse as follows:

(Bell II 481): “We protest to Thee, there is not amongst us a witness.”

(Paret 400): “Und am Tag (des Gerichts), da er ihnen [d.h. den Ungläubigen] zuruft: ‘Wo sind (nun) meine (angeblichen) Teilhaber?’, sagen sie: ‘Wir geben dir (hiermit) Bescheid: Unter uns ist kein Zeuge (der die Wahrheit unserer früheren Aussagen bestätigen könnte).’”

(Blachère 510): “Sache qu’il n’est, parmi nous, nul témoin.”

An Arab with a normal feel for the language senses here right away that there is something “clumsy” about the final clause. That in this context اذنک (aḍāna) is supposed to mean “to inform” is a pure invention of the Arabic commentators, who could not figure out any other way to explain this misread word. Namely, in the spelling اذنک the upper dot of the ن/ن has been falsely placed. The apparent ignorance of the later Arabic readers with regard to the real meaning of the originally unpointed little

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Bedeutung der ältesten Koranfragmente aus Sanaa (Jemen) für die Orthographiegeschichte des Korans [On the Importance of the Oldest Koranfragments of Sanaa (Yemen) for the History of Koranic Orthography], “Neue Wege der Koranforschung” [New Ways of Koranic Research], 2, in: magazin forschung [magazine research], Universität des Saarlandes [University of the Saarland], 1, 1999, p. 37-40). The other examples quoted there from the standard edition of the Koran, however, require some rectification. A first discussion concerning the spelling and the etymology of both Syro-Aramaic صیلد (ṣīṭān) (> Hebrew צאצא / sīṭān) and Koranic شیطان (šīytān) will follow below.

⁹⁵ Ṭabarî (XV 1 f.) reads اذنک (aḍānnāk⁹⁵) and gives the following explanations: اعلمناك (aˈlāmnāk⁹⁵) (we inform you), أطلمناك (aˈlaˈnāk⁹⁵) (we obey you), with the note: أعلمناك (aˈlāˈnāk⁹⁵) as a synonym for أعلمناك (aˈlāmnāk⁹⁵).
hook نـ, which here stands for a long ā, is to blame for this. If the oral tradition had not been broken, the later Arabic readers would quite certainly have been able to recognize this well-known Arabic adverbal expression (although borrowed from Syro-Aramaic אובד / ḥaydek [<*ḥay-d-hayk > *ḥay-d-hek], with secondary vowel reduction and darkening > *qddayk, with following monophthongization of ay > ā = *qddāk > Arabic qddāk / iddāk. Namely, the misread نـ/n when read as a long ā results in the reading إذ ذاك (then, whereupon) (actually إذ ذاك id dāk[a]), which can also be written in modern Arabic in the contracted form إذ ذاك (see, for example, H. Wehr, Arabisches Wörterbuch [Arabic Dictionary]). According to this reading the passage cited above (this time in Arabic) can now be understood as follows:

“On the day when he will call to them, ‘Where are they (now), my associates?’ they will then answer: ‘None of us professes to these) any longer’.”

Sura 68:13
Example 2: عтел (utull)

In this context a list is made of the negative behaviors of an infidel. Included among them is the character trait described in Sura 68:13–14:

عтел بعد ذلك زنيم / ان كان ذا مال وبنين

On the basis of the wavering understanding of the Arabic commentators, our Koran translators have translated this continuous double verse as follows:

96 Cf. Thes. I 1002, where to the Syriac אובד (ḥaydek) corresponds the Chaldaic (i.e. in this case vernacular Eastern Syro-Aramaic) תח (qddāk) > Arabic إذ ذاك or إذذاك إذذاك.

97 Arabic شهيد (ṣahīd) does not just have the meaning of “witness.” The Arabic شهادة (ṣahāda), meaning “confession of faith,” is also a borrowing from the Syro-Aramaic ecclesiastical term שפ (shēf) (to testify, actually to admit publicly, from which כהני / sāhī “martyr, confessor” also comes).

98 Ṭabarî XXIX 23-27.

(Paret 477): 13: “und der überdies ein Grobian (?) ist und sich (überall) eindrängt (?) (‘utullin ba‘da ḏālika zanāmin) 14: (auf Grund der Tatsache), daß er (ein großes) Vermögen und (viele) Söhne hat!”

(Blachère 608): 13 “arrogant et par surcroît, bâtard ! 14 Ne lui obéis pas [parce] qu’il est riche et a des fils [pour le soutenir]!”

1. The misread ت /t in the spelling عتلل (pronounced ‘utull) is responsible for the different translations of this word by our Koran translators (Bell: “gross”; Paret: “Grobian”; Blachère: “arrogant”). Only Blachère, with “arrogant,” has even come close to guessing the real sense correctly from the context. The meaning “arrogant, overbearing” is actually yielded only by the reading عتلل (‘ālṯ). That the later Arabic readers incorrectly placed two dots (١) over the medial peak intended as a long َ and came up with the meaningless reading عتلل (‘utull) is precise confirmation of the assumption that an oral tradition no longer existed at the time of the fixing of the Koranic text. And this, even though this genuinely Arabic expression occurs in singular and plural in this meaning in four other passages in the Koran (Suras 10:83; 44:31; 23:46; 38:75). There, however, the original peak has been replaced by the subsequently inserted alif ١ as a mater lectionis for long َ. Thus these passages were read correctly. But in the case of Sura 68:13 this meaning was obviously not recognized. The misreading of the spelling as it was left in its original form, however, is to be explained in particular by the absence of an oral tradition.

The realization that the peak was often not just provided with false dots, but from time to time also replaced by an alif ﯯ / َ, is of importance for Koranic studies for the understanding of many a misreading.

99 [Note 1]: “Or ‘adopted’ from an ignoble family, which is said to refer to Walid b. Maghra. But the word is probably from zanama to mark a well-bred camel by cutting a part of the ear and letting it hang down.”
For whereas with the canonical edition of the Koran it is only necessary to imagine the dots as absent, in the case of the *alif* the problem is that a *primary* is not readily distinguishable from a *secondary alif*, especially considering the fact that, in examining them, both Arabic and Syro-Aramaic (and occasionally Hebrew) linguistic components must be considered each time. But that the later insertion of the *alif* by incompetent editors has led to the distortion of many a word would, in view of the unsure or absent oral tradition, only be a logical consequence.

2. Our Koran translators have rendered the spelling زنيم (zanīm) in just as contradictory a fashion as the Arabic commentators (Bell: “highly-esteemed”; Paret: “der sich (überall) eindrängt”; Blachère: “batard’). Given the way the word has been misread (zanīm), one would be most likely to see it as an active masculine Hebrew plural participle דלא (zūnīm) (whoring, engaging in prostitution). However, because the Koranic context speaks of a single individual, such a Hebrew plural form is out of the question.

Some information about this is provided for us by the following statement given as indirect speech in Verse 14: “that he has wealth and children.” This statement, however, presupposes a verb, which the misreading of زنيم (zanīm) has distorted. Here, too, the absence of an oral tradition has resulted in the Arabic readers not knowing what to do with this spelling. Whence the arbitrary reading زنيم (zanīm), whose just as adventurously imagined meanings H. Wehr, for example, (in his Arabisches Wörterbuch [Arabic Dictionary]) gives, without further examination, as “low, base; bastard, son of a bitch; stranger, one who does not belong to something.”

One cannot blame the Arabic readers, however, if behind the spelling زنيم they were unable to imagine a Syro-Aramaic verb form. Namely, if in its place we read رتيم (ratīm), what results is the transliteration of the Syro-Aramaic רטימ (rtīm) in status absolutus. For it the Thesaurus (II 3997) gives the following definition under the verbal root רטימ (rtam):

100 Cf. W. Gesenius, Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch [Concise Dictionary of Hebrew and Aramaic] 201b.
"enunciavit, spec. indistincte et submissa voce locutus est" (to say, to pronounce, especially to speak unclearly and quietly).

In the case of the Koranic form, it is a question of a Syro-Aramaic passive masculine participle with an active meaning, as Theodor Nöldeke explains in his Syrischen Grammatik [Syriac Grammar] (§280):

"Some participia of the form ḫāḥem (p'ḥ) are used in an active meaning: in part this is based on the fact that the verba involved could be doubly transitive; in part it is caused by the analogy to forms having a related meaning."

This Koranic example should be added to those listed by Nöldeke. The attributive passive participle ṭūmā (ṭūmā) is also explained actively by the Thesaurus (loc. cit.) with "blaesus, balbutiens" (lispung, stammering, metaphorically: twaddling). With the now no longer common phrase ما رتم بكلمة (mā ratama bi-kalima)101 (he didn't speak a word) and الرتم : الكلام الخفي (ar-ratam : to speak quietly) Arabic has preserved a memory of the Syro-Aramaic expression.

Based on this analysis, the double verse from Sura 68:13–14 is now to be read:

عال بعد ذلك رتم / ان كان ذا مال وبنين
( ʿālʿa bāʿda ḍālīka ratim / an kāna ġā mālʿa wa-banīn)

According to the Syro-Aramaic reading, it should thus be understood as follows:

“arrogant furthermore twaddling. 14. that (even without God) he has wealth and children!”

101 Cf. Lisān XII 226a; the same under رتم (ratama): هو الذي لا يصحح كلامه ولا يبينه (one who speaks inarticulately).
In a recent article James A. Bellamy has been the latest to deal with this expression, heretofore considered an unsolved problem in Koranic studies. Taking as a starting point an error on the part of a copyist, he proposes the reading الرقة (ar-raqiṣ) (the sleeping [boys]) in place of the substantive recorded in the canonical version of the Koran الرقیم (ar-raqiṣm) (roughly, memorial tablet). In its context this verse reads:

ام حسبت أن أصحاب الكهف والرقیم كانوا من اليتیا عجبًا

The German translator Paret (238) renders this verse as follows:

"Or do you think that the people of the cave and the inscription (؟ar-raqiṣm) [Note: The interpretation of ar-raqiṣm(i) is very uncertain] was (one) of our signs, about which one should be (especially) surprised?"

Blachère (318) renders “ar-Raqîm” as a place name and refers to the contradictory explanations of the commentators. Bell (1 275) does the same and adds the following comment (footnote 1):

"Much difference of opinion prevails as to the identity of ar-Raqîm, some holding it to be the name of the mountain or the village associated with them, others that it is the name of the dog. Torrey suggests that it is a misreading of Decius as written in Hebrew characters; E. G. Browne, Oriental Studies, p. 459."

The thought that, to introduce this legend of the seven sleepers one would expect a corresponding expression, is in itself correct. For the former contested reading والرقیم (wa-r-raqiṣm), J.A. Bellamy proposes the following emendations: (1) removal of the conjunction و/wa as superfluous; (2) removal of the medial ي/T as having resulted from inattentiveness or a blot; (3) changing the final م/m into a و/w/N, and (4) insertion of a presumably omitted final د/d. Thus we would have the

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reading evidenced in Verse 18 (ruqūd) (sleepers) as the plural of رأقد (rāqīd) (sleeping male). Instead of the previous reading أصحاب الكهف والرقم (the people of the cave and the inscription), one would then have أصحاب الكهف الرقم (the sleeping people of the cave).

However, by proposing four emendations to a word made up of a total of five letters (if we ignore the article الأ - /al-), J.A. Bellamy spoils a consideration that is otherwise plausible in its approach. In contrast, the principle of lectio difficilior would be better served if we had to change just one letter.

The key is here provided to us by precisely that little middle peak that J.A. Bellamy has considered either faulty or only a blot, but which here stands for a long د. Then we would need only to read the probably misread final م as a final د. Namely, experts of the Hiğāzī manuscripts know that the pronounced ring-shaped final م is produced on the line without the vertical infralinear extension. Nonetheless, one cannot in the first place make a mixing up of final د and final م responsible for the misreading. Much more likely is the assumption that later Arabic copyists could no longer recognize the peak د as a long د. Interpreted as a long د, they must have read والرقم (wa-r-raqīd), a form that doesn’t exist in Arabic at all. The next best alternative was therefore to make a final م out of the final د.

That the latter letter was occasionally confused with the Arabic ر on the basis, however, of an earlier transcription from Syriac script (due to the identically formed letters ܕ and ܪ distinguishable only by the upper and lower dots, respectively), will find itself substantiated in a subsequent study. An initial case first became conspicuous in the following discussion of the spelling بلحرون (yulḥidūn) instead of بلحرون (yulguzūn / yulgizūn) from Sura 16:103. Two more examples from the Cairo edition of the Koran can be provided as confirmation of this phenomenon:

a) Concerning the transcription of an originally Syriac ܕ as an Arabic ر: Such a mistake is encountered in the word ركزا (rikzā) (allegedly: soft voice) instead of the Syriac ذكرًا = Arabic ذكر (dikrā) (memory) from Sura 19:98:
Bell (I 291) translates according to Arab commentators: “How many a generation have We destroyed before them! Dost thou perceive of them a single one or hear of them a whisper?”

The word رکزا (rikzā) is transcribed in the facsimile of the بیگزی كوران codex Or. 2165 (fol. 1–61), published by the British Library in 2001, as رکزا (rkra) (without diacritical points) (fol. 50b, 11). This spelling provides us with a typical example of the unpointed Arabic rendering of the identically shaped Syriac consonants ʃ / d and ʃ / r, but which with the respective lower and upper dots should have been rendered in Arabic as د / d and ر / r. Provided with the diacritical dots, the first ر in the Arabic spelling رکزا would thus correspond to the Syriac ʃ / d, the second ر to the Syriac ʃ / r (and not to the Arabic ز / z). In this way the original reading ذکزا (dikzā) can be restored. This also results etymologically and semantically in a sense that fits better to the context. Namely, that رکزا (rikz) would mean a whispering, a soft voice, is a pure invention of the Arab commentators, who were unable to come up with anything more suitable in connection with the preceding verb سمع (sami’a) (to hear). If one hears something, it must be a voice, they must have thought. At the same time one can also hear of someone, that is, learn something about him. Insofar is ذکزا (dikz) here to be understood as remembrance of the deceased, whose memory continues to exist even after their passing away. The verse cited above is therefore to be corrected and understood as follows:

هل تحس منهم من أحد أو تسمع لهم ذکزا

“Dost thou perceive of them a single one or hear of them any mention?”

b) Concerning the transcription of an originally Syriac ʃ / r as an Arabic د / d: One such example (among others) is to be encountered in the heretofore hapax legomenon طود (allegedly taud) from Sura 26:63. Following the Old Testament account Moses is commanded to strike the sea with his staff; there then follows:
Bell (II 356, 63): “... and it [the sea] clave asunder; each part became like a cliff mighty.”

Although the word has been understood correctly here, only Paret (303) gives it in parentheses (taud), by means of which he wants to indicate that the word in itself is unusual.\textsuperscript{103} The unique mistaken writing of this well-known word through the mistranscription of the Syriac '; / r as Arabic د / d is all the more astonishing since the otherwise correctly transcribed طور (\textit{tūr} < Syro-Aramaic 𐤇𐤋𐤓𐤊𐤀 / tūrā, mountain) occurs ten times in the Koran (Sura 2:63,93; 4:154; 19:52; 20:80; 23:20; 28:29,46; 52:1; 95:2). The corresponding Arabic expression is used once in connection with the sea (Sura 11:42); there it is said of Noah’s ark that it sailed في موج كالجبال (fī mawḡ ka-l-ḡībāl) “between waves (high) as mountains.”

c) Since the Arabic letters د / d and ر / r are clearly distinguishable in the early Koran manuscripts in the Ḥīḍīzī as well as in the Kūfī style,\textsuperscript{104} a primary mutual mixing up of these letters is only conceivable on the basis of an original mistranscription of the equivalent Syriac letters ; / d and ; / r from an original composed in Syriac.

\textsuperscript{103} In fact طور (taud) is not only unusual, it does not exist in Arabic at all. A supposed verbal root طَدْ (tāda) from which a fictitious seventh stem إِنْطَد (ināda) is derived with an equally imaginary meaning “to rise in the air, soar up,” as quoted, for example, by H. Wehr \textit{[A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic} (Arabic-English), edited by J. Milton Cowan, Wiesbaden 1979, 669a], and the excogitated modern Arabic word منطاد (munṭad) plural (munṭad) “balloon, blimp; zeppelin, dirigible” that results, also shows the basis on which Classical Arabic is partly grounded. The \textit{Lisān} (III 270a) explains the الطور (at-taurd) as الجبل (al-ḡabal al-‘azīm) (a towering mountain). But herewith it actually just explains the mistranscribed Syro-Aramaic word <𐤇(774,86),(869,119) > Koranic Arabic طور (ṭūr), which the \textit{Lisān} (IV 508b) explains with the same meaning: والطور: الجبل (ṭūr i.e. a mountain).

\textsuperscript{104} See in the Appendix in the CD copy 0585 from the Koran manuscript of Samarkand, line 2, the kufic ر / r in the word فرق / farq and the د / d in the word كالطور / ka-ṭ-taurd (recte: كالطور / ka-ṭ-ṭūr) (Sura 26:63).
script (Garshuni/Karshuni). In turn, only in this roundabout way can one explain the Arabic misreading of the final d (by mistranscription written incorrectly as a final r) as final m. The occasionally remarkable similarity of the final r (here instead of the final d, and the final m in early Kufic Koran manuscripts (caused by insufficiently careful transcription) can finally be illustrated with the help of a few examples from the Koran manuscript of Samarkand (cf., e.g. in the Appendix ر / r and م / m in the spelling يمريم / yā-Maryam in the corresponding passage from Sura 3:45, CD 0098 (see p. 348), according to the copy of sheet 95, -2).105 This determination provides us with the graphical proof of a reconstructible mixing up of final r (written incorrectly from final d) and final m in a second stage of the Arabic transcription of the Koranic corpus in the Kufic style. This would mean that the Kufic Koran manuscript of Samarkand belongs, not to the first, but at the earliest to a second generation of the Arabic handing down of the Koran. It nevertheless contains in itself sufficient graphical evidence for a Syriac original version of the Koran text, as will be explained.

In so far as the Arab readers did not have the historical background information as to the Syriac scripture of the early Koran, they may have seen within the Arabic scripture system no other alternative than the reading والقائد والقائم (wa-r-raqīm) instead of والقائم والقائد (wa-r-raqād = wa-r-raqād). Although this reading also didn't seem very reasonable, at least it was known to exist in Arabic. In cases of doubt, such undefinable words nevertheless have the advantage of becoming interpreted as proper names or place names that cannot be verified, evidence of which is also provided by the commentaries in question. The analogous method of interpretation employed by Arabic philologists will have struck anyone who has worked in particular on Old Arabic poetry.

105 The author has to thank Tariq Ismail for providing a CD copy of the Koran codex of Samarkand [SAMARKANDSKII KUFICHESKII KORAN – Coran koufique de Samarcand écrit d’après la tradition de la propre main du troisième Calife Osman (644–656) qui se trouve dans la Bibliothèque Impériale Publique de St. Petersbourg. Edition faite avec l’autorisation de l’Institut Archéologique de St. Petersbourg (facsimile) par S. Pissaref. St. Petersbourg. 1905].
However, if one reads instead of والرقاد (wa-r-raqād) والرقاد, then the problem is already solved. As the nominal form of رقد (raqada) (to sleep), the Lisān (III 183a) gives النوم (an-nawm) (sleep) as a definition of الرقاد (ar-raqād). Read like this, Sura 18:9 makes the following sense:

ام حسبت ان اصحاب الكهف والرقاد كانوا من ايتنا عجبا

“Do you think, say, that the people of the cave and sleep were strange among our signs?”

Example 4: التورية (at-tawrāt)

To the designation of a long ā with a little peak (ـ) in the interior of a word C. Brockelmann names as the only exception the foreign word تورية (tawrāt) (Torah) (Arabische Grammatik [Arabic Grammar], §2 [d], note 2, p. 7). On the other hand, Theodor Nöldeke, in his Geschichte des Qorâns [History of the Koran], had suspected the pronunciation تورية (tawrīya). In his Untersuchungen zur frühen Geschichte der arabischen Orthographie [Studies on the Early History of Arabic Orthography], W. Diem contradicted him and found a more detailed elucidation of the traditional reading tawrāh (249) faulty. He rejected the derivation from Hebrew יָדוֹרָה (yōrā) that A. Jeffery and J. Horovitz assert by referring to J. Wellhausen, who would have expected the Arabic *tawrah as the equivalent of the Hebrew feminine ending –ā, whereas the Koranic spelling with yāʾ, in which K. Völkers saw an imāla from ā to ē as a variant of Torah, is not modeled on the Hebrew spelling יָדוֹרָה. Against the suggestions by F. Schwally, R. Köbert

106 GdQ (Göttingen, 1860) 255.
108 Foreign Vocabulary 95 f.
111 Skizzen und Vorarbeiten [Sketches and Preliminary Studies] 6 (Berlin, 1899) 259.
112 GdQ III 40, note 3.
and A. Fischer involving the drawing in of the Jewish-Aramaic or Aramaic אַיָּה (āyāh) and the hypothetical “hybrid form” רֵיָה (rēyāh), from which the Arabic ثورة (at-tawrīya) would have emerged, he asserts that in this case the Arabic form in the final position *tawrāyah should have resulted and not the actual spelling tawrāh.

In fact, W. Diem believes he has found the solution in G. Dalman’s realization that in a part of the Jewish-Aramaic dialects “the Nisba ending of the feminine –āytā experienced a shortening of the ā and monophthongization of the thus created diphthong āy to ā.” From this phenomenon (āytā > āytā > ātā), which is also well known in East Aramaic dialects, there would have emerged from a hypothetical Aramaic form *tō-rāytā / *tōrāytā / *tōrētā the only possible choice in Arabic, a word ending in –āh, and thus tawrāh.

Apart from his giving no further evidence for this alleged form, W. Diem has apparently overlooked the fact that in Arabic another frequently documented structural type ending in -īya lends itself more readily to the Aramaic Nisba ending -āytā / -āytā than the one he has proposed. Parallels such as the Syro-Aramaic يووميّة (yawmīyya) (daily), بريّة (barrīyya) (outside, to be found in the country), جوّيّة (gawwīyya) (related to the air or atmosphere) are only a few popular examples. In the Koran in Sura 19:26 a further example is provided for the Syro-Aramaic أنسيا / insīya for the equivalent masculine ending, though here one could also make a claim for the necessity to rhyme.

If for the reasons given by W. Diem (op. cit. 248) a borrowing from the Hebrew נִוְץ / tōyā is now out of the question for the Koranic spell-

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114 Brünnow-Fischer, Arabische Chrestomatie [Arabic Chrestomathy], glossary s.v.
116 The shift in meaning of Syro-Aramaic אֱנָס (gawwā) (interior) to Arabic جوّ (gaww) (air, atmosphere) in Classical Arabic (see below page p. 221 ff) was probably caused by the misinterpretation of this Syro-Aramaic expression in Sura 16:79.
ing تورية (with the accepted canonical pronunciation تورَّاه), nevertheless another reading than his proposed تورَّاه must be taken into consideration. On the basis of the Syro-Aramaic term ḏīrāṭā (dı̈rāṭā), the Arabic ending -ṭya suspected by Th. Nöldeke can at first be confirmed. The initial peak ت / ta later provided with two dots according to Arabic tradition cannot be considered as certain because a "hybrid form" combining the initial sound of the Hebraic and the final sound of the Syro-Aramaic term ı̈rāṭā has not been documented. But if the Arabic written characters تورية seem rather to argue in favor of the assumption that the Syro-Aramaic ḏīrāṭā (dı̈rāṭā) served as a model, then (awrīya / ı̈rīya) would have been expected in the Arabic transcription. Considering this, how else is the initial sound of تورية read as ت / t to be explained?

An important indication for a plausible explanation is provided by Th. Nöldeke in his Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft [New Studies to Semitic Linguistics]. In the chapter entitled "Wechsel von anlautendem w or Hamza und j" ["The Alternation of Initial w or Hámza and j"] (202–206), he gives a series of such examples from Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic. As a Koranic variant to أَسْنِ (asīn) (Sura 47:15), he mentions, among others, the variant يسِن (yāsin). In the Index (206) he compiles the following additional examples: أَتِمُ / يَتِمُ (atum / yatam), أَنْ / يَنْ (an / yān), أَشْرَ / يَشْرَ (ašar / yāšar), and أَفْنُ / يَفْنُ (afn / yafn).

There are a few examples of this in Syro-Aramaic, precisely in the case of proper names. Well known first of all is the pronunciation يَسُلُ (among the Western Syrians) and ı̈sīl (among the Eastern Syrians) for Jesus. One could also mention ı̈rīślem (ı̈rïślem) (Jerusalem) in Syriac and ı̈ruślēm/Yīrušlēm (Irūšlēm/Yīrušlēm) in Christian-Palestinian (Thes. I 101; 1630). Also of interest is the Syrian lexicographers' explanation for the Aramaic names of the Jordan, which the Thes. (I 1584) renders as follows: يُرْدُنَانِ (Yurdnān): مَجَابِ (i.e. Urđnān) مِثْلُ: (i.e.): مَجَابِ (nuhrā dhāḥ lān) (the light has appeared to us), in addition to the Arabic variant: الأَرْدَنِ (al- ı̈rđnān).
Finally, we find in the Koran itself a further example in the name يابوج (Yağūg) (Sura 18:94; 21:96), whose initial й alternates with the a of the Syro-Aramaic spelling ماجوج (Agōg / Agōg). 117

On the Spelling of يابوج (Yağūg) and ماجوج (Mağūg)

With this pair of names we would have one example, among others in the Koran, of the use of the alif as mater lectionis (vowel letter) for short a in accordance with the Aramaic writing tradition. Whereas A. Jeffery (loc. cit., 288) sees in this alif a long ā (Yājūj / Mājūj), the Cairo edition takes it to be a hamza carrier and reads: Yağūg wa- Mağūg.

Arguing against both these readings is (a) the Syro-Aramaic pronunciation, whose a in both cases118 is short; (b) the defective spelling without alif in the recently published facsimile of the Koran codex Or. 2165 of the British Library,119 where in both cases (Sura 18:94 / Folio 47a, 18; Sura 21:96 / Folio 58a, 2) one finds بوج (Yağūg) and موج (Mağūg); (c) the confirmation of this pronunciation in today’s usage in the Middle East where these two names are familiar as a standard quotation.

As a further example of an alif in a medial position for a short a the word مائدة, that the Cairo edition reads as māʾida should for the time being suffice. In the Arabic dialect of northern Mesopotamia, however, this word is still commonly used today in the pronunciation mayde. As a consequence, the Koranic spelling ought to have been mayda. 120


118 Although the Thes., II 2003, gives two vowel variants for ماجوج / ماجوج and Magōg / Magōg, the latter variant predominates.


120 Th. Nöldeke, NBsS (Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft [New Essays on Semitic Linguistics]), Strasbourg 1910, 54 f., is starting from the pronunciation māʾida when he explains: “The word was then usually and often
compressed into ميدة (mayda)," which, however, in reality corresponds to the original Koranic pronunciation. But the borrowing of this word from Ethiopic (see A. Jeffery, loc. cit., 255 f.) is doubted by Nöldeke, who then remarks (55): "Finally, it is not even clear at all that the Ethiopic word is of Semitic origin." This recently gave rise to the following attempt at a new interpretation: Manfred Kropp, Viele fremde Tische, und noch einer im Koran: Zur Etymologie von äthiopisch māʾədd(e) und arabisch māʾida [Many Strange Tables, and Another One in the Koran: On the Etymology of Ethiopic māʾədd(e) and Arabic māʾida], in Oriens Christianus, 87, 2003, 140-143. The evidence of this or a similar commodity in Ethiopic, Arabic and now also in the Greco-Roman cultural area would only suggest the Latin etymology of the word being discussed if a Latin basic meaning of a corresponding Latin verbal root were demonstrated. Although māʾida / mayda is not attested in written Aramaic, the verbal root and its basic meaning can be determined from standard Aramaic, which will be gone into elsewhere. Yet M. Kropp is right about the falsely assumed etymologies in Arabistics of Arabic qaṣr from Latin castrum and Koranic sīrāf from Latin stirata, since Arabic qaṣr (originally fortress, citadel) cannot be explained from the basic meaning of the homonymous Arabic verbal root qaṣura (to be short). However, if we bring in the phonetic variants of the Syro-Aramaic verbal root ﻣﺤﺮ / gzar (to cut, to cut off), whose basic meaning shows the two roots to be allophones, there arises from the substantive حجر / gzarā derived from it, according to Mamā (102b), the meaning: (a) (under 4) حجر منحوت مربع (a square-cut stone), (b) in reference to the notched coping of a wall (under 9): أفرز الزباء (battlement) (in Brockelmann, Lexicon Syriacum, 112b, 5. pinna muri). The latter meaning was then applied to the defensive wall, the defensive tower and / or the entire fortress. Arabistics' previously assumed derivation from Latin castrum / castellum (> English castle, German Kastell, French château) is thus turned on its head, since even the Latin verb castrō (to castrate) makes clear its dependence on the basic meaning of the Syro-Aramaic verb. However, in the case of the Latin transcription one must start from the standard Aramaic and/or Arabic form qaṣr, since the voiceless emphatic sound Š is rendered in Latin by a combined st. A further example of this is the Koranic ﺸﺮﺍط < Syro-Aramaic ﺵﺮﺍ / sīrāf (line = way), whose emphatic initial Š is in turn rendered in Latin by st (= strata) (see below p. 226 ff.). As already discussed, this is demonstrated by the rendering of city names such as that of the city of ﻣﺼﺮ / Buṣra south of Damascus, which is rendered in Greek and Latin as Boстра / Bostrae. In one case the emphatic Š is rendered by the sound combination ps. Thus the Greek / Latin transcription of the city ﻣﺼﺮ / Māṣṣītā is Mopsuestia (Thes. II 2195).
Instead of the previous pronunciation *tawrāh / tawrāt* for the Koranic spelling توریه, we would accordingly have criteria for the pronunciation *yōriya / yōriya*, in an Arabicized pronunciation perhaps *yawriya*. The weak point in this argumentation, however, remains the fact that (at least until now) no evidence has been given of the existence of an Aramaic or Syro-Aramaic variant such as יֹרְיָת (yōriyat).

On the other hand, our foundations are strengthened if in the case of the spelling توریه we read the medial peak ي as the phonetic rendering of the Hebrew feminine ending –ā (as finally transmitted) to designate the long a. Namely, contrary to Diem’s assumption, the Koran does not always render the foreign orthography faithfully in the case of borrowed proper names. An example of this is the orthography of the name Abraham, which in the Cairo Koran edition is written אברŭhem (Ibrāhīm = Abrāhām) in fifty-four passages and אברֹhem (Abrāhām) in fifteen passages (see below the example 5, p. 93).

However, it has appeared meanwhile that such an assumption as to the spelling of بريه / توریه is erroneous, inasmuch as the Koran does not provide any example for the usage of a double *mater lectionis* يه / yh to mark the final ā, considering the fact that, according to the Aramaic (and Hebrew) orthographical tradition, in this case only the final ḥ / h fulfills this function. This consideration led us to undertake further investigations to determine the real reading of the little peak ٍ before the final ـه / h. The results can now be presented in what follows.

*On the new interpretation of the spelling*

*Torīya* (Tawrāh / Tawrāt) = *Yawriya / Yōriya*

Taking up once more the Koranic name beginning with ي (Yaḡūg), we have here a parallel for the Syriac spelling أَغُوج (Aḡūg), which would justify an initial y for the Koranic spelling بريه (Yawriya) for Syro-Aramaic ܐܘܪܝ,” (Awriya / Orīya / Ürīya).

In the first German edition of this study (p. 68 ff.) this well-founded reading was temporarily set aside because until then no evidence of it could be given. In the meantime, it not only seems obvious through the
reference to the above-mentioned parallel; it can also be substantiated, thanks to the Mandaic Grammar (MG) of Nöldeke,121 Namely, in the first chapter on Schrift und Lautlehre [Writing, Phonetics and Phonology], he remarks under § 6 (p. 7) (3):

An example of initial spiritus lenis with u, o is יונמשתא = יונישתא (Oraytā) “Thora”; אוד = אוור (name of the worst devil, from Hebrew אוד (u) “Feuer”);... This ינש , however, can in some circumstances also be ευ, ιω ... That יונישתא can accordingly not only be pronounced Oraytā, but in some circumstances also Yoraytā, is in turn supported by the Mandaic dictionary.122 There (p. 191a) the spelling given by Nöldeke as an example יונש is rendered alternatively under both pronunciations: “YUR = AUR II (= ‘UR II) to shine”; further: “YWR = AWR (=’WR) to blind, to dazzle with light.” Another example of the initial y is provided to us by Nöldeke in the MG (§ 62 [5]) with the spelling ᵃיריו (yërā / yūrā) “shine.”

With these examples the Mandaic writing tradition again helps us to solve the riddle of the Koran spelling. Consequently, from now on we can be certain that this spelling should no longer to be read as Tawrāh/Tawrāt, but as Yawrīya/Yūrīya/Yūrīya.

Now what makes this reading into a certainty is not only the initial y which was heretofore unexpected in research on the, but in particular the ending יא, in which Nöldeke had correctly expected the pronunciation יא. The argumentation in the first German edition of this study in favor of the reading Tawrāh/Tawrāt, according to which the next to the last little peak can be seen as mater lectionis for long ā, is erroneous since the final h fulfills precisely this function.

In other words, as a rule two matres lectionis, one following immediately after the other for one and the same function, contradicts the Koranic and Aramaic writing tradition. For this reason the ending āya is

121 Theodor Nöldeke, Mandäische Grammatik, Halle an der Saale 1975 (Reprint Darmstadt 1964).
to be confirmed. Thus for the Koranic spelling يُورِيَة the result is clearly the reading Yawriyya or Yōriyya / Yūriyya.

In the light of this misreading of a presumably familiar name, the question can be asked as to how the Arabic reader was able to arrive at such a misinterpretation of the Koranic orthography. The answer can only be that, for the lack of an oral tradition, they allowed themselves to be told by Jewish informants that in Hebrew the word is Tōrā, even though in Jewish-Aramaic (as in Syro-Aramaic) this is pronounced אֶרְוַיָּה (ʾOrayyā/Orēṭā) (status absolutus Ḥorayyēḏ / Ḥrayyā/Ḥriyyā). ¹²³

The fact that the Arabic exegetes transferred this reading to a differently pronounced Koranic spelling is reminiscent of the Biblical principle of חָפֵץ / kṭīh (so written) and קָרֶץ / qrē (differently read). This appears to be the principle that A. Jeffery (loc. cit. 95 f.) is following when – despite the 18 times in which the spelling التورية occurs in the Cairo version of the Koran – he renders this word in the modern Arabic transcription (תּוֹרָא / Tawrāt) and reads it Taurāh. Just as rashly did Jeffery agree with the Western Koran scholars who had argued for a direct borrowing from Hebrew, whereby he rejected Fraenkel’s consideration, which, with its presumption regarding an Aramaic borrowing, was closer to the truth. ¹²⁴

With his comprehensive knowledge of the Aramaic dialects, in particular of Mandaic, Theodore Nöldeke, however, would certainly have had the competence to cope with the riddle of this Koranic orthography had he concerned himself more closely with the text of the Koran.


¹²⁴ Thus Jeffery writes (op.cit. 96): “Western scholars from the time of Marraci, Prodromus, I, 5, have recognized it as a borrowing direct from the Heb. (Note 2: So de Sacy, JA, 1829, p. 175; Geiger, 45; von Kremer, Ideen, 226 n.; Pautz, Offenbarung, 120, n. 1; Hirschfeld, Beiträge, 65; Horovitz, KU, 71; JPN, 194; Margoliouth, ERE, x, 540), and there is no need to discuss the possible Aram. Origin mentioned by Fraenkel, Vocab, 23 (Note 3: Fischer, Glossar, 18a, however, suggests that it may be a mixed form from the Heb. תְּרוֹאָה (Tōrā) and Aram. אֵרְוַיָּה (ʾOrayyā); cf. also Ahrens, ZDMG, lxxxiv, 20, and Torrey, Foundation, 51.). The word was doubtless well known in Arabia before Muḥammad’s time, cf. Ibn Hīshām, 659.”
Example 5: On the spelling of Ḥāʾīm (Ibrāhīm = Abrāhām)\(^{125}\)

In the case of this name the Arabic readers have proceeded in the opposite fashion: Whereas in the preceding spelling theoτικα they have falsely seen in the next to the last little peak a mater lectionis for long ā (instead of y or r), for the spelling Ḥāʾīm they have taken the next to the last little peak to be a mater lectionis for long r instead of for long ā. This is all the more surprising since the name Abraham must have been quite familiar to them.

That with the spelling Ḥāʾīm the reading Abrāhām is intended is supported by the fifteen passages in the Cairo edition of the Koran with the defective spelling Ḥāʾīm (Abrhm). This faithfully renders the Hebrew and Syro-Aramaic written form קִנְחָאָמ and is to be read as “Abrāhām.”\(^{126}\) The partial full spelling Ḥāʾīm occurs in fifty-four passages in the Cairo version. Here the fact that it is not the first long ā, but the second that is indicated by a little peak, can be explained by the Koran writer’s want in this way to emphasize the accented syllable (Abrahām).

Sura 12:88

Example 6: مزجية (allegedly muzgāt)

This is actually an example of a little peak that has been misread and taken to be a long ā. W. Diem explains (op. cit. § 57):

“In the spelling of the feminine singular forms ending in –āh constructed from tertiae infīrmæ roots, sometimes yā and some-

\(^{125}\) In A. Jeffery, op. cit. 44-46.

\(^{126}\) As Th. Nöldeke (Bergsträßer-Pretzl), GdQ, III, 17, remarks (in note 1): “What is meant by the shorter spelling (Abrāhām) (this, according to the Damascene ibn ‘Āmir, is considered certain in Sura 2; other passages are still in dispute)." Also concerning these two variants on p. 98: “16:124 [Note 3: Not listed by Mingana]; this may be a difference in spelling, but may also represent the form Abrāhām that appears in the Othmanic text.” The effort expended by A. Jeffery, Foreign Vocabulary, 44-46, to explain this orthography was therefore unnecessary.
times alif is encountered. The spellings familiar to me are: مزجه
12,88 muzgah (zgw) “little”; ... . Of these spellings, موژه corresponds to expectations, since for the undocumented masculine form muzgah of spellings like مسمى musammâ (§ 45) one can infer a spelling with a final ŋâ that, in accordance with § 56, could then be retained for the spelling of the feminine.“

Indeed, one could have spoken of the “مزجه type” if this word had not been misread. That mediae geminatae and tertiae infirmae roots can be variants of one and the same root is a well-known phenomenon in Syro-Aramaic and Arabic. But the fact that the three verbal forms attributed to the root زجا زجو in the Koran (Suras 17:66; 24:43; 12:88) have actually been misread (the first two from the Arabic رجا and ارجا / arga “to hold up,” the third from the Syro-Aramaic راج / ragg “to make damp or wet”) and falsely interpreted as the mediae geminatae root زج / zagga (push, throw), raises the question whether the tertiae infirmae root زجا / zaga / zgw was not adopted into the Arabic lexicography with the same meaning as the root زج / zagga on the basis of this misreading (cf. both roots, e.g. in H. Wehr, Arabisches Wörterbuch [Arabic Dictionary]).

With far too much confidence, A. Jeffery says of مزجة / muzgät (Foreign Vocabulary 33 f.) that it is “undoubtedly genuine Arabic.” But one ought not to take the Arabic commentators for so ignorant when even Tabari (XIII 50 ff.) says on the subject: اختلف أهل التأويل في البيان “on the interpretation of this (expression) the commentators are of various opinions.” Among the forty opinions listed by Tabari (bad, trifling, low-grade, inaccessible goods; clarified butter and wool; inferior, insufficient money) only one of them comes close to the actual Biblical sense to which this expression alludes. It is the interpretation attributed to Abû Šâlih (op. cit. 51) according to which it means الصنوبر والحبة الخضراء (as-sanawbar wa-l-habba al-hadiâ”) “pine seeds and terebinths (turpentine pistachios).”

This opinion is not at all as outlandish as it appears at first glance. Rather, one must assume that this Abû Šâlih was aware of the corresponding passage in the Bible (Genesis 43: 11). Namely, there it is said
that Israel (Jacob), before the second journey of his sons to Egypt with Benjamin, instructs each of them, in addition to the double amount of money, to take something with them of the best fruits in the land as a present. These fruits are enumerated (op. cit.) as follows (according to the *Pšittā*):

“Pine seeds (or balsam), honey, resin, pistachios, terebinths (turpentine pistachios) and almonds.”

This hint could have contributed to the clarification of the familiarly obscure expression مزجية (supposedly *muzgāt*) if our Koran translators had taken a closer look at the corresponding passage in the Bible and not been satisfied with repeating the wavering opinions of the commentators. If *Tabarī*, however, has taken the trouble to list up to forty *hadith*, he surely must have imagined that one or the other interpretation was correct. In the process, this again confirms that occasionally the Arabic exegesis of the Koran has preserved a correct interpretation of an expression that was considered to be unclear. The task of Koran research should have then been, on the basis of philological and objective criteria, to identify this one interpretation.

In the present case, the above-mentioned Bible passage gives us an objective indication concerning the identity of the Syro-Aramaic root of the spelling misread as مزجية (*muzgāh* / *muzgāt*). For in reality (a) the dot over the ز / z has been falsely placed and this letter should be read as ر / r and (b) the next to the last peak should not be read as long أ but as ي / y. This results in the reading مزجية = Syro-Aramaic *m-raggaytā* (*m-raggaytā*). As the active or passive feminine attributive participle of راگ (ra’g) (to moisten, to wet, to refresh) the Thes. (II 3806) gives us

127 The Jerusalemer Bibel [Jerusalem Bible] renders this passage as follows: “some balsam, a little honey, gum, ladanum, pistachios and almonds.”

128 R. Paret, for example, says in his Kommentar [Commentary] (253) on this passage (12:88): “The interpretation of *biṣṭ'a muṣqāt* is not certain.” In his Koran-übersetzung [Koran translation] (198) he renders the expression with “Ware von geringen Wert [goods of little value] (?).” R. Blachère (268) translates in a corresponding manner: “une marchandise de peu de prix [low-priced merchandise]”; and R. Bell (225): “we have brought transported goods.”
under “poma (rgayyā) recentia” the meaning “fresh fruits,” which would fit our context. Moreover, under (rgā) (3805, l. 43805) the Thes. gives the following as synonyms for (raggh): (arṭeb), (raṭṭeb), (in Arabic) (yuraṭṭib) (to wet, to moisten, to refresh).

Now, although the Syro-Aramaic participial form (m-raggaytā) can be understood actively or passively, it would be more likely to be understood as active here since in Syro-Aramaic usually the passive participle of Pʿal (rgā) is used for the passive meaning.\(^{129}\) In the case of the synonymous ḫantā (rṭeb) we would have by analogy the Arabic رطب (raṭṭib) for the latter and مرتبة (muraṭṭib) for the former case.

Thus the most obvious thing to do would be to read the Koranic transcription, for which there is no root in Arabic in this sense, actively as muraγγiya. The expression (gīnā bi-bidaʾa tin muraγγiya in) (Syro-Aramaic: aytīnan tegūrtā m-raggaytā) would then be in Arabic understandable today:

(šīlā bi-bidaʾa tin muraṭṭiba)
“We have brought along refreshing\(^{130}\) fruits."

Hence, according to the Biblical account, Joseph's brothers have brought along with them the present for the host that is still in part customary according to Oriental practice today.

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\(^{129}\) Cf. Thes. (II 3805 f.), under (rgā): (qaysā raγyā) ḥūlōn χλωρόν (fresh wood), (sawkē raγyā) ḥlūdōn απαλοῖ (tender, young, fresh twigs).

\(^{130}\) Supporting this meaning, moreover, is the synonymous expression given by the Thes. (II 3893) (māyyā m-raṭṭib) (refreshing water), as well as the explanation cited from the Syrian lexicographers on the Ašel (arṭeb): (w-m-eṭamāra ʿal māyyā w-deḥā w-meṣḥā w-ḥamā w-mā d-dāmē) (arṭeb “to refresh”: said of water, honey, oil, wine and the like).
The hypothesis of the seemingly early abandonment of the little peak also used in the first generation of Koranic orthography to designate a word-medial long \( \ddot{a} \) and its replacement by an \( alif \) in a second or third phase can be partially proven on the basis of extant manuscripts of the Koran of the second and third generation. The suspicion that many a word was misread and distorted in the course of this orthographic reform may, for example, be confirmed by the spelling براءة (\( barā'a \)). This word occurs twice in the Koran (Suras 9:1 and 54:43). In the context of Sura 9:1, for instance, one reads:

\[ براءة من الله ورسوله إلى الذين عهدتم من المشركين \]

The expression, in keeping with \( Tabari \) (X 58 ff.), is understood by our Koran translators as follows:

(Bell I 173): “Renunciation by Allah and His messenger of the polytheists with whom ye have made covenants;...”


(Blachère 212): “Immunité d’Allah et de Son Apôtre, pour ceux des Associateurs avec qui vous avez conclu un pacte.”

In his note on this expression, R. Blachère rightfully questions whether براءة (\( barā'a \)) really signifies a “renunciation” [Bell] or “termination” [Paret’s Aufkündigung]. What was meant by this was the termination of the agreement of \( Hlu-daybiya \) after the taking of Mecca in the year 630, which would clearly contradict Verse 2.
The occasion for R. Paret’s proposal of contradictory alternatives for "Bruce" (barʿa), “termination [Aufkündigung]” (of an agreement) or “(declaration of) immunity [Schutzklärung],” must have been the distortion, by the insertion of the alif, of the original spelling برية (bariya). Namely, on the basis of the context, this spelling can only be the transliteration of the Hebrew ברית (brit, agreement). Among the definitions listed by W. Gesenius (Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch [Concise Dictionary of Hebrew and Aramaic] 116) for this well-known Biblical expression, the following should suffice:

“1. An agreement which receives through a solemn ceremony an especially forceful and obligatory character…. Such a solemn obligation occurred in various cases, for example (a) when a covenant was concluded between persons, nations or tribes; (b) in the case of treaties, or contracts, referring to specific obligations or performance; (c) in the case of agreements between winners and losers…”

The meaning of برية (bariya)131 would thus be established as a rendering of the Hebrew ברית (brit) (agreement, covenant). The same applies for Sura 54:43 “or have you, say, a covenant (with God) in the Scripture?”132 Here, too, it is probably not برية (bariya) that should be read but براءة (baraʿa). The corresponding Syro-Aramaic expression in the Pshitta is صفحة (qyama). This is also what must be meant in Sura 5:97 “God has made the Kaʾba, the Sacred House, a covenant for mankind.”

131 This word, pronounced “brīya,” is very current in actual spoken Algerian Arabic in the meaning “letter” (= written document).
132 Properly considered, “Book of Psalms,” which (being part of the Scripture) Tabari (XXVII 108) also explains with “Scripture.”
Summary

The determination that the little peak not only serves as the carrier of five letters َبْتَشْنَبْ (b, t, t, a, t/y), but occasionally (except for the endings of verbs tertiae yā' before suffixes) can also designate long ā, provides a solution to many a phenomenon considered inexplicable in the Koran until now. As W. Diem comments under (e) طيب / َتَبَ工序 and the like (op. cit., §60, 250 f.):

"For the spellings 4:3 طاب َتَبَ工序 ‘it was good,’ َوَلِلرجال 228:222 َتَبَ工序 ‘and to the men,’ as well as for َجَاء / َجَأ ‘he came’ and َجِئت / َجِئت ‘she came’ ad-Dānī reports [Muqā‘ī? 71. See also Jeffery-Mendelson: ‘Samarquand Qu’ran Codex’ 186] as variants the spellings طيب, َلِلرجال, َجِئت. The spellings with yā’ are explained by Nöldke [GdQ 1860, 255], Volleys [Volks-
sprache und Schriftsprache 102] and Bergsträsser-Pretzl [GdQ III 40, 92] by َيَمَّلَا; Brockelmann [GvG I 608, Note 1] also assumes an َيَمَّلَا in the case of َجِئت, which he sees as being derived from forms containing an r such as َجِئت. The explanation with َيَمَّلَا is made too ad hoc to be convincing, and would also be surprising in the case of َتَبَ工序, in emphatic surroundings. Not to mention the fact that I consider it impossible that a phonologically irrelevant variant could have caused a change in the orthography. There is still no explanation for this: at best, for طيب, َجِئت [sic! for َجِئت] one could imagine the possibility that the yā’ of spellings of other derivations (yatību; َجِئت etc.) had infiltrated by association, as was also considered for the َلِلرجال in the al-māw (§ 47). However, َلِلرجال cannot be explained in this way.”

The determination presented above now makes it clear that what is meant by the spelling طاب َتَبَ工序 (tāb), what is meant by the spelling َجَاء (gā‘a‘), and what is meant by the spelling َجِئت (gā‘a‘). The same applies for the clarification above of the spelling إبرهم = إبراهيم (Abrāhām), which W. Diem (op. cit. §30, 227) considers equally puzzling, and for the examples cited by Th. Nöldke (Bergsträßer-Pretzl, GdQ III 49) (bi-ayād‘a‘) (Sura 51:47) (bi-ayyām)
(Sura 14:5) جذاتهم = جياتهم (ga'athum) (92). Further examples would be the variants from Sura 7:40 الخياتط (al-kiyāţ) (< Syro-Aramaic سمیکه) and المخيط (m-hāţā) (sewing needle) (op. cit. 67), no matter how hard the Lisân (VII 298 f.) tries to explain these Syro-Aramaic forms as Arabic. This also renders superfluous the concluding remarks on the corresponding orthography in the Lewis palimpsests (op. cit. 57).

In this way, too, many a Koranic spelling قيل (qāl) will turn out to be قال (qāl) (perhaps even the Syro-Aramaic صلة / qālā “word, speech”). As to the later use of the peak as the carrier of the hamza in the Koran, it should finally be noted that in the early Koran manuscripts the peaks were conceived of exclusively as carriers of the above-mentioned sounds, but never as carriers of the hamza. A later analysis will show that many a distortion has resulted from the subsequent incorrect provision of a traditional peak with an unforeseen hamza.

On the Morphology and Etymology of
Syro-Aramaic میکه (sāţānā) and Koranic شيطان (šayţān)

Concerning the thesis that the medial peak ب (y) in the Koranic spelling of شيطان (šayţān) is a mater lectionis for the vowel ā corresponding to the transliteration of Syro-Aramaic میکه (sāţānā / sātān) a preliminary remark is to be made about the Koranic orthography of this word. For while, for example, the spelling of ابرهيم (Ibrāhīm = Ābrāhām) occurs in the Cairo Koran edition fifteen times (in Sura 2) as ابرهيم (Ābrāhām), without the facultative mater lectionis ب / y (= ā), as has been noticed by Th. Nöldeke (Bergsträßer-Pretzl) in GdQ [History of the Qur‘ān] III, 17, n. 1 (see above p. 93), this is not the case for the regular spelling of شيطان (šayţān), whose pronunciation is moreover very common in vernacular Arabic. It is therefore unjustified to maintain that the Koranic orthography simply reproduces the phonetic spelling of Syro-Aramaic میکه (sāţān). This thesis has been recently rejected by M. Kropp, who tries to demonstrate the correlation between the Arabic and the Ethiopic origin
of ʿṣayṭān. It is here not the place to discuss the conclusions of this
instructive contribution which foreshadows the complexity of this
momentous term for cultural, religious and linguistic history. However,
apt to the detailed examples of the usage of this word in Arabic and
Ethiopic, no explanation is given as to his original meaning. Thus fur-
ther details will be briefly provided here to point out that ʿṣīṭīn
(ʿṣayṭān) is originally neither Arabic nor Ethiopic, but that the two spellings,
ṣīṭīnā (ṣālānā) as well as ʿṣīṭīn (ʿṣayṭān), are morphologically and
etymologically two secondary Eastern (Babylonian) Aramaic dialectal
variants of one and the same Syro-Aramaic verbal root.

This root is still conserved in Classical Syro-Aramaic with the me-
dial ʾ / ʾāyn in its unaltered form ʾeḥā / sʾēṯ (or sʾēf). The original
meaning is given by C. Brockelmann (Lexicon Syriacum, 487b f.) as
follows: “taeduit eum, abhorruit” (to loath, abhor, abominate). From
this root two verbal adjectives were derived:

1. a) A first adjective was derived from an early passive participle
of the first stem of regular three-consonant verbs according to the

133 A more extensive version of this chapter has appeared in the meantime in the
anthology ed. by Christoph Burgmer: Streit um den Koran. Die Luxemburg-De-
batte. Standpunkte und Hintergründe [Dispute about the Koran. The Luxen-
berg-Debate. Standpoints and Backgrounds], 3rd ed., Berlin 2006, p. 72–82; on
the etymology of Koranic صم / sawād (Sura 112:2) see p. 76, note 1; further
contributions by the author see there: a) p. 62-68: Weihnachten im Koran
[Christmas in the Koran] (Sura 97); b) p. 83-89: Der Koran zum „islamischen
Kopfusch“ [The Koran on the „Islamic Veil“] (Sura 24:31). The two latter con-
tributions have appeared in French as follows: a) Anne-Marie Delcambre, Jo-
seph Bossard et alii, Enquêtes sur l’islam. En hommage à Antoine Moussali
[Inquiries about Islam. In Homage to Antoine Moussali], Paris (Desclée de
Brouwer), 2004, p. 117-134 : Noël dans le Coran [Christmas in the Koran]; b)
Yves Charles Zarka, Sylvie Taussig, Cynthia Fleury (ed.), L’Islam en France
[Islam in France], in: Cités (Revue) Hors Série, Paris (Presses Universitaires de
France), 2004, p. 661-665: Quelle est la langue du Coran? [Which is the Lan-
Manfred Kropp, Der äthiopische Satan = ʿṣayṭān und seine koranischen Aus-
läufer; mit einer Bemerkung über verbales Steinigen [The Ethiopic Satan = ʿṣayṭān and his Koranic ramifications; with a notice about verbal stoning], in:
form pa'lä\(^{134}\) = ملتَ /ṣa'ṭā + the suffix ān + the suffix of status emphaticus ā = *مَحتَ /ṣa'ṭānā. The suffix ān has among other things the same function as the Latin suffix -abilis (English -able) and confers on the participle the meaning of a gerund. Thus *مَحتَ /ṣa'ṭānā means “worthy to be abominated = abominable.” This is the classical form of the original Syro-Aramaic root.

b) From this classical form the medial  /ʿayn was dropped early on in the vernacular Eastern Syro-Aramaic. The phonoetical consequence of this dropping is the compensative lengthening (Ersatzdehnung) of the initial ā. So *مَحتَ /ṣa'ṭānā became > ملَت /ṣāṭānā as it is attested in the Hebrew Bible (> יִנְבּ /ṣāṭān as well as in the New Testament, and, since then, in many modern European languages. Because this word came with this (dialectal) spelling into Syriac through the translation of the Old and New Testament, the Syrian lexicographers were no longer able to recognize its actual Syro-Aramaic etymology (with the medial  /ʿayn). Even Ephraem the Syrian derived it falsely from the root مَلَت /ṣāṭ which means “deviate, lose the way,” for which rea-

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134 In the classical Syriac grammar this form is limited to verbs tertiae ā or y (with final ā or y), as e.g. (for masculine singular in status emphaticus): حَلََل /maliyā (full), حَلََل /sanyā (mad), حَلََل /sanyā (blind, a blind man) (see C. Brockelmann, Syrische Grammatik [Syriac Grammar], Paradigma p. 140). Yet, that this form had also existed in early Syriac in regular verbs is attested in some still conserved adjectives as e.g.: حَمَس /ʿaqā (difficult), حَلََل /ṭanpā, حَلََل /ṣaʿlā (impure), حَلََل /ṣalmā (sound, wholesome), etc. Interesting is this earlier form in the Syro-Aramaic adjective حَلََل /ṭanpā (heathen) beside the regular, in Syro-Aramaic unused but in the Koran transmitted form *سَلَِم > Arabic حَنِيفā > حَنِيفā: The same is to be found in the substantivied (i.e. used as a noun) Syro-Aramaic سَلَِم /ṭalpā (secondary حَلََل /ṭalpā > Arabic حَلََلāf) and the Arabic, from Eastern Syro-Aramaic *سَلَِم (with the vernacular pronunciation of h > ḫ) borrowed form حَلََلāف /ḥaltāf (substitute). A further example we have in the Syro-Aramaic substantive سَلَِم /ṭalpā and Arabic حَلََلāب /ṭalpā (milk). Both participial forms occur finally in a few number of substantivied participle adjectives in Classical Syriac, as e.g.: حَمَس /karkā (a fortified town, fortress, citadel) = حَمَس /kīṭā (surrounded, encircled).
son, he explains, the devil was called *sāṭānā* (cf. *Thes.* II 2601, Ephr. ii. 474 D). However, before Satan became a name of the devil, its actual meaning was “abominable.” Therefore, when Jesus rebuked Peter with the words: “Get thee behind me, satan!” (Mt 16:23), the latter word was not to be understood as a proper name, but verbatim: “Get thee behind me, abominable!” The same meaning is to be assumed in Mt 4:10, when Jesus repulsed the devil just once with the same epithet: *sāṭānā* (= abominable!), whereas in this passage in the Pešīṭā the devil is called four times *hēl-qārsa* (calumniator, accusator = adversary) (Mt 4:1–11).

2. a) The second adjective derived from the root סָדָה /sāṭ (according to the pattern of the passive participle paʿlis /pūlis of the first stem of regular verbs) runs in Classical Syro-Aramaic *sāṭānā* /saṭānā > sāṭānā. After the dropping of the medial ʿ / ʿ in the vernacular Eastern Syro-Aramaic, the spelling and the pronunciation become *sāṭānā* /sayṭānā, as attested in Mandaic. C. Brockelmann (*Lexicon Syriacum*) gives on the one hand the Classical Syro-Aramaic form as *sāṭānā* /saṭānā (488a 4), and on the other hand the Mandaic form as *sayṭānā* /sayṭānā (487b –3), both with the same meaning: “repudiandas” (abominable). But Brockelmann did not notice that he just needed to add to this word the suffix ān /ānā to have the vernacular Eastern Syro-Aramaic form *sayṭānā* /sayṭānā from which (after changing the s > š and omission of the final ā) the Koranic Arabic *ṣāṭān* /ṣayṭān is derived.

135 Cf. Th. Nöldeke, *Syrische Grammatik [Syriac Grammar]*, § 128, § 129: “To form adjectives, ān is added to very various words…” See further *ibid.*, *Mandäische Grammatik [Mandaic Grammar]*, § 114 e): “Nouns formed with suffixes: With ān and its variants. The suffix ʿān , ān, that can be substituted in some cases by rû (§ 20), is likewise very common in Mandaic, namely, both for abstract nouns and for adjectives…”

136 Concerning the alternation of *s* /s and *š* /š in Syro-Aramaic and Arabic see S. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen [The Aramaic Foreign Words in Arabic]*, p. XII f., XXI.
As one can see, though the determination that the little peak بـ as occasional *mater lectionis* for medial long ą may be of some importance for Koranic research, however, it can not be considered as a key to solve such intricate riddles as the Koranic شيطان /šayṭān. Moreover, the erudite investigation of M. Kropp as to the use of this cultural word in Ethiopian confirms once more the view of Th. Nöldeke with regard to some Ethiopian words borrowed from Aramaic (cf. *Mandäische Grammatik / Mandaic Grammar*, p. 134, note 4 explaining the Syro-Aramaic word ṣe ṣe ṣe / Ṣraytā): “Auch ins Aethiop(ische) ist dies Wort mit anderen durch die aram(äischen) Missionäre als ḍīrit hineingetragen [This word has with others also been introduced into Ethiopian as ḍīrīt by the Aramean missionaries].”

**Qur'an < Qəryān: Lectionary**

If *Koran*, however, really means *lectionary*, then one can assume that the Koran intended itself first of all to be understood as nothing more than a liturgical book with selected texts from the *Scriptures* (the Old and New Testament) and not at all as a substitute for the *Scriptures* themselves, i.e. as an independent *Scripture*. Whence the numerous allusions to the *Scriptures*, without a knowledge of which the Koran may often seem to be a sealed book to the reader. The reference to the Scriptures, however, is not only apparent from the individual allusions; rather, in more than one passage the Koran refers explicitly to the *Scriptures*, of which it conceives itself to be a *part*. So, for example, we read in Sura 12:1–2:
Sura 12:1–2

(1) "These are the signs of the Book that is clear. Verily We have sent it down as an Arabic Qur’an; mayhap ye will understand."

(Paret 190): 1. „Dies sind die Verse der deutlichen Schrift. 2. Wir haben sie als einen arabischen Koran hinabgesandt. Vielleicht würdet ihr verständig sein.“


The proposed translation according to the Syro-Aramaic understanding:

1. “These are the (scriptural) signs (i.e. the letters = the written copy, script) of the elucidated Scripture: 2. We have sent them

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137 Borrowed from Syro-Aramaic, the Arabic verbal root بَنَانٌ (bāna), second stem بَيْنُ (bayyana), is identical with the Syro-Aramaic بَنُ (bān / bān, undocumented in Peal), Pael بَيْنُ (bayycu). Thus, in this context the Syro-Aramaic (as well as Arabic) meaning to elucidate, to explain (Thes. I 468: intelligere, discernere fecit) gives the more exact sense. It is to this extent to be understood as a synonym of فَصَّالُ (fāṣala) (as a loan translation from Syro-Aramaic فَصَّال/ فَصَّالُ / praš / parreš, see below). As a passive participle of the second stem it ought to have been mu-bayyān (corresponding to Syro-Aramaic مَحْضِيَ m-bayyān), as the active participle of the fourth stem mubān. The active participle of the fourth Arabic stem mubīn (elucidating, explaining), as the Koran now reads, would only be justifiable here from the necessity to rhyme, since the fourth stem أبَنَ (abān) does not occur elsewhere in the Koran. The participial form مَبْيَنُ (mubīn) monotonously derived from it without any consideration for the semantic context should therefore have been read or understood, depending on the context, either passively mubayyān (thus, for example, in Sura 19:38 في ضلال مبين نُبْلَيْنَ mubayyān “in apparent error”), or actively mubayyīn (as, for example, in Sura 46: ما أنا إلا نذير مبين I am only an elucidating, explaining warner” [Paret: “a clear warner”]).
down as an Arabic *lectionary* (= Koran) (or in an Arabic *reading*\(^{138}\)) *so that*\(^{139}\) you *may understand* (it).“

The Koran makes even more explicit, with further expressions borrowed from Syro-Aramaic and explained below, that what is meant by “*eluciated*” Scripture is the “*translated*” Scripture.

With the Syro-Aramaism (أُمَ الْكِتَابِ)\(^{140}\) (*umm al-kitāb*) (“*mother of the scripture*” = *main scripture* or *proto-scripture*) the Koran names the Scriptures as its actual source in Suras 3:7, 13:39, and 43:4. This emerges most clearly from Sura 3:7:

*Sura 3:7*

هو الذي أنزل عليك الكتاب منه
ايت محكمته هن ام الكتاب واخر منتسبهت

By the Koran translators, this verse segment has been understood as follows:

(Bell I 44): 5. “He it is who hath sent down to thee the Book; in it are *clearly formulated* verses; these are the *essence* [Lit. “mother”] of the Book; other (verses) are *ambiguous*.”

(Paret 44): “Er ist es, der die Schrift auf dich herabgesandt hat. Darin gibt es (eindeutig) *bestimmte* Verse (*āyāt muḥkamāt*) – sie

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138. See further below.

139. As a rule Arabic لَعْلَة (lāʿāla) (perhaps) expresses a supposition. However, in the Koran, as the equivalent of Syro-Aramaic ܚܲܛ (kbar), for which the Syrian lexicographers give, among other things, لَيْت (layta), it can also express a longed-for desire, a hope (cf. Thes. I 1673).

140. For the meaning of ܐܝܢܘ (em, enmā) appropriate here, cf. Thes. I 222, 2) *caput, fons, origo (head, source, origin)*. The Koran provides a parallel expression in Sura 6: 92 und 42: 7 with أُمَ الْقُرْآنِ (umm al-qurān) (*metropolis, capital*), whose Syro-Aramaic equivalent the *Thes. (ibid.)* documents, among other things, as follows: *emēṯāṯ gā-mṯnāṯā* (*emēṯāṯ gā-mṯnāṯā*), *matres urbium (metropolis)*, نَینْوَيْنَ (Ninwē enmā g-ʾAfūr), *Nineve Assyriac metropolis (Nineveh, capital of Assyria).*
sind die Urschrift (umm al-kitāb) – und andere, mehrdeutige (mutasābihāt).

(Blachère 76): 5/7 “C’est Lui qui a fait descendre sur toi l’Ecriture. En celle-ci sont des aya confirmées (?) qui sont l’essence de l’Ecriture, tandis que d’autres sont équivoques.”

On the basis of both Arabic and Syro-Aramaic, this verse segment is to be understood as follows:

“He it is who has sent the Book down to you. Of it (a part consists of) precise (or well-known) writings (i.e. texts), which (are) (quasi) the Proto-Scripture (itself), and (a part of) other (writings), which (are) alike in meaning (to these).”

Only if one analyzes each term according to its equivalent Aramaic semantic contents does one do justice to the real meaning of this verse. In connection with the “elucidated” scripture, there is, behind the Arabic participial adjective محكمات (muḥkamāt) (here “precise” or “well-known”), the Syro-Aramaic سماحی (ḥattūlā) or سمیص (hkīmā). The first adjective is used precisely in connection with “exact” translations. The latter can refer to the knowledge of the content. Behind متشبيه (mutasābihāt) (similar) is the Syro-Aramaic دمیص (dāmyātā) (similar, comparable).

141 In this case what is meant by this is evidently the Koran.
142 As an expression of the partitivum, منه (minhu) in this case actually means “(a part) of it,” i.e. of the Koran.
143 With Koranic آیت (āyāt) are meant Syro-Aramaic سماحی (ḥattūlā): “signs” (of script or Scriptures), i.e. the written words of God.
144 What is meant by this is the “faithful rendering” of the parts of the Koran taken from the “Proto-Scripture.”
145 Cf. Thes. I 1407, 1) exactus, accuratus; سماحی (muḥkamāt ḥattūlā) interpretes fidi (faithful, exact translators); سمیص (puṣṣāqē ḥattūlē) (exact translations). فیح (sīḥ (h am): حکم فهم. عرف. آدرک (ṣāḥama, fahima, ʿarafa, adraka) (to comprehend, understand, to know).
146 Cf. Thes. I 912: Part. act. دمیص (dāmyātā) similis; دمیص (dāmyātā ba-
With these two terms the Koran defines the origin of its content. It therefore consists, on the one hand, of "faithful" (or well-known) excerpts from the "Proto-Scripture," i.e. the "canonical Scriptures," and, on the other hand, of parts taken, say, from apocryphal or other scriptures "comparable" to the Proto-Scripture. The content of the Koran we have before us also confirms this brief "table of contents." With comparable verses, the Koran is at the same time making it clear that for it the standard to which it persistently refers is the "Proto-Scripture," i.e. the Scriptures considered to be canonical.

Now, notwithstanding the assertion in the Koran itself (in Suras 16:103 and 26:195) that the Prophet had proclaimed the Koranic message in "clear Arabic speech," لسان عربي مبين, all Arab, as well as all non-Arab commentators on the Koran have since time immemorial racked their brains over the interpretation of this language. Generations of renowned Koran scholars have devoted their lives to the meritorious exercise of clarifying the text of the Koran grammatically and semantically, word for word. In spite of all these efforts one would not be far from the truth if one were to estimate the proportion of the Koran that is still considered unexplained today at about a quarter of the text. But the actual proportion is probably much higher insofar as it will be shown that a considerable number of passages that were thought to be certain have in reality been misunderstood, to say nothing of the imprecise rendering of numerous Koranic expressions.

\( mnawwata\) όμοιομερής, partibus aequalibus constans, متشبه الأجزاء. The meaning "comparable" results from \( dammi\), 1) assimilavit, comparavit, pro similis habuit.
11. The Historical Error

We are now in the year 1428 of the *Hiğra/Hegira*, the emigration of the Prophet from Mecca to Medina in 622 A.D. that marks the beginning of the Islamic calendar. Considering the variety of Arabic dialects spoken at the time of Prophet, it was a legitimate question to ask in what dialect the Koran was sent down. To this end, *Tabari* cites Sura 14:41:

> وأرسلنا من رسول إلا بلسان قومه ليبين لهم

“We have never sent an apostle except in the language of his people, that he may explain (the message) to them.”

This results in the Koran’s having being composed in the Arabic dialect of the Qurayš, the Prophet’s clan in Mecca.¹⁴⁷

Thus, when the Koran emphasizes in ten passages that it has been composed in the *Arabic language*, it does so to stress the particularity that differentiates it from the *Proto-Scripture* of the Old and the New Testaments, which had been composed in a foreign language. This reference becomes quite plain in Sura 41:44:

**Sura 41:44**

> ولو جعلنا قرآناً أعجمياً لقالوا لولا فصلتِ آياته

"اعجمي وعربي قل هو للذين امنوا هدى وشفا"

By our Koran translators, this verse has been understood as follows:

(Bell II 481): “If We had made it a foreign Qurʾān, they would have said: *Why* are not its signs *made distinct?* Foreign and Arabic?* Say: ‘To those who have believed it is guidance and healing’…”

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¹⁴⁷ *Tabari* I 29. On the morphology and etymology of قريش (Qurayš) see below p. 236.
(Paret 399 f.): “Wenn wir ihn (d.h. den Koran) zu einem nicht-arabischen Koran gemacht hätten, würden sie sagen: ‘Warum sind seine Verse (wörtl.: Zeichen) nicht (im einzelnen) auseinander-gesetzt (so daß jedermann sie verstehen kann)? (Was soll das:) ein nicht-arabischer (Koran) und ein arabischer (Verkäufer)?’ Sag: Für diejenigen, die glauben, ist er eine Rechtleitung und ein Quell des Trostes (wörtl.: Heilung)...”


In connection with the composition of a book, the Syro-Aramaic סם (sām) “to compose”148 is to be assumed to be behind the Arabic جعل (ga‘al").

Inasmuch as Arabic قصص (faššal") here lexically renders the Syro-Aramaic פֶּתֶא (praš / parreš), it should not be understood in its original meaning of “to separate” (Paret: to place asunder in individual parts), but in its broader sense of “to explain, to interpret” (cf. Thes. II 3302 ult.: מפריש / la-m-parrāš; interpretari scriptionem). Moreover, if one considers that in many languages today the earlier expression for “to explain, to interpret” is used to mean “to translate” (as attested by the modern Arabic ترجم "to translate" from the Syro-Aramaic תרגמ "to explain, to interpret" as well as by the French “interpréter, interpréte"), the meaning of “to translate” or “to render” becomes virtually unavoidable here. In his commentary on Sura 41:3, 44 Ṭabarī also understands قصص (faššal") as a synonym of بين (bayyan") “to clarify, to explain.”149 The Koran verse cited above is therefore to be understood as follows:

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149 Ṭabarī XXIV 90 and 126.
“If we had composed it as a lectionary in a foreign language, they would say: ‘One ought then to have translated its scripts’!”

In the case of the noun clause that follows أَعْجَمِي وَعَربِي “foreign and Arabic,” تَبَارَف without question sides with the majority of the Arab commentators who read an interrogatory particle ء (hamza) that was obviously added subsequently in front of أَعْجَمِي (أَعْجَمِي / ʿa-ʿajamī). Though this means an unjustified intervention in the text, the translations given above reproduce the corresponding interpretation by تَبَارَف. Only Bell suspects an omission, which he illustrates in his translation by leaving a section of the line blank. Yet this noun clause can be more reasonably explained without an interrogative particle if one follows the minority reading, whose interpretation تَبَارَف briefly mentions. This is how the Qurayš must have understood the clause: “But this Koran had been sent down foreign (i.e. in a foreign language) and (in) Arabic,” so that both foreigners and Arabs could understand it. Whereupon God, according to this verse, had sent down all manner of foreign words, of which تَبَارَف cites, as an example، حِجَارَة مِن سِجْلِ (hiğāra mn sin sig-ğil) (with) stones of clay (Suras 11:82; 15:74; and 105:41), in which case the word sigğil is explained as being a Persian loan-word. If one accordingly takes أَعْجَمِي وَعَربِي foreign and Arabic to refer to the language of the Koran – and not foreign to refer to the Koran and Arabic to the Prophet – then this part of the verse should be understood as follows:

150 Later the question will be dealt with as to why the Arabic لَوْلا (law-lā) has been falsely interpreted here and in other passages as an interrogative particle.

151 تَبَارَف XXV 126 f. (cf. A. Jeffery 164). But actually سِجْلِ / sigğil is a misreading of the Syro-Aramaic passive participle ܐܦܝܨ / ṣahil > šilā = طَنين / ṣahl > šilā (cf. Mammā 782a 3, طَنين [mud, clay, argil]) and is to be read in Arabic سِجْلِ / sahil (from which is derived Arabic and Koranic ساحل / sahil [coast, shore, littoral – as “muddy”]). That with حِجَارَة مِن سِجْلِ hiğāra min sigğil not necessarily “stones of baked clay” are meant, as R. Bell translates (according to the allegedly Persian ״סאגר״ [stone] and “gel” [clay]), but rather “stones of (dried) clay”, makes Sura 51:33 clear, where the Koran uses as a synonym حِجَارَة مِن طَنين hiğāra min ṣhn “stones of clay”.

111
“(Now whether it be) foreign or Arabic, say then: It is for those who believe (right) guidance and pure (belief).” 152

In Sura 16:103 there is also talk of a foreign language and Arabic:

*Sura 16:103*

وَلَكَنْ نَعْلَمُ أَنْهُمْ يَقُولُونَ إِنَّمَا يَعْلَمُهُ بِشَرٍّ لِسانِ الَّذِي يَلْهَدُونَ إِلَيْهِ أَعْجُمُيِّي وَهَذَا لِسانٌ عَرَبِيٌّ مَبِينٌ

(Bell I 258 f.): “We know pretty well that they say: ‘It is only a human being who teaches him’; the speech of him they hint at is foreign, but this is Arabic speech clear.”

(Paret 225): “Wir wissen wohl, daß sie sagen: ‘Es lehrt ihn (ja) ein Mensch (bašar) (was er als göttliche Offenbarung vorträgt).’

(Doch) die Sprache dessen, auf den sie anspielen (?yulḥidīnā), ist nichtarabisch (aḡamī). Dies hingegen ist deutliche arabisches Sprache.”


152 The translations that have been cited, “healing, Quell des Trostes/Heilung [source of consolation/healing], guérison [recovery, cure, healing],” as well as Ṭabarî’s interpretation, “healing from ignorance” (جهل / ḍahl) or from paganism” may well make sense as they stand. But here the Arabic شفاء (ṣīlāʿ) appears to have been borrowed from the Syro-Aramaic  DateFormat (šēfyā or šḥyā). For this the Thes. (II 4261) gives: DateFormat (šḥyāḏ qa-s nā) complanatio, defaecatio (evenness, purity of the way); metaphorically, puritas, sinceritas (purity, sincerity) (šḥyāḏ w-ṣullālā ḏ-ḥāṣāḥī) (purity and integrity of thought). The same is given under DateFormat (ṣaḥyāḏā): DateFormat ṭahlāḥ (ṣaḥyāḏ haynāṭā) puritas, simplicitas fidei (purity, integrity of belief). In connection with هدى (huda”) (< Syro-Aramaic DateFormat /ḥdīyā, ḥedyā, DateFormat /ḥuddāyā) (right guidance), the Syro-Aramaic synonymous meaning of “integrity” (of doctrine, of belief) should be adopted for شفاء (ṣīlāʿ, actually ṣīlā).
langue de celui auquel ils pensent est [une langue] barbare, alors que cette prédication est [en] claire langue arabe.”

Here, the “speech of him they hint at” makes reference to the human being that is supposedly teaching the Prophet. In the rejection of this insinuation the Koran employs a heretofore unexplained verb, يلحدون (yulhidūna), which Paret places in parentheses with a question mark, and which Tabari nonsensically reinterprets\(^\text{153}\) as “to be fond of, drawn to, attracted to, inclined towards, lean towards somebody,” a suggestion that Bell, Paret and Blachère, however, do not follow. Instead, based on the context, they have preferred to “guess” its probable meaning. Yet this meaning is not at all derivable from the Arabic verbal root لحد (laḥada) (to dig, to bury; to deviate from; to incline toward?),\(^\text{154}\) and thus we would seem to be justified in asking whether it is not a question here of a foreign root, the identification of which may lead to a more plausible sense.

With this suspicious verb, يلحدون (yulhidūna), we are in fact dealing with a typical example of the erroneous Arabic transcription of a Syro-Aramaic script, the cause of many misreadings in the Koran. In the present case, it is a question of the Syro-Aramaic spelling of the verbal root لجز (lģez), where the /h/ in the Koran stands for the Syro-Aramaic /g/ (= Arabic غ /g/), and the /d/ either for a misread Syro-Aramaic ٣ or for Arabic ﺖ /z/. One can assume, that is, with seeming certainty that the original spelling was ينحوون. But because the later Arabic readers, after considering every possible configuration [لحز (laḥaza), لآخر (laḥara), لجز (lağaza), لآخر (lağara), لحز (lağaza)], could not identify the infinitive لآخر (laḥara) (in Garshuni/Karshuni لحز /lģez = Arabic لحز /lagaza with any Arabic root, the most obvious possibility for them was to interpret the final ﺖ /r/ as a final د /d/, and then to read it as لحد (laḥada)—which

\(^{153}\) Tabari XIV 179 f.

\(^{154}\) In the last meaning solely on the basis of this passage in the Koran, and in accordance with Tabari, here, as in a large number of other passages, falsely taken up by Arabic lexicography (cf. Hans Wehr, Arabisches Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart [Arabic Dictionary for the Written Language of the Present Day] [Wiesbaden, 1985]).
is, in fact, an Arabic root, but whose real meaning, “to fall away from the faith,” does not fit here at all. However, if one falls away from the faith, one could obviously also say that one turns away from it. But if one turns away from something, one can also reinterpret this to mean that one turns toward something else. Only by means of a train of thought such as this can one arrive at the scarcely convincing interpretation that َتاربَر (Tabart), without any further details or explanations, wants to suggest.

In reality, there is no evidence in Arabic linguistic usage for this meaning of َلَحَدُ (alhada) adopted by َتاربَر (Tabart). The Arabic lexicons cannot substantiate this meaning – except on the basis of this misread and misunderstood passage. What is in the meantime striking, however, is that the Syro-Aramaic ِلاْع (lēcz): aenigmatice locutus est (Thes. II 1891), appears to be a late borrowing from the Arabic لغز (lāgaza). 155 For this expression, namely, the Thes. does not cite any evidence at all from Syro-Aramaic literature, but refers only to the Eastern Syrian lexicographers. More recent native lexicons 156 cite the paʿel, etpʿel and etpaʿal forms (laggez, etlēcz, etlāgaz), while Brockelmann does not mention this verbal root at all. The reason for this is that the etymologically correct equivalent of the Arabic لغز (lāgaza) (with the secondary dot above the ُ) is the Syro-Aramaic لغ (lēz). 157

155 With the same meaning (to speak enigmatically, allegorically), whereby the Syro-Aramaic ع / g, phonetically corresponding to the Arabic ع / g, is to be pronounced as غ. In this regard, it is worth mentioning that in the early Hedjazi and Kufic Koran manuscripts the original form of the Arabic letter ح (without the dot) renders quite exactly the Syriac letter غ / g. This is not the only graphical detail that will prove that the Koranic text was originally written in Garshuni, i.e. Arabic with Syriac letters.

156 Cf. Manná 369a/b.

157 Cf. Thes. II 1961 f., لحَدُ (lēz): indistincte locutus est (to speak indistinctly, unclearly) (with further meanings and examples): Brockelmann, Lexicon Syriacum, 368b f. The Lisān (V. 405b) gives under لغز (lāgaza) the same definition: أنغز الكلام وألغز فيه: عمي مراده وأضرمه على خلاف ما أظهره (In reference to speech algaza means: to conceal and disguise one’s purpose, as opposed to what one actually says).
Sura 7:180

ودروا الذين يحدون في أسمائه

(Bell I 155): 179. “… and pay no attention to those who make covert hints in regard to His names.”

(Paret 140): “… und laßt diejenigen, die hinsichtlich seiner Namen eine abwegige Haltung einnehmen (?) (Oder: die seine Namen in Verruf bringen (?).”

(Blachère 198): “… et laissez ceux qui blasphèment au sujet de Ses noms.”

In the light of the following explanation, this verse from Sura 7:180 will be understood to mean:

“Leave off from those who scoff at his names.”

Paret repeatedly remarks on this verse in his Commentary (179): “It is not clear what the expression ّيْعْلَهْدِٰنَا ۗاَسْمَٰٓاَ ِّۚیُهُ ّيَلَمَکُّ ّيَأَهْلَ التَّأَوَّل تَأَوَّل (the commentators disagree on the meaning of the word [of God] “يَعْلَهْدِٰنَا”159 and the subsequent hunches (to deny God, to attribute other gods to Him, up to and including the interpretations attributed to al-Kisāʾī), one is hardly any nearer to being able to make up one’s mind. Although on the basis of his solid feel for the language Bell, with his translation “make covert hints,” comes closest to the correct sense, this meaning cannot be derived from the root لِحُد (لاهدأ). However, before going into the etymological and semantic meaning of this expression, Sura 41:40 should be cited as well:

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159 ْتَأَوَّل IX 133 f.
Thus, in rendering the verse segment لسان الذي يلحدون إليه as “the speech of him they hint at” and “die Sprache dessen, auf den sie anspielen [the language of him to whom they allude],” Bell and Paret have correctly guessed the meaning of لحد (lahada = lagaza) from the context, even though they were unable to recognize its etymology. In particular in the case of the preposition إلى (ila), the Syro-Aramaic ليد (Iđez)—pronounced لغز (lagaza) in Arabic—is to be understood as a synonym for رمز إلى (ramaza ila), لَمَح إلى (lammahe ila) (to allude to, refer to something). Transferred into modern Arabic, this passage would accordingly read:

لاسان الذي يرمزون إليه (lisānu l-laḏr yarmuzũna, yu-lammihũna ilayhi) (the language of the one to whom they are alluding).

Now, although this root is common in Arabic, it is worth noting that the Koran here reproduces the obviously dialectal Syro-Aramaic written form, which was probably created only later under Arabic influence and which turns out to be the phonetic transcription of the Arabic verb. The fact that in the Koran words common to Arabic and Aramaic are occasionally used in the foreign pronunciation has already been established elsewhere.158 This detail is all the more interesting in that it reinforces other details in the Koran that point to the Eastern Syrian-Mesopotamian region.

The same phenomenon can be observed in two more passages where the root لحد (lahada) appears in the Koran in similar graphic form, but in a different sense. Thus we find in Sura 7:180:

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158 Cf. Anton Schall, Coranica, in Orientalia Suecana XXXII-XXXV (1984-1986) 371. See also Nöldeke’s comment on Arabic لَجْنَة (lağna) and Syro-Aramaic للاحي (Igna) (oil drum, wine cask) in Siegmund Fraenkel’s aramäische Fremdwörter im Arabischen [Aramaic Foreign Words in Arabic] 130: “This is probably an Aramaic-Arabic word that the Fellâhen of Aramaic origin employ, as is so much in Bar Ali and Bar Bahlûl (whom the Thesaurus Syriacus usually cites as local lexicographers).”
Sura 41:40

(Bell II 480): “Verily those who decry Our signs are not hid from Us.”

(Paret 399): “Diejenigen, die hinsichtlich unserer Zeichen eine abwegige Haltung einnehmen (?), sind uns wohl bekannt [gleiche Anmerkung wie oben].”

(Blachère 509): “Ceux qui méconnaissent Nos signes ne Nous sont pas cachés.”

Here, too, Bell captures the sense best, but not on the basis of the Arabic meaning of لهد (lahdā) or ألد (alhādā). Here, as above, the real meaning of the expression – in itself Arabic – can only be determined with the help of the Syro-Aramaic reading ܠܡ (lēz) and its semantic contents. Then, even if يلذعون الله (yulhādūna ilayhi) (yalğuzūna / ilayhi) means “to whom they allude” in Sura 16:103, this verb, as Bell correctly supposes, does not have the same meaning in the context of the last two verses. The ensuing analysis will show that the verse cited above from Sura 41:40 is to be understood as follows:

“Those who scoff at our signs (i.e. scriptures) do not remain concealed from us.”

Starting from the original meaning aenigmatice locutus est (to speak enigmatically, in a veiled way, concealing the truth), the Thes. (I 1891) refers to Bar Bahlūl, who explains ܐܠܡ (lēz) with the Syro-Aramaic synonym ܐܡܛܐ (amṭēl). The additional meanings of this verb prove to be the key to understanding the last two Koran passages. For example, for ܐܡܛܐ (amṭēl) the Thes. II 2250 gives (a) parabolice dixit; (b) fabulatus est, stulte locutus est (to talk a lot of nonsense, to babble stupidly), and as another synonym for it ܒܕܐ (bādēn) (to talk drivel, to blather). Finally, under ܒܕܐ (bādē) the Thes. (I 449 f.) lists, among other things, finxit, falsō, inepte dixit; under ܒܕܐ (abdē), mugavit, falsō dixit; خدع (hada’a, hadā, zawwara) (to humbug, to talk twaddle, to
feign); and under هذي (badāyā), qui vana, ineptia loquitor, nugax (a babbler talking nonsense).

An insight into the understanding of لغز = لحذ (lagaza) in the sense of هذي (hagā) (to drivel, to talk nonsense) is provided to us by parallel passages from the Koran. Namely, not in the same, but in a similar context the Koran employs the expressions سخر (sahirā), هزا (haza'a), and occasionally also لعب (la'ība), the last-named in corresponding passages to be understood as a synonym for the two preceding expressions, and indeed as a loan-translation of the Syro-Aramaic حذ (s'ā), whose Arabic meaning the Eastern Syrian lexicographers render as follows:لعبة مزح، هزّل . إزدري . تكلام كلاما باطلا (Mannā 805b). On the other hand, the Koran uses this حذ (s'ā), transliterated in the third person plural as سعا (sa'aw), in the sense of لعب (la'ība) = هزا (haza'a) (laugh at, scoff at) in the following context:

Sura 34:5
والذين سعا في أيتنا معجزين أولئك لهم عذاب من رجز أليم

(Bell II 421): “But those who busy themselves with Our signs, seeking to make them of no effect - for them is a punishment of wrath painful.”

(Paret 352): “Diejenigen aber, die sich hinsichtlich unserer Zeichen ereifern, indem sie sich (unserem Zugriff ?) zu entziehen suchen (?) (Oder: in der Absicht, (sie) unwirksam zu machen (?)mu'āghizina), haben ein schmerzhaftes Strafgericht (‘adābun min riğzin alīmun) zu erwarten.”

(Blachère 455): “Ceux qui [au contraire] se seront évertués contre les aya d’Allah, déclarant Son Impuissance, [ceux-là] auront un tourment cruel.”

In this context the Arabic أعجز (‘a’gaza) (to make incapable) is to be understood as a synonym of ابطل (abtala) or بطل (battala) (battel) in the meaning of “to dispute” (a truth, to contest its existence), for which the Koran usually employs كذب (kaddaba) (to deny).
That which is meant by رج (riż, actually ruğz) (616 622 ruğza) is (God's) "wrath." This then results in the following understanding of Sura 34:5:

"And those who contentiously scoffed at our signs (will be meted out) a severe punishment by the (divine) wrath."

With the identification of the root, misread in Arabic as لحد (lahada), via the Syro-Aramaic spelling (lęż, lżez), as the Arabic نز (lagaza), we would clarify, via the nuances of the Syro-Aramaic semantics, three Koranic passages that had been previously acknowledged to be obscure. At the same time, we have discovered that the synonymous Syro-Aramaic verb نز (šā) (to play, to laugh at, to make fun of, to mock) must be distinguished, depending on the context, from its homonymous Arabic root سِع (saā) (to strive after, to make an effort, to run). The Syro-Aramaic meaning of "to make fun of" or "to amuse oneself, to enjoy oneself" should therefore be adopted in additional passages of the Koran (such as in Suras 79:22, 2:205, and 5:33).

Linking this again to Sura 16:103, we can gather that the suspicion raised against the Prophet in that verse, i.e. that he had been taught by a human being, is met by the Koran with the argument that the man they meant spoke a foreign language, whereas the Koran itself is (composed) in clearly comprehensible Arabic. However, that a direct connection exists between the Koran and the Scriptures of the Jews and Christians,

160 Cf. Thes. II 3808, 616 622 (ruğza d-maryā), 2 Reg. xxiii, 26...; ira divina (divine wrath). It is astonishing that Paret and Blachère have overlooked this meaning, whereas Bell at least renders the word literally.

161 I.e. by denying the existence of God or the Afterworld.

162 Namely, if we trace the Koranic expression سِع في الأرض فسادا (saā fi l-ard fasāda), which as a familiar quotation has become a part of Arabic linguistic usage, back to its suspected Syro-Aramaic origin نز (šā barā awwalātu), then the Syro-Aramaic meaning "to have (oneself) a devilishly good time on earth" would make more sense than, for example, the translation proposed by Paret for Sura 2:205 "eifrig darauf bedacht sein, auf der Erde Unheil anzurichten [to be eagerly intent upon wreaking havoc, causing mischief on earth]." Cf. also H. Wehr: "to be detrimental, to develop a detrimental effectiveness;" (Engl. Wehr): "to spread evil, cause universal harm and damage.”
characterized as كتاب (kitab) (Book, Scripture) and as being written in a foreign language, is furthermore admitted by the Koran in the following verse:

Sura 41:3

كتاب فصلت أياته قرآنا عربيا

(Bell II 477): 2. “A Book whose signs [or “verses”] have been made distinct as an Arabic Qurʾān …”

(Paret 396): “… eine Schrift, deren Verse (im einzelnen) auseinandergesetzt sind, (herabgesandt) als ein arabischer Koran.”

(Blachère 505): «Ecriture dont les aya ont été rendues intelligibles, en une révélation arabe…».

As previously expounded, however, what is meant by قفصل (faṣṣal), as the lexical equivalent of the Syro-Aramaic هパス (parres), is in this context, here as well as above, “to translate, to transfer.” Therefore the verse is to be understood as:

“A scripture that we have translated as an Arabic lectionary (or into an Arabic version) …”

Insofar as the Arabic قرآن (qurʾān) is, as expounded before, a loan word from Syro-Aramaic قسريه (qeryānā) (reading, pericope, selection for reading),¹⁶³ it is not to be understood everywhere in the Koran as a

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¹⁶³ Cf. Thes. II 3716. The meaning of قسريه /qeryānā as a pericope (a selection from the Scriptures for reading in the ecclesiastical Service) is attested in the Koran in Sura 17:78, where قرآن الفجر /qurʾān al-faǧr means the (selected) reading (from the Bible = the Scriptures-reading) in the matutinal Service (Hora matutina). This ecclesiastical technical term corresponds to the Syriac term قسريه جدران سافرا “the (Scriptures) reading of the morning Service” (cf. Thes. ibid.). That with this reading not the Koran is meant but a reading from the Bible, is attested in the Koran itself. In the Mary Sura, namely, it is said five times وذكر في الكتب /wa-ḍkurfī l-Kitāb “Remember in the Book (= Scriptures)” (Sura 19: 16, 41, 51, 54, 56). Furthermore, the
proper name. Rather, in each case it is the context that determines the meaning, which Mannā (699a) gives in Arabic as follows: (1) قراءة (reading matter, study, teaching/learning), (2) درس علم (unit, lesson), (3) كتاب القراءات البيعية (ecclesiastical lectionary). Sura 75: 17-18 may serve as a test case; there it is said:

**Sura 75:17-18**

إن علينا جمعه وقراءه / فادا قرانانه فاتبع قرانانه

(Bell II 621): 17: “Ours is it to put it together, and recite it; 18: When We recite it follow thou the recitation;”

(Paret 491): 17: „Es ist unsere (und nicht deine) Aufgabe, ihn zusammenzubringen und zu rezitieren. 18: Und (erst) wenn wir ihn dir (vor)rezitiert haben, dann folge seiner Rezitierung!“

(Blachère 626): 17: «A nous de le rassembler et de le prêcher! 18: Quand nous le prêchons, suis-en la prédication.»

Deserving of a preliminary remark here is the verb جمع (ḡamaʿa) (to bring together, to collect), which has a specific meaning in this context with reference to the Koran. Insofar as the Syro-Aramaic ملخ (ḡeryānā) (lectionary) designates a church book with excerpts (readings) from the Scriptures for liturgical use,164 the Arabic جمع (ḡamaʿa), as the lexical rendering of the Syro-Aramaic حجم (kanneš) (to collect), has to do directly with the collecting of these excerpts from the Scriptures, and indeed specifically in the meaning of “compilavit librum” (cf. Thes. I 1771, under 1).

If we look further among the meanings cited by Mannā for قران (qur-

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`an / qaryán) to find ourselves a meaning that fits this context, the result for the previously cited double verse is the following sense:

“It is incumbent upon us to compile it (the Korani/Lectionary) (by means of excerpts from the Scriptures) and to recite it (instructively). When We recite (instructively), then follow its recitation (i.e. the way it has been taught you).”

This may be the basis of the above-mentioned remark (p. 111) in Sura 16:103 that it was a man who has taught him. Moreover, this meaning emerges clearly from the following verse:

Sura 87:6

سنفريك فلا تنسى

“We will teach you (in such a way) that you will not forget.”

That a corresponding expenditure of time is required for the compiling of the Koran is made clear in Sura 20:114; there it says:

Sura 20:114

ولا تعجل بالقرآن من قبل أن يقضي إليك وحيه


166 In the Syrian tradition, the man who teaches the liturgical reading is called مصحت مدرك (cf. Thes. II 3717): qui artem legendi docet (who teaches the art of reading).
“Be not hasty with (the recitation of) the Koran (i.e. Lectionary) before it be taught you completely.”

But because the Scriptures are written in a foreign language, a translation into Arabic is necessary. This, too, the Koran demonstrates, even more clearly than before, in the following verse from the Mary Sura:

_Sura 19:97_

فائما يسرناه بساناك لتبشر به المتقين

(Bell I 291): “We have made it easy in thy tongue in order that thou mayest thereby give good tidings to those who show piety …”

(Paret 253): “Wir haben ihn (den Koran) (indem wir ihn) eigens in deiner Sprache (eingeggeben haben) dir leicht gemacht, damit du den Gottesfurchtigen mit ihm frohe Botschaft bringst…”

(Blachère 336): “Nous l’avons simplement facilité par ta voix pour que tu en fasses l’heureuse annonce…”

Arabic يسر (yassara) does in fact mean “to facilitate, to make easy.” The corresponding Syro-Aramaic verb on which it is lexically based is פשא (pašeq), which has the following meanings: 1. To make easy, facilitate; 2. to explain, to annotate; 3. to transfer, to translate; in the last meaning, of all things, in connection with “language,” documented, among others, by the following example:

פִּשֵּׁהּ חַפְּטָהּ מִן מִן לֶשַׁנָּא יָאוּנָּא לְסַעְרַיָּא (pašeq kībā ha-nā men leššānā yawnāyā l-suryāyā) (“he translated this book from the Greek into the Syriac language”) (Thes. II 3326, with further examples).

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167 Paret and Bell have here overlooked the fact that in connection with the verb بشر (bašara) the preposition بـ / bi governs the indirect object of the direct object: بشره بـ (bašarah bi-) = to proclaim something to someone.
The verse cited above from Sura 19:97 is then to be understood as follows:

"We have translated it (the Koran or the Scripture) into your language so that you may proclaim it (the Koran or the Scripture) to the (god-)fearing ...”.

All of the other verses in which يسر (yassara) is used in connection with the Koran are to be understood accordingly; these are:

Sura 44:58

فإنا يسرنا بعلهم يذكرون

“We have translated it (the Koran) into your language so that they may allow themselves to be reminded.”

In addition to this there is the recurring verse in Sura 54:17, 22, 32, and 40:

ولقد يسرنا القرآن للذكر فهل من مذكر

“We have translated the Koran (= the Lectionary) as a reminder; are there then those that may (also) allow themselves to be reminded?”

In these passages, as a technical term, يسر (yassara) cannot be paraphrased in such a way as to say that God has “made it easy” for the Prophet insofar as He has “prompted” the Koran to him “specifically in his own language.” as Paret, for example, says. Instead, the term clearly states that this occurs indirectly by way of a translation from the Scriptures.

168 In this meaning, Arabic ذكر (ḏakar*) and its derivatives do not come from Syro-Aramaic ḫār (ḏkar) (to recall, to remember), but from the synonymous ḥāḏ (ḥad) in the Ajīb form, ḥeḏ (aḥed). For this Mannā cites, at 530b, under (3), the following Arabic equivalents: نصح (nasah*, waʿaz*, nabbah*) (to advise, to preach / admonish, to warn).
The fact that the Koran to this extent does not claim that it is a direct revelation is underscored by the Koran itself in the following verse:

**Sura 42:51**

وَمَا كَانَ لِبَشَّرٍ أَن يَكْلِمَهُ اَللَّهُ أَلَّا وَحْيًا أَوْ مَن وَرَأَى حَجَابًا أَوْ يَرَى رَسُولًا فِي وَحْيٍ بَعْدَهُ مَا يَشَاء

(Bell 489): “It belonged not to any human being that Allah should speak to him except by suggestion or from behind a veil, or by sending a messenger to suggest by His permission what He pleaseth;”

(Paret 406): “Und es steht keinem Menschen (bašar) an, daß Gott mit ihm spricht, es sei denn (mittelbar) durch Eingebung (waḥyan), oder hinter einem Vorhang, oder indem er einen Boten sendet, der (ihm) dann mit seiner Erlaubnis eingibt, was er will.”

(Blachère 517): “Il n’a pas été donné à un mortel (bašar) qu’Allah lui parle, sinon par révélation, ou de derrière un voile, ou en envoyant un messager tel que celui-ci révèle ce qu’Il veut [à l’Homme], avec Sa permission.”

The Arabic root وَحَيٌّ (waḥā) (with its denominative-like fourth verbal stem اِوَحِيُّ (awḥā)) is restricted in Arabic usage to the meaning of *to give, to inspire, to reveal*. Speaking in favor of its being a borrowing (with metathesis) from the Syro-Aramaic root حَوَّرَ (ḥawwr) is the fact that one can also find in the Koran the further meanings deriving from the Syro-Aramaic verb – “*to show, to indicate, to present, to announce, to communicate, to teach*”\(^{169}\) – although only a part of these have been guessed

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\(^{169}\) Cf. *Thes.* I 1208 f. *Mammā* (223) quotes the following Arabic meanings: (1) أَرْيَ (to allow to be seen, to show), (2) أَظْهَرَ (to demonstrate, to make clear, to expound), (3) ذَلَّ (to indicate, to inform, to tell), (4) عَلِمَ (to teach). C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum* 220a, had already noticed the etymological relation between Syro-Aramaic حَوَّرَ and Arabic وَحَيٌّ / waḥā.
by the Koran translators on the basis of the context. This is why all of the Koranic passages in which this expression occurs need to be examined in terms of the corresponding Syro-Aramaic meaning in each instance.

If one furthermore does not automatically understand رسول (rasūl) as an angel, but as a man (sent by God) (apostle, missionary), which is also what the Koran usually calls the Prophet of Islam, then the verse cited above ought to be understood as follows:

"With no man has God ever (directly) spoken except through inspiration or behind a curtain or in that he sends a messenger (apostle) who, with His permission, teaches (him or communicates to him) what He wants."

With this linguistically clear and sober statement the Koran gives us an unambiguous indication of the language it acknowledges as the language of the Scriptures and which is essential for its conception of itself. With this language, which it for the first time calls "Arabic," the Koran surely did not intend that language whose norms were established two hundred years later in part by non-Arab grammarians no longer capable of properly understanding the Koranic language. This is the reason for the present attempt to decipher the previous mystery of this language by means of that language, the key to which the Koran delivers us in its clear reference to the original, unadulterated Syro-Aramaic term "Qurān".
12. Analysis of Individual Sura Verses

The now following philological analysis of individual expressions recognized in part by Koran scholarship as obscure is intended to serve as an illustration of the working method that was discussed at the outset.

Concerning case (a) and (c) (p. 22 f.): There is no agreement among the Arab commentators on the Koran about the real meaning of the expression occurring in two variants تحت (tahta) as well as of سريا (sariya) in the following verse of the Mary Sura:

Sura 19:24

فنادها من تحتها الا تحزني قد جعل ربك تحتك سريا

In keeping with the majority of the Arab commentators, the Western Koran translators render this verse as follows:

(Bell I 286): 24. “Then he (probably ‘the child’) called to her from beneath her: ‘Grieve not; thy Lord hath placed beneath thee a streamlet’;...”.

(Paret 249): 24: “Da rief er (d.h. der Jesusknabe) ihr von unten her zu: ,Sei nicht traurig! Dein Herr hat unter dir (d.h. zu deinen Füßen?) ein Rinnsal (sari) (voll Wasser) gemacht’.”

(Blachère 331): 24 “[Mais] l’enfant qui était à ses pieds lui parla: ‘Ne t’attriste pas! Ton Seigneur a mis à tes pieds un ruisseau’.”

For Arabic تحت (tahta), which is understood as the preposition under by all of the commentators cited in Ṭabarî, Jeffery in The Foreign Vocabulary (32 f.) makes a reference to as-Suyūṭī (1445-1505), who reports that Abū l-Qāsim in his work Lughāt al-Qurān [(Foreign) Expressions in the Koran] and al-Kirmānī in his al-ʿAjāʾīb [The Miracles] had both thought that this was a Nabatean (i.e. an Aramaic) word and meant as much as بطن (batti), (which Jeffery renders in English, on the basis of the Arabic understanding, as womb, although here, based on the Syro-
Aramaic ייחש (baṭnā), foetus\textsuperscript{170} is more likely what should be understood), a view that is not held by anyone in Tabari. But Jeffery rejects the notion, saying that there is nothing in Nabatean that would confirm this assumption since, even in Aramaic, Hebrew, Syriac and Ethiopic, the homophonic expressions have exactly the same meaning as the Arabic expression تحت (taḥta) (namely under).

Yet had Jeffery considered that in the Semitic languages precisely the triliteral prepositions and adverbs were originally nouns and could at times even appear as subjects and objects,\textsuperscript{171} he would have perhaps come to another conclusion. The above-mentioned tradition, according to which تحت (taḥta) was in this case to be understood as a noun, confirms the supposition that the Arabic tradition has occasionally preserved a memory of the original Aramaic form. Namely, the lack of a verbal root in Arabic suggests a borrowing from Syro-Aramaic ن حت (nḥēṯ), of which the preposition ن حت (taḥīt) (⇒ Arabic تحت / taḥīt) / م حت (ṭīṯ) is only a secondary form. Let’s first of all examine this clue in a little more detail.

Although the corresponding Syro-Aramaic nominal form ن حت (nḥēṯa) (as well as ن حت nuḥḥāṯa, ن حت naḥṭāṯa, ن حت mahatta and further derivatives) does not exactly mean foetus, it does have something to do with it insofar as, among other meanings, by way of the meaning descent, origin, what is meant here is delivery.\textsuperscript{172} Therefore, the meaning of تحتها (min) taḥṭīḥā would not be “under her,” but “her delivery.”

This Syro-Aramaic reading, however, first has the coherence of the context in its favor to the extent that we have interpreted the preposition من (min) before تحتها (taḥṭīḥā) not locally (from beneath her), but temporally in the Syro-Aramaic sense of “from (that point in time), i.e.: in-

\textsuperscript{170} Cf. Thes I 514: Impropie de foetu, ייחש (baṭnāh): id quod conceperat.
\textsuperscript{171} Cf., e.g., C. Brockelmann, Arabische Grammatik [Arabic Grammar] § 85; Syri sche Grammatik [Syriac Grammar] § 201.
\textsuperscript{172} Cf. Thes. II on ن حت (nḥēṯ) 2344, (γ) orius est, genus duxit; further in C. Brockelmann, Lexicon Syriacum 424a, under 10: oriundus fuit (to spring from, to be descended from, to be born).
stantly, immediately after her delivery."173 This temporal use of من (min), though not attested in Classical Arabic,174 is nonetheless quite common in modern Arabic dialects of the Near East as a Syro-Aramaic substratum, for example, in: من وصولي قلت له = حال وصولي قلت له (instantly, immediately after my arrival I said to him).

The memory of an earlier nominal use of تحت (taḥt) has, moreover, been retained by the Lisān (II 17b f.): تحت: تكون مرة ظرفًا , ومرة اسمًا (taḥt sometimes occurs as an adverb, sometimes as a noun). Even the adjectival use قوم تحوت: أرذل سفحة (qawmun taḥṭṭutun: lowly people) (Lisān, op. cit.) can be traced back to Syro-Aramaic نأحت (taḥṭayē) (Thes. II 4425: infinitum hominum).

Now that the Lisān has confirmed the nominal usage of تحت (taḥtu), there would be nothing to criticize about the traditional Koranic reading were it not that the reading من نحتها (min naḥṭnihā or nuḥḍithā) based on Syro-Aramaic نحث / nthā or نحث / nuḥḍā is better. Namely, under the root نحت / naḥṭa the Lisān gives a series of phases indicating the Syro-Aramaic origin of this root. For example, among others, it gives the following verse by the poet الفرقين / al-Ḥirniq, the sister of the Old Arabic poet طرفة / Tarafa (c. 538-564 A.D.):

الخالطين نحثهم بنضارهم

“who brought the lowly among them together with their nobles”

ودؤو الغني منهم بذي الفقر

“and the wealthy among them with the needy.”

As a conjecture the Lisān explains the expression نحيت (naḥṭ as (daḥṭ) (stranger). Yet the opposites of lowly175 and noble, poor and rich in both parts of the verse clearly refer to members of one and the same community. The ignorance of Aramaic prompts the Arab lexicographers to guess the meaning of borrowed expressions from the context. That the error rate in the process is relatively high is evidenced by the countless

174 Not to be confused with the temporal من in the sense of مد , منذ (cf., e.g., Lisān XIII 421 b): من سنة = مد سنة (in min sana"an: for a year).
175 Discovered with the help of Syro-Aramaic.
unrecognized Aramaic roots in the *Lisān*, the encyclopedic dictionary of the Classical Arabic language. In our case, *ناهث* (*nahīth*) is a clear borrowing from Syro-Aramaic *ناهث* (*nahīθ* or *nahīθَ*), documented by the Thesaurus with *نَاهِث* (*nahīθ* or *nahīθَ*) *vir infimus, e plebe oriundus: (a man) of lowly origin*, and, citing the Syrian lexicographers, with the corresponding Arabic translation: *نَاث* (*nahīθ*), *ignobilis, humili* *genere et conditione*, *واضِع* . *وادي الأصل*. *قليل الحسب والنسب* as well as further *نَاهِث* (*nahīθ*; *descendens*, *Nażāl Hābīt* (*Thes.* II 2345). As in opposition to *ناهث* (*nahīθ*) is also how the *Lisān* explains أَلْخَالِصُ النَسْب* (*al-ḥaliṣu n-nasab*) (*a man*) of **noble descent**, which clearly confirms the anonymous Syro-Aramaic meaning of *ناهث* (*nahīθ*).

The situation is similar for the other expressions connected with this root, all of which the *Lisān* tries to explain through popular etymology, but whose real meaning is to be determined through Syro-Aramaic. Rich pickings are guaranteed to anyone willing to devote himself or herself to the deserving task of studying the Aramaisms in the *Lisān*. Such would reveal the extent of the Aramaic influence on the Arabic language

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176 *Lisān* II 98a. The reading النصار/ *an-nuṣār* results from the lexical equivalent of Syro-Aramaic *ناَسطَ* (*nāṣṭa*), the meanings of which *Mannā* (461b) gives as follows: *(successful, victorious, triumphant)*, and under شريف - *nāṣīr* - *(noble, honorable, highborn, illustrious)*. The Arabic expression *انصار* renders the Syriac meaning under (4), presupposing that the semantic nuance under (?) is included. Thus here النصار/ *an-nuṣār* means / *al-aśrāf* *(the notables)*.

177 Theodor Nöldeke writes about this influence in a work that he labels a *sketch*: *Die semitischen Sprachen* [The Semitic Languages] (Leipzig, 1899) 52:

"During the entire dominance of Aramaic this language had at least a great influence on the vocabulary of Arabic. The more meticulous one’s examination, the more one recognizes how many Arabic words signifying concepts or objects of a certain culture have been borrowed from the Arameans [Reference to the aforementioned work by Siegmund Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter* (Aramaic Foreign Words)]. The northern cultural influence expressed in these borrowings contributed considerably to preparing the Arabs for their powerful intervention in world history."

Nöldeke correctly traces the richness of the Arabic vocabulary partially to the arbitrarily devised expressions of Arabic poetry and partially to words that were
smooth the way for a yet non-existent etymological dictionary of Classical Arabic.

Still, the above-mentioned evidence merely confirms the Syro-Aramaic meaning “to be low(ly).” For the meaning “to be hereditary, innate,” the Lisān cites (wa-n-nahita: at-ṭab’atu l-latī nuḥita ʿalayhā l-insānu, ay qutʿa): (an-nahita is the nature that is hereditary to a person = that is innate to him). In the definition of the loan term from Syro-Aramaic nahita (possibly in Syro-Aramaic Ṽhā), the Lisān uses the loan verb from Syro-Aramaic nuḥita (in the passive voice) (to be descended from, to come away from, to be delivered of in the sense of to be born), which takes to be the possibly homonymous root nahht (nahata), but which was probably first borrowed from Syro-Aramaic and only understood in later Arabic in the sense of to chisel (actually to knock off, to chop off, to knock down), and correspondingly explains it as (the nature according to which one) “was hewn, cut, cut to fit,” i.e. in its sense as “shaped.” There is then a citation from al-Lihyānī, which somewhat correctly explains the expression in question: (hiya ʿ-ṭab’atu wa-l-aṣl) (it is nature and origin, i.e. the innate).

The other examples in the Lisān, (al-karm man nahht) (noble-mindedness is innate to him), (i.e. of a noble-minded nature and birth), (and birth and nature), furnish evidence of the earlier use of the root nahht common only to individual tribes. His concluding opinion on the subject (58) is all the more surprising:

“But still the abundance of words is exceedingly large, and the Arabic dictionary will always remain the principal aid in the search for instruction on obscure expressions in other Semitic languages [where just the opposite seems to be the case, though he then adds the qualifier]: only if this occurs with the requisite amount of level-headedness; then it’s quite all right.”

178 Lisān II 98b; through the conjectural explanation of Arabic nahht (nahata) (97b) – (an-naḥi) with the Ṽhā and the qasr (an-našur wa-l-qasr) (to saw, to peel) – the Lisān testifies to its ignorance of the original meaning of this root originally borrowed from Aramaic, when, for example, it explains the loan nahht with (mā nuḥiia min al-ḥasab) (what has been planed from wood). At the same time, this nominal form already exhibits a direct borrowing
(nahāta) or nahīta in Arabic as a borrowing from Syro-Aramaic ܢܹܫܲܡ (nḥet) in the meaning “to come down from, to give birth to, to be descended from.”

Now, whether one were to read من نحتها (min taḥtiḥā), or (on the basis of the customary defective spelling in the Koran) nuḥāthā, would, to be sure, change nothing in terms of the sense, from Syro-Aramaic ܢܹܫܲܡ (nahā) or ܢܹܫܲܡ (nuḥāthā) with the correspondent meaning here, “what has fallen off.” Also, نحت الجبل (nahāta l-ḡabah) does not actually mean قطعه (qaṭa‘āhu) “to cut”, but according to the original Syro-Aramaic meaning “to chop off, to strike down” (the mountain); the same is true for the following expressions (98a): أبائ مَعروفة (ābār mar’āfa) (well-known wells), whose original meaning the Lisān again derives from “to cut.” The figurative sense “to degrade,” on the other hand, derives from the following expressions (98b): نحته بلسانه (nahāthā bi-lisānīhī: lāmāhī wa-Satamahī) (to “degrade” somebody with the tongue: to rebuke, revile him); النحيت (an-nahīṭ) (< Syro-Aramaic ܢܹܫܲܡ / nahīṭ) means primarily that which is inferior, bad, reprehensible; نحته بالعصا: ضربه بها (nahāthā bi-l-‘āṣā: ḏarabahu bi-hā) (to hit somebody with a stick, actually in this way “to degrade” him, “to knock” him “down” with it); the same is true when one is said نحت المرأة: نکحها (nahāta l-mar’āh: nakabahā) (to “degrade = to dishonor” a woman: to lie with her).

On the other hand, in his Lexicon Syriacum 424b, C. Brockelmann categorizes the Syro-Aramaic ܢܹܫܲܡ (nḥet) etymologically with the Arabic حَطَت (ḥatta), and that its first radical د / nūn has fallen off suggests, in turn, according to the expressions cited in the Lisān (II 22a ff.), a borrowing from this very Syro-Aramaic root with the original meaning “to fall off.” That this root was unknown to the Arabs is shown not least by its reduction in colloquial modern Arabic to a verbal form with the meaning “to rub off, to scratch off” (see, for example, Hans Wehr) as well as “to become worn through use” (said of pieces of clothing and carpets, actually “to be worn out, run down”).

179 Cf. Lisān II 98a where نحاتة (an-nuḥāṭā) is explained with the help of البراءة (al-burāya) (shavings). For this unidentified Syro-Aramaic root in the Lisān the derivation of the Arabic نحاثة (nuḥāṭa) from Syro-Aramaic ܹܫܲܡ (nḥēt) or ܹܫܲܡ (nuḥāthā) would nevertheless be obvious, whereby the Arabic feminine ending is to be viewed occasionally as a purely phonetic rendering of the Syro-Aramaic emphatic ending of the masculine nominal form. This, however, does not rule out the possibility that an Arabic feminine ending may be derived from such an ending in Syro-Aramaic. Concerning this nominal form Nöldeke writes in his Beiträgen zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft [Essays on Semitic Lin-
in any event what does speak for the last reading is the fact that both in Syro-Aramaic and in the Lisān this root corresponds more closely to the meaning “delivery,” which the Lisān also documents with further derivatives. Since the Koran elsewhere uses the root وُلُدُ (walada) for the general sense of to give birth and to procreate, but specifically uses the root وَضَع (wada’a) (to lay, to lay down) (cf. Suras 3:36; 22:2; 35:11; 41:47; 46:15; and 65:4,6) for to be delivered of, to give birth to, the latter appears to correspond lexically to the Syro-Aramaic نَهَّي (nahhē). Accordingly, من نحتها (min nuhhātiha), expressed otherwise in Koranic Arabic, would be من وضعها (min wa’diha) in the sense of حال وضعها (hala wa’diha), which in turn could be rendered in modern Arabic as

guistics] (Strasbourg, 1904) 30, under Nomina of the Form Fu‘al: “In Arabic, then, the feminine فَعَال (fu’ala) is still quite alive as the form of refuse, of shavings. This is shown, among other things, by the fact that it can even be formed from recently borrowed words.”

That Nöldeke, in the case of the examples named here نشارة (nušāra) (wood shavings) and كنادة (kunaša) (sweepings), does not already recognize a borrowing from the Syro-Aramaic equivalents that he has also cited, نَسْرَة (nsārā) and كنَشة (knāša), may be because he views his presentation from the sole perspective of a neutral study in comparative Semitics. The same applies for the Arabic form فَعَال (fu’al), which Nöldeke would like to see as separate from the preceding form, but which seems merely to be the Arabic pausal form or the reproduction of the status absoluus of the Syro-Aramaic nominal form ضَع (p’alā), as several of the examples he cites also attest. Thus سُعال (su’al) (coughing) can most likely be derived from عَتْس (a’tas) (sneezing) from ظَنَّة (ẓana), خنْاق (hunāq) (angina) from حنَاق (hnāq). Other forms derived from Arabic roots would be merely analogous formations. From a purely philological perspective, comparative Semitics may be useful, but it leads one all too easily to blur the reciprocal influences, relevant to cultural history, of its individual languages.

180 Although not specifically in the meaning to be delivered of, to give birth to, but in the general meaning to send down, to drop, to lower, the Eastern Syrian lexicographers include among the various derivations the following Arabic equivalents: أنزل (anzala), أخفض (alfāda), حط (ḥatta), وضع (wada’a). (Cf. Thes. II 2344 f.; Mannā 442b f.). Since the Thes. does not provide any examples for نَهَي (nahhē) in the meaning to be delivered of, to give birth to, it would be interesting to document this usage in other Aramaic dialects.
The fact that the Koran here uses as a *hapax legomenon* borrowed from Syro-Aramaic this verbal root *ناحلة* (*nahła*) (in the sense of نزل/*nazzala, أنزل/*anzala: to make descend, to bring down = to give birth), instead of the otherwise customary Arabic root وقَعَ (waḏa‘a) (to lay, to lay down, to give birth to), raises the question, relevant both theologically and in terms of the history of religions, as to whether the Koran does not want deliberately, by this unusual expression, to connect and emphasize in a special way the extraordinary *delivery* of Mary with the supernatural *descent* of her son. This question imposes itself all the more since the basic stem مُهْجَب (nḥēj) “to come down” (said, for example, of Christ, who came down from heaven) and the causative stems مُهْجِبَة (nḥēj) / مُهْجَب (ahēj) “to cause to descend, to send down” (said, for example, of God, who sent down his son) have in fact been documented in this sense in Syro-Aramaic, though not in the specific meaning of “to give birth, to be born” in the sense of a natural birth.

The search for an equivalent usage in Aramaic finds its confirmation in a synonymous expression that Gesenius gives under the Aramaic root אפָל (nľāl) “to fall” in the meaning of “to be born” and explains as “actually an extra term for a birth standing in opposition to regular natural processes.” This usage, attested nowhere else in Arabic, of نالح (nahāta) or (nahlāta) < Syro-Aramaic مُهْجَب (nḥēj or nḥēj) in the meaning of “to give birth, to be born” (actually “to cause to descend [from above]”) would imply, at least in the case of this segment of the Mary Sura, an earlier period in the editing of the Koran than the second Meccan period estimated by Nöldeke-Schwally. In it one can recognize

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182 What is striking here is that, regarding the “*sent-down Scriptures*” in the sense of revelations, the Koran usually employs the Arabic أَنْزَلَ (anzala) (to have come down, to send down) in addition to آتَى (ātī) (< Syro-Aramaic مُسْمَل / ayī) (to have come, to bring, to deliver).

183 Cf. *GdQ* 117-143; but on page 130 (line 3) it is conceded: “The Sura is the
with certainty a central element of the Christian components of the Koran.

According to the Syro-Aramaic reading, the first verse segment of Sura 19:24 should therefore be understood as follows:

"Then he called to her immediately after her giving birth: Be not sad!"

Based on this understanding, the concerns expressed by Paret in his Koran commentary to this passage (324) as to whether the caller is the newborn infant Jesus or the infant Jesus still located in the womb, as well as the reference to the text from Pseudo-Matthew cited below, are unnecessary.

It follows from the preceding remarks that in the second part of the verse (according to the previous understanding) "Your lord has made a rivulet beneath you," the repeatedly occurring تحتک (taḥtak) does not mean "beneath you," but "your giving birth." Still to be explained, however, is the expression سرا (sarīya), misinterpreted as "rivulet," with which we would have an example of case (c) (see page 24).

Ṭabarî (XVI 69 ff.)prefaces the explanation of the word سرا (sarī) with the stereotypical remark that the commentators are of different opinions about its meaning. The majority (over nineteen traditionary chains) favor the meaning river, little river, a river named Sarī, designation of the Isā river (= Jesus river), stream, rivulet. In particular, Muğāhid and ad-Ḍaḥḥak believe it is river or stream in Syriac, whereas Saʾd b. Ğubayr is of the opinion that it is a stream, rivulet in Nabatean. On the other hand, two traditionaries object and advocate the view that Jesus himself is meant by the designation sarī. Probably on the basis of the conjectured Persian meaning noble, honorable, Ibn Zayd asks: "But who, after all, could be أسرى منه (asrā minhu) nobler than Jesus!"

oldest, or at least one of the oldest, in which holy persons from the New Testament such as Mary, Zachary, John the Baptist and Jesus are mentioned."

184 Cf. Lisān XIV 377b: السرو: المروة والشرف: (as-sarw*: al-murū* a wa-ša-ratf) (manfulness, noblemindedness); 378a: additional remarks on سري (sarī) in the meaning of شريف (Srīf) (noble, nobleminded).
cerning the erroneous opinions of those who see a river in this term, he makes use of his good common sense and argues: “If this is a river, then it ought to be beside her and not, of all places, beneath her!”

But Ṭabarī does not follow him. Like an arbitrator, on democratic principles he agrees with the majority that sees in it a stream, from which – in his opinion – God has, according to Sura 19:26, expressly ordered Mary to drink: “So eat and drink.”

Among our selected Western translators of the Koran, only Paret (by placing sarṭ in parentheses) suggests that the meaning of this expression is unclear. Blachère and Bell seem for the most part to approve of the explanation Ṭabarī gives. Blachère only observes concerning من تحتها (min taḥtihā) that in accordance with Koranic usage this expression means “at her feet,” and not, as so often translated, “from beneath her.” Bell, on the other hand, refers to Ṭabarī (XVI 67 f.) and the controversial issue among the Arab commentators as to whether it was the Angel Gabriel or the Infant Jesus that called to Mary “from beneath her,” concerning which he rightly supposes: “probably ‘the child.’” As to the word sarṭ, in his commentary (I 504 f., v. 24) he considers “stream” to be the most likely meaning, but points to the opinion held

185 The compiler of the Lisān nevertheless saw no reason not to include the unrecognized Syro-Aramaic expression سري (sarṭ) in the supposed meaning of نهر (nahr) (river) and جدول (ḡadwāḥ) (brook) and to cite in connection with it the corresponding misinterpretation by the Koran commentators: أنهر الصغير كالجدول يجري إلى النخل (a small or a stream-like river that flows to the palms) (Lisān XIV 380a). As we shall see, this is not an isolated case of misread and misunderstood Koranic expressions that have been accepted into the Arabic lexicography without being contested up to the present day. But also other expressions cited by the Lisān under the root سري (ṣariya) and سري (sariya) and explained by means of folk etymology provide ample proof of their Aramaic origins. To point these out here, however, would be to exceed the scope of this study. It would therefore be of eminent importance not only from the standpoint of cultural history, but also from that of philology, to scrutinize the Arabic lexicon for the countless Aramaisms that have until now been overlooked or falsely taken to be “Old Arabic.”

186 Blachère, loc. cit. 331, notes 23-32.
187 Bell, loc. cit. I 286, note 2.
by several commentators that it could also mean "chief, head" (referring to Jesus) in accordance with the (probably Persian) meaning "to be manly, noble," which is listed in the Lisân (XIV 377b) under سرا (srw) and with a reference to سيبوه / Sibawayh and اللحياني / al-Lihyâni.

In examining the corresponding passage more closely, Paret refers in his Koran commentary (323, on Sura 19:23-26) to W. Rudolph, who says about the attendant circumstances of the birth of Jesus described therein: "The most likely explanation is that Muhammed is here influenced by a scene the so-called Pseudo-Matthew reports of the flight to Egypt in chapter 20 and transfers this to the birth":

"tunc infantulus Jesus laeto vultu in sinu matris suae residens ait ad palmam: flectere, arbor, et de fructibus tuis refice matrem meam ... aperi autem ex radicibus tuis venam, quae absconsa est in terra, et fluant ex ea aquae ad satietatem nostram."

(Translation of the Latin text):

"Thereupon spoke the Infant Jesus, of joyful countenance sitting in his mother’s lap, to the palm tree: Bend over, tree, and refresh my mother from your fruits ... further open out of your roots a vein that lies hidden in the earth, and let waters stream out upon us to quench our thirst."

Blachère, too, sees a parallel to our Koranic verse and an explanation for the stream at Mary's feet in this description from Pseudo-Matthew. Bell argues along similar lines in his commentary (loc. cit.). By citing the quoted passage from Pseudo-Matthew the Western Koran scholars had their proof that in the case of the expression سري (sarf) it must indeed be a question of a watercourse, a stream, just as the Arab exegetes had also finally assumed after all.

The commentators in the East and the West will be shown, however,

188 Wilhelm Rudolph, Die Abhängigkeit des Qorans von Judentum und Christentum [The Dependence of the Koran on Judaism and Christianity] (Stuttgart, 1922) 79.
189 Blachère 331, notes 23-32.
that in the interpretation of this Koran passage they have succumbed in the first case to a linguistic error and in the second to fallacious reasoning.

Careful attention to the Koranic context is the fundamental prerequisite for a linguistically coherent understanding. That the Koran transferred the scene depicted by Pseudo-Matthew of the flight to Egypt to the birth of Christ is in no way proven by the passage cited above. The sole parallel is the palm that is spoken of in both passages. The other circumstances, however, are completely different.

Namely, when according to Pseudo-Matthew the infant Jesus directs the palm to cause water to flow forth, the logical reason may lie in the fact that for mother and son there was otherwise no water in the surrounding desert. Hence the command that water bubble forth to slake their thirst.

Not so in the Koran. Namely, when Mary according to Sura 19:23 calls out in despair, "If only I had died beforehand (i.e. before the birth) and been totally forgotten!" it is clearly not because she was dying of thirst! What depressed her so much was much more the outrageous insinuations of her family that she was illegitimately pregnant, something which is clearly implied by the scolding she receives in Verse 28: يأخذت هرون ما كان أبوك امرأ سوء وما كانت أمك بغير “Sister of Aaron, your father was after all no miscreant and your mother no strumpet!” (Paret: “Sister of Aaron! Your father was after all not a bad guy [note: man] and your mother not a prostitute!”). Most likely for the same reason it is also said, after she became pregnant, in Verse 22: فاتبعت به مكانا فصيا, “whereupon she was cast out with him to a remote place” (Paret: “And she withdrew with him to a distant place”).

What is crucial here is the Arabic verb فاتبعت (fa-natabādat), which our Koran translators have incorrectly rendered with “she withdrew” (Bell), “sie zog sich zurück” (Paret), and “elle se retira” (Blachère). Despite the original meaning of Arabic نبذ (nabağa), namely, “to send back, to reject, to cast out,” this expression is actually explained in Ta-barī with فاترعت (fa-tazalat) and وتتحت (wa-tanahḥat) (she with-
The reflexive eighth Arabic verbal stem may have also led the Koran translators to make this grammatically equivalent, but nonetheless nonsensical assumption. When one considers, namely, that the Koran, following Syro-Aramaic usage, also uses reflexive stems with a passive meaning, the result is the better fitting sense for this verse, “she was cast out,” which indeed also represents a continuation of the introductory statement of Verse 16:

وذكر في الكتاب مريم إذ انتبذت من أهلها مكانا شرقيا

“Make mention further in the scripture of Mary when she was cast out by her family to an empty (= a waste) place.” (Paret: “Und gedenke in der Schrift der Maria (Maryam)! (Damals) als sie sich vor ihren Angehörigen an einen östlichen Ort zurückzog!” [“And make mention in the scripture of Mary (Maryam)! (that time) when she withdrew from her family to a place in the East”]. The passive usage is additionally confirmed here by the preposition من (min) (by), which again corresponds to Syro-Aramaic practice, but is totally impossible according to Ara-

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190 Tabart XVI 63.
192 The Koranic spelling is to be read sarqîyâ according to Syro-Aramaic /sarqâyâ (empty = waste) and not as Arabic شرقية / šarqîyâ (to a place) “eastward” (Bell). The Syro-Aramaic reading is logically confirmed by the parallel verse 22, where it is said that Mary, after having become pregnant, was expelled with her child to a place “far away” (makânan gasyâ).

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193 Cf., e.g., Lk. 2:18: “وَكَلَّمَهُمَا ﴿الَّذِينَ ﺗَأْتَيْنَاهُمُ ﺑَنَاتُ بَيْلَةٍ﴾ (w-kullhûn du-shna(l) e-دلّايممار(l) al aylalu d-zamullak(î) l-hûn men ra`awawa) “And all they that heard (it) wondered at those (things) which were told them by the shepherds” (from the Syriac Bible 63DC, United Bible Societies [London, 1979] 77a). The Koran, moreover, has the same passive construction in Sura 21:43, where it is said of the idols:

لا يستطيعون نصر أنفسهم ولا هم منا يصبحون “they are not (even) capable of helping themselves nor are they (as idols) accompanied by us (as helpers)” (i.e. nor are we put with them as god). This construction, which is indefensible from the point of view of Arabic syntax, also confuses our Koran translators. Paret, for instance, translates (265): “(– Götter) die weder sich selber Hilfe zu leisten vermögen noch (irgendwo) gegen
bic grammar. There is namely no reason for the Koran to submit, as classical Arabic grammar would have it, to the prohibition imposed by later Arabic (or Persian) grammarians against naming the active subject in a passive sentence by means of the preposition من min (by). Therefore, seen in this light, the classical Arabic grammar proves rather to be a hindrance in determining the proper understanding of particular passages in the Koran, while attention to Syro-Aramaic grammar assists in opening up insights into heretofore unimagined aspects of the Koranic language. This basic Syro-Aramaic structure of the Koranic language must be gone into in more detail.

Thus Verse 22—correctly understood—indicates that Mary is cast out by her family because she is suspected of illegitimate conception, especially considering that the Koran does not place any fiancé or sham husband at her side to protect her from malicious tongues. As a result it is understandable that Mary in Verse 23, immediately before giving birth, longs desperately for her own death. The initial words of consolation from her newborn child would naturally need to be directed first of all to removing the reason for her desperation. But this could surely not occur by attempting to console her with the simple reference to a stream allegedly located beneath her. The idea assumed by Tabari that God according to Verse 26 had commanded Mary to drink from it (فلكي واشربي / so eat and drink), therefore misses the mark. For it is not, say, the lack of food and drink that keeps Mary from eating and drinking, but much more her depressive mental state. That is why the consoling words of her child had to have such a content, so that she would no longer have any reason to be depressed and would therefore regain her desire to eat and drink.

uns Beistand finden [(— gods) who neither are capable of rendering themselves assistance nor find assistance against us (anywhere)] (wa-la hum minna yushabina).” Similarly Blachère (351): “et il ne leur est pas donné de compagnon contre nous [and they are not given a companion against us]” Only Bell translates correctly in terms of the meaning (I 308b 44): “and from Us they will have no company.”

The Western Koran scholars’ reference to the above-mentioned passage from Pseudo-Matthew is also fallacious because the expression سريا (read surya in today’s Koran), which the Arab Koran commentators had already argued about and falsely interpreted as a watercourse, was thereby just as unphilologically and conjecturally confirmed and provided, once and for all, with a seal of approval.

Namely, in the case of this spelling سريا it is not a question of an Arabic, but of a Syro-Aramaic root. The problem is also already solved if it is presented in its original Syro-Aramaic form as ܪܐ ܕܐ ܐܒ ܐܒ ܐܒ (sarya'). For what one expects in the Koranic context is a countering expression to the reproach of her illegitimate pregnancy that would suffice to free her of this stigma. Now if one understands unmarried in the sense of unlawful, illegitimate, then its countering expression married would accordingly be lawful, legitimate. And so it is in modern Arabic usage that an illegitimate son (especially as a swearword) is ابن حرام (ibn harām), which is countered by its opposite ابن حلال (ibn ḥalāl) (a legitimate, legally born = an upright, honest person).

In this context the Syro-Aramaic expression ܪܐ ܕܐ ܐܒ ܐܒ (sarya') has exactly this meaning, however, here it is not to be understood as a substantive (stream, rivulet), but as a verbal adjective in the sense of “legitimate.”

The twenty-fourth verse of the Mary Sura, which has previously been misunderstood as follows by all of the Koran commentators we know of,

"Then he (probably “the child”) called to her from beneath her: ‘Grieve not; thy Lord hath placed beneath thee a streamlet.’” (Bell)

is now, after this elucidation of its original meaning, to be understood as summarized in the following way:

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195 See Thes. II 4308: ܪܐ ܕܐ ܐܒ ܐܒ ܐܒ (šaț) absolvens; solvit, liberavit. Further, Mammā 816b (among the 27 different meanings of ܪܐ ܕܐ ܐܒ ܐܒ šaț) (to allow, to declare legitimate; opposite of to forbid, to declare illegitimate), and under ܪܐ ܕܐ ܐܒ ܐܒ šarya) (7) (legitimate, allowed, opposite of forbidden and illegitimate). C. Brockelmann, Lexicon Syriacum [Syriac Lexicon] 804a: 6. ܪܐ ܕܐ ܐܒ ܐܒ (šarya): licet (it is allowed, legitimate).
“Then he called to her immediately after her delivery: ‘Do not be sad, your Lord has made your delivery legitimate.’”

Only after the infant Jesus has consoled this hitherto despairing mother with the acknowledgment of his legitimacy does he direct to her the encouraging words (from Verse 26) that she is therefore (and not because she is dying of thirst) “to eat and drink and be happy.”196 Just as logically does Mary (according to Verse 27) then take heart and return with her newborn child to her family. Confronted with the family’s initial indignation (Verse 28), she follows the instructions of her newborn and allows her child to respond (Verses 30-33) and in so doing to reveal his miraculous birth.

Thus, in contrast to the hitherto distortedly rendered Arabic reading of this passage, the Koranic presentation of the birth of Christ now for the first time acquires its original meaning through the bringing in of Syro-Aramaic.

Misreadings of Identical Spellings

The Arabic misreading of سريأ (sarıyā) for Syro-Aramaic ܫ rq (šaryā) henceforth opens our eyes to insights into other misread, but originally identical spellings in the Koran. So, for instance, in the Koranic version of the Tale of Alexander (in which Moses has taken the place of Alexander) about the dead fish which upon contact with aqua vita comes back to life and escapes into the ocean:197

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196 For the Koranic expression وقري عينا (wa-qarrat ‘ayna”), Mannā gives (698a) as the Syro-Aramaic equivalent مت رق (qarrat ‘ayna), مت رقح (qarrat lebhā, rûḥā): قرَّة العِين (qarrat lehba, rá‘a), فرحة . تعزية (cheerfulness, joy, consolation), see also Thes. II 3711: مت رق (qarrat rûḥ): consolatio (consolation).

Sura 18:61

فاتخذ سبيله في البحر سراباً

The last expression (sarába) is understood by our Koran translators as follows:

(Bell I 280): 60. ‘(They forgot their fish,) and it took its way in the sea freely (sarában).”

(Paret 243): “Der nahm seinen Weg in das große Wasser (bahr) (und schwamm) auf und davon.”

(Blachère 324): “(Ils oublièrent leur poisson) qui reprit son chemin dans la mer, en frétillant.”

After remarking (اختتفن أهل العلم) that the scholars disagree about the meaning of this expression (sarába”), Ṭabarī enumerates the following opinions: (a) the way the fish took, so to speak, turned to stone after it; (b) rather the water was frozen after its passage; (c) whatever the fish touched in the ocean was solidified into a rock, and (d) the fish made its way to the water not in the ocean, but on land. Ṭabarī lets all of these explanations stand. However, he considers as most plausible the interpretation, attributed to the Prophet, according to which the water divided itself as if into a passageway in front of the fish.198

Paret disapproves of this last explanation by Ṭabarī and the corresponding translation by Friedländer, according to which the fish “had made its way through a subterranean passage into the ocean.” He himself takes the expression to be an adverbial infinitive of Arabic sarība “to flow,” which would mean as much as “(and it swam) away.” To this extent he concedes the correctness of Bell’s translation, “and it took its way in the sea freely,” whereas Blachère – perhaps inspired by the shimmering of a mirage (in Arabic سراب / sārāb) – translates the expression with “en frétillant” (wriggling).199

In fact, only Bell, with “freely,” has correctly guessed the expression

198 Ṭabarī XV 273 f.
from the context, though without justifying it philologically. For it has nothing to do with Arabic sariba (to flow); otherwise the Arabic commentators would have probably also figured it out. The fact, however, that they had arrived, so to speak, at the limits of their Arabic simply suggests that here it is not a question of an Arabic root. It is surely as a result of the preceding and the following rhyme that the Arabic readers have here read سَرِباً (saraba’), especially since there is an equivalent Arabic root. From this root, however, the Arabic commentators were justifiably incapable of wresting any reasonable meaning.

However, one of the meanings of the Syro-Aramaic participial adjective discussed above, ʾsāryā (šaryā), which in this case of course cannot mean “legitimately,” exactly fits the correct meaning here, “freely.” Thus Mannā (loc. cit.) lists under حرّ مطلق غير مقدر (free, unrestricted, unattached); and the Thes. (II 4307) under the root ʾsār / šār: (d) solvit vincula, liberavit, dimisit; further C. Brockelmann, Lexicon Syriacum [Syriac Lexicon] 803b (under ʾsār / šaryā): 2. liber (free). And so in this way only the Syro-Aramaic reading شريباً سرباً (šaryā) gives the expression from Sura 18:61 its proper meaning: “And it (the fish) made its way freely into the ocean.” Or expressed in modern Arabic: فاتخذ سبيله في البحر حرًا (fa-ttahada sabī-lahu ff l-bahri hurra).

Sura 78:20

We come across another homonymous and misread spelling in Sura 78:20. There we read: وسیرت الجبال فکانت سریباً (wa-suyyirat l-ğibāl “fa-kānat sarāba’a”). According to the understanding until now:

(Bell II 630): “The mountains will have been moved and become a mirage.”

(Paret 497): “und die Berge bewegen sich (von der Stelle) und sind (schließlich nur noch) eine Luftspiegelung.”

(Blachère 633): “[ou] les montagnes, mises en marche, seront un mirage.”

Noteworthy here is that in the cited translations none of the three trans-
lators has taken exception to the underlined expressions. Thus they, too, are following Tabari (XXX 8), who explains this verse in the following manner: The mountains are blown up out of their foundations and reduced to dust so that like a mirage they only seem to have their original form.

What is conspicuous in the process is that Tabari does not understand the verb سيرت (suuyirat) in the original Arabic meaning of the word, “to be set into movement,” but instead interprets it as “to be blown up.” In doing so, he may have had other parallel passages in mind, such as, say, Sura 19:90, ونخر الجبال هذا (and the mountains will fall down in ruins), or when it is said of mountains in Sura 20:105 that ينسفها ربي (my Lord will blow them up) (according to the Arabic understanding) or “pulverize them, turn them into dust” (according to the Syro-Aramaic understanding200). The following verse provides us with a further example:

**Sura 69:14**

وحملت الأرض والجبال فذكتا دكة واحدة

This is how our Koran translators have understood this verse:

(Bell II 601): “And the earth and the mountains shall be moved, and shattered at a single blow.”

(Paret 480): “und [wenn] die Erde und die Berge hochgehoben [Note W: aufgeladen] und (auf) einmal (zerstoßen und) zu Staub gemacht werden; …”

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200 This last meaning is supported by Syro-Aramaic نعح (nšāf), which in the Thes. (II 2477) is equated with the synonym سلا (nḥal) (to sift through) and thus “to turn into powder, into flour.” The Arabic نسف (nasafû) seems to be derived from this, according to the explanations provided by the Lisân (IX 328b), which correspond exactly to Syro-Aramaic usage. نسف الشيء: غربله (nasafû š-šay’a: ġarbalahu) (approximately, to sift through), as is sifted flour, نسافة (nusafû) (< Syro-Aramaic نعح / nšāfû).
(Blachère 612): "[quand] la terre et les monts, emportés, seront pulvérisés d’un seul coup; ..."

Ṭabarî may have Sura 99:1 or Sura 56:4 and 5 in mind insofar as he sees a simultaneous quaking of the earth and mountains in this verse. According to a further explanation attributed to Ibn Zayd, the earth and mountains are turned to dust. 201 Little persuaded by this interpretation, Paret chooses to stick closely to the original meaning of the Arabic حمل (ḥamala) (to carry) with his “hochheben [to lift up]” (or “aufladen [to load]”). On the other hand, Blachère with “emporter [to carry away]” and Bell with “to move” venture solely on the basis of the context to come closer to the actual sense (to carry away), here too without justifying it philologically. In fact, this meaning can only be determined via the Syro-Aramaic דאש (šqal) (original meaning, “to carry”). Namely, the meanings that fit this context are listed by C. Brockelmann (Lex. Syr. 798b f.) under the numbers 7 and 8, “abolevit” as well as “removit, separavit” in the sense of “to remove, to destroy”; further examples in this sense are cited by the Thes. under “abstulit” and “sustulit” 202; finally, under (2), Manna (812b) gives the equivalent Arabic as رفع . حمل. نسف (rafaʿa, ḥamala, nasafā) (to lift up, to carry [away], to pulverize/to remove).

With the establishment of the meaning of the Arabic حمل (ḥamala) that fits this context – “to carry away, to remove, to destroy” – via the lexically equivalent Syro-Aramaic expression דאש (šqal), we would thus have an example of case (f) (see above page 24).

For Arabic ضک (dakka) the meaning given by the Lisān (X 424b), “to destroy, to tear down,” is actually adequate. A parallel is also furnished by Sura 19:90 (wa-tahīru l-ḡibālu hadda”) (nearly might the earth split open) “and the mountains fall to pieces.” Although

201 Ṭabarî XXIX 56.
202 Thes. II 4286 (e) abstulit; for example, it is said in Ex. 10:19 that Yahweh turned a mighty strong west wind, which drove away, removed the locusts: סחל (wa-šqalteh 1-qamṣa); in addition: סחל בורא (šqal naṣṣaḥ b-samā) seipsum veneno sustulit (literally: “he carried (off) his soul with poison” – he destroyed himself, he did away with himself with poison).
Bell has understood the Arabic expression correctly, in accordance with the *Lisān*, the translations proposed by Paret with “(zerstoßen und) zu Staub gemacht [to (crush and) turn to dust]” and by Blachère with “pulverisés [pulverized]” are nevertheless to be taken into account. Namely, among other expressions, the *Thes.* gives as an onomatopoeic equivalent to the Syro-Aramaic ܕܲܩ (daq) (contudit, contrivit, comminuit: to crush, to grind, to smash to pieces), Arabic ܕܳܟܳܢ (dakka), which it presents as a synonym of the Syro-Aramaic ܕܲܚܳܐ (dahā) (as a passive participle: ground, crushed; as a noun: dust, powder). The last meaning would be the more logical consequence of removal, destruction, namely their being reduced to dust or powder.

According to this clarification and on the basis of the meaning of the Arabic expression حمل (hamala) (to carry = to carry away, to remove) established via the semantics of its Syro-Aramaic lexical equivalent, the verse under discussion (69:14) is thus to be understood as follows:

“and [when] the earth and the mountains are destroyed (removed) and at the same time reduced (to dust).”

The Koranic conception, according to which the mountains are crushed or turned to dust on Judgment Day, may now explain why *Tabari* interprets the verb سيرت (suyyirat) in Sura 78:20 accordingly and does not understand it, as our Koran translators do, on the basis of the Arabic sense of “to set in motion.” This makes one wonder whether it is not much more likely that *Tabari* had read the Arabic transcription of Syro-

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203 *Thes.* I 936 f. connects Syro-Aramaic ܕܲܩ (daq) (referring to K.) with ܡݯܠܼܟܳܝܲܐ (mglakjā) (mortar) as a synonym for ܡݯܠܼܟܳܐ (mglakkā). This would to this extent suggest a secondary formation of the Syro-Aramaic root ܡݯܠܼܟ (mglak / maddek) (to mix) from ܕܲܩ (daq) (in the meaning of to crush > ܕܲܢ daq). Arabic ܕܳܡܳܟ (damaka) has most likely been borrowed from Syro-Aramaic ܡݯܠܼܟ (mglak) (*Lisān* X 428b) as a metathesis understood in the meaning of “to grind”: دملك الشيء : طَلَحه (damaka š-say’a: taḥanahu), to which the “grinding millstone” رَحَى دمُوك (raha’ damūk), as an obvious borrowing from Syro-Aramaic ܪܲܚܳܐ (rāhyā mad-dōkā), clearly points, whereby the *Lisān* interprets the general sense of the Syro-Aramaic nomen agentis ܪܲܚܳܐ (maddōkā) (> Arabic دمُوك damūk) as سريعة الطحن (sari’a’ t-ţāhīn), a “fast” grinding (but actually a “thoroughly” grinding) millstone.
Aramaic סֵתַר (star/sattar) סֶתְרִית (sutirat/suttirat), since only the Syro-Aramaic root produces, besides the Arabic meaning of סֵתֶר (satarā), “to protect, to wrap, to veil,” the further meaning of “to destroy.”

In fact, it is also only through this Syro-Aramaic interpretation that the further reading and the respective understanding of the subsequent obscure expression סֶרַּבא (“sarāba”) is cleared up. It is hard to imagine that this expression is supposed to mean, according to the Arabic understanding, a mirage which the mountains set in motion would eventually become. In comparison, the Syro-Aramaic rectification of the misread Arabic spelling סֶרַּבַּא (since the medial ְl is probably a later insertion) = Syro-Aramaic סֵרַּב (šaryā) or in plural (referring to mountains) סֵרַּבּ (šrayyā) produces a meaning in harmony with the verb סֵתֶר (satarā) = יְסָר (star/sattar) “to destroy.” This we find namely in Mannā under the root סֵר (šrā) (816a), be it under (10) in the meaning הֵדַמָּה (to destroy or tear down something or other such as a building), or under (11) in the meaning אָבַל (to wipe out, to annul, to cancel, to remove). The latter meaning gives, to be sure, the more logical sense to the extent that, as a result of their destruction, the mountains “are wiped out, removed, destroyed, disintegrated.” Accordingly, if we understand the misread Arabic spelling סֶרַּבַּא (“sarāba”) not as a noun (mirage), but as a Syro-Aramaic masculine plural participial adjective סֵרַּבּ (šrayyā) (destroyed, disintegrated [mountains]), Sura 78:20 produces the following Syro-Aramaic reading:

חיים סֵרַּבּ שֵׁרַּבּוּ (w-me-stattrin ְיוּרֵה w-hâwēn šrayyā)

204 Cf. Thes. II 2756: (2) destructit (to destroy); further (2757), with a reference to the Syrian lexicographers: (1) evertit, destructit, diruit, הֵדַמָּה. פַּנָּס, חֶרֶב (hadama, naqada, ḥarraba) “to destroy, to tear down.” The same explanation is given in Mannā (519b) under (3).
205 For this meaning, cf. Thes. II 4309 (Mk. 15:29): סֵרַּבּ (In סֵרַּבּ ḥaykîl w-hânē leh la-tîlîm yāwmin): (Ah, thou that destroyest the temple, and buildest (it) in three days!)
206 Cf. C. Brockelmann, Lexicon Syriacum [Syriac Lexicon] 803b: (k) delevit, destructit; (l) abolevit (to destroy, to annihilate; to extinguish, to eradicate).
Accordingly this verse ought to be read:

وسترت الجبال فکانت شرايا
(wa-suttirat l-ğibāl u ḥa-kānat šārāyā)

In other words, in Koranic Arabic in the style of Suras 19:90 and 56:6:

وهدت الجبال فکانت هباء (= نلالشت)
(wa-huddat l-ğibāl u ḥa-kānat habā‘ān) (‘talāšat)

The verse that has heretofore been misunderstood on the basis of the Arabic misreading as

“and the mountains move (from their place) and are (eventually just) a mirage” (Paret)

is now to be understood according to the Syro-Aramaic reading as:

“and [then] the mountains collapse and disintegrate.”

First of all, the identification would thus be attested of three Syro-Aramaic spellings in the Koran which, though originally homonymous in terms of orthography, were later misread in Arabic due to the incorrect placement of points (or vowels):

a) سريا (sarī‘a‘n) (Mary Sura 19:24) (“rivulet”) as the Syro-Aramaic (šarī‘) in the sense of “legitimately” (born);

b) سريا (saraba‘n) (Sura 18:61) (said of the fish, Ṭabarī: “escaped through a channel”; Bell – guessed from the context: “freely”, Paret: “away”; Blachère: “wriggling”) as the Syro-Aramaic (šarā) in the sense of (swam) “freely” (into the ocean);

c) سريا (sarāba‘n) (Sura 78:20) (“mirage”) as the Syro-Aramaic plural (šrayā) (in reference to the mountains) in the sense of “disintegrated, dispersed.”

Secondly, in connection with this we would at the same time have identified the Arabic spelling سرت (suyyīrat) – which has been misread, subject to no challenge by previous Koran scholars and misinterpreted in the sense of “to be set in motion, to be moved” – as the Syro-Aramaic root (ṣtar) (to destroy, to tear down) in the passive form (ṣayay),

149
(estattar) = read in Arabic: سترة (suttirat) (to be torn down, to be destroyed).

Sura 13:31

This last root in turn clears the way for us to identify other homonymous and likewise misread spellings, three more of which are given to us by the Koran concordance in Suras 13:31; 18:47 and 81:3. Thus, for instance, we read in Sura 13:31:

وأ أن قرائنا سيرت به الجبال أو قطع به الأرض

(Bell I 232, 30): “Though / If only by a qur’ān the mountains had been moved, or the earth been cleft, …”.

(Paret 204): “Und wenn durch einen (Offenbarungs)text (qur’ān) bewirkt würde, daß Berge sich (von der Stelle) bewegen oder die Erde in Stücke zerreiβt (Note: oder sich spaltet)…”

(Blachère 276): “Si une incantation par laquelle les montagnes seraient mises en marche, ou par laquelle la terre serait mise en pièces…”

Here, too, it is not سترة (suyyirat) that should be read, but following the Syro-Aramaic form, as above, سترة / sutirat (to be torn down, to be destroyed). As for the other Arabic verb قطع (qattirat) (literally: to be torn to pieces), Paret with the meaning “had been split” in the note and Bell with “had been cleft” have correctly suspected, though without justifying this, that it is a synonym of شق (ṣaqqa), which is usually used in this context in the Koran, for example in Suras 19:90 and 80:26. In this respect, it is lexically equivalent to Syro-Aramaic ﺮـ (srā), which can mean both.207

207 Cf., e.g., Manna (647b): ﺮـ (srā): (1) قطع (qattirat) (to cut off, to detach), (2) شق (ṣaqqa) (to split). This meaning occurs in Sura 2:260: فخذ أربعة من الطير فصره هن الیك (Bell I 39, 262): “Then take four of the birds and incline them to thyself [‘Sense uncertain.’]” The latter can be only understood in the meaning of the Syro-Aramaic loan-word quoted above as follows: “Then take four of the
We thus would have another instance of case (f) (p. 24) where frequently the Koran will employ a genuine Arabic expression that renders only one of the meanings of the lexically equivalent Syro-Aramaic expression on the assumption that the Arabic equivalent must have had the identical semantic content. Thus in countless cases the actual and precise meaning of an Arabic expression that does not harmonize perfectly with the Koranic context can usually be established by way of the semantics of the lexically equivalent Syro-Aramaic expression. The following verse offers us a further example:

\textit{Sura 18:47}

وَيِومًا نَسِيرُ الجِبَالِ وَتَرَى الْأَرْضَ بَارِزَةً
وَحَشَرْنِينَ فَلَمْ نَغَادِرَ مِنْهُمْ أَحَدًا

(Bell I 278, 45): “On the day when We shall cause the mountains to move, and one will see the earth stepping forward. And We shall round them up and leave of them not one;”

(Paret 242): “Und am Tag (des Gerichts), da wir die Berge (von der Stelle) bewegen und du die Erde (darunter?) herauskommen siehst und wir sie (d.h. die Menschen) (schließlich alle zu uns) versammeln und nicht einen von ihnen ausslassen!”

(Blachère 323): “au jour où Nous mettrons les montagnes en marche, où tu verras la terre [rasée] comme une plaine, où Nous rassemblerons les [les Humains] sans laisser personne parmi eux.”

After the lexical and syntactic analysis that follows, this is how this verse will be understood:

“On the day when the mountains collapse and the earth appears birds and cut them (in two).” The prepositional reflexive pronoun 
\textit{إليك} (ilayka), unusual in Classical Arabic, is known in the Syro-Aramaic grammar as \textit{dativus ethicus} (cf. Th. Nöldeke, \textit{Syrische Grammatik} [Syriac Grammar], § 224: “The preposition \textit{Δ (l -)} with a reflexive personal pronoun often follows a verb without essentially changing its sense.”}
to be split open, we will gather them (the people) together and none of them will be overlooked.”

First of all, here, too, it is not نصير (nusayyir) (we move from the spot), but نصر الجبال (nusattir l-ğibal) (when we shall tear down the mountains) or the passive نصر الجبال (tusattar l-ğibal) (when the mountains will be torn down). The next problem case occurs in وترئ الأرض بارزة (wa-tarā l-ard bārizatān) and concerns the participial adjective بارزة (bāriza), which has been variously interpreted by our Koran translators:

(Bell): “the earth stepping forward.”

(Paret): “und du die Erde (darunter?) herauskommen siehst (and you will see the earth coming out [underneath them?]).”

(Blachère): “la terre [rasée] comme une plaine” (the earth [shaved] like a plain).

Blachère to some extent follows Ṭabarī, who explains this passage as follows: On the day when we shall set the mountains in motion and they will be removed from the earth, it will appear to the observer to have been stripped of every object whatsoever.208 Paret and Bell both attempt in their own ways to interpret logically the Arabic root برز (baraza) (to stand out), one in the sense of “to step forward,” the other in the sense of “to stand out.”

The divergence in these attempts at interpretation is understandable, considering that in the case of the misread Arabic spelling بارزة (bāriza) (with the secondarily inserted ی) it is not a question of the Arabic برز (baraza), but of the Syro-Aramaic ترز ز (taz, the meaning of which Mannā (849a) renders in Arabic as أنشق (inšaqqa) (to rip open, to split).209 In Syro-Aramaic this clause would read ملك ملك.

208 Ṭabarī XV 257.
209 Cf. further Thes. II 4498, 176 (taz / tarz): dirupit (to tear, to tear open); 270 (ettaraz / ettarraz), 176 (ettaraz): dirupitus, scissus fuit (to be torn open, split open).
(w-tethء arًا ˌrizā), “and (when) the earth appears to be split open,” and would be translated into Arabic وترى الأرض منشقة (wa-tarā l-arḍ"a) or in the passive voice (wa-turā l-arḍ"a munšaqqa), whereby we would have an example of case (c) (see page 24, above).

Finally, what is striking about the genuinely Arabic expression نغادر (nuğādir) is that its actual sense (to abandon) does not quite match the usage expected here and approximately presumed by our translators with “to leave,” “auslassen [to leave out],” and “laisser [to leave].” However, if we bring in the lexically equivalent Syro-Aramaic verb ṣhaq (ṣḥaq), we notice that Mannā (765a) cites among the eight different meanings: (1) ترك نغادر (to leave, to abandon); (2) إغفل (to neglect, to fail to do, to overlook). From the last meaning it becomes clear that the Koranic expression is meant in this way, and that only this meaning lends the Koranic expression its precise nuance.

The same is true of Sura 18:49, where the identical expression appears once more:

Sura 18:49

مال هذا الكتب لا يغادر كبيرة ولا صغيرة إلا احصاها

“What is it with this register that it overlooks neither a large nor a small (deed) without taking it into account! (Roughly: What kind of register is that, that does not fail to take into account the smallest thing!)”

Thus we would have a further example of case (f) (see p. 24).

In other words, in Koranic Arabic the verse under discussion from Sura 18:47 would accordingly read:

ويوم نهد الجبال وترى الأرض منشقة وحشرنهم فلم نغفر منهم أحدا

“On the day when we shall tear down the mountains and you will see the earth split open and we will gather them (the people), without overlooking even a single one of them.”

Read this way, however, the sentence does not have a very harmonious
ring to it. But if we read the first part of the verse passively, “On the day when the mountains are destroyed and the earth appears (literally: is to be seen) split open,” this reading would produce a more plausible sense.

The main problem, however, is of a syntactical nature and can be found in the second part of the verse, which, as a coordinate clause, is combined with the first by means of the conjunction ُ/wa (and) with a simultaneous shift in tense and subject, which here emerges as God in the first person plural. Our Koran translators have noticed that the temporal clause introduced by the adverb يَمُومُ (yaymû) (on the day when) lacks the expected apodosis. As a result, each has tried in his own way to deal with the problem. Whereas Paret makes it into an exclamatory clause that requires no apodosis, Blachère links it with the preceding verse and sees in it a simple succession of individual statements. Bell, on the other hand, reproduces the Koranic sentence faithfully, but sees that the clause hangs “in the air” and therefore suspects a gap, which he illustrates in his translation by starting a new paragraph with the second part of the verse and by leaving the line before it empty.

For this kind of sentence structure, the ܐܒܥܝܐ/ Pṣīṭṭā, the Syro-Aramaic translation of the Bible, offers us several typical examples. There is the following passage, for example, from the story of Joseph (Genesis 39:10-11):

(มวล : ܐܒܥܝܐ ܐܒܥágina ܐܒܥágina ܐܒܥágina ܐܒܥágina ܐܒܥágina ܐܒܥágina ܐܒܥágina ܐܒܥágina ܐܒܥágina ܐܒܥágina ܐܒܥágina ܐܒܥágina ܐܒܥighborhood:

(w-kad āmrā (h)wāt leh kullyōm, w-lā šāma' (h)wā lāh, l-meḏmak l-wātāh wa-l-mehwē ʾammāh, wa-hwā b-had men yawmāqā...):

“When she spoke to him day by day, but he harkened not to her (insofar as) to lie by her and to be with her, [and] it happened one day ...”.

In the case of this temporal sentence introduced by ܐܒܥ (kad) (as, when)

210 The Jerusalem Bible [Jerusalem Bible] (15th edition, Freiburg, 1979) makes a new sentence out of the apodosis of the Pṣīṭṭā (Verse 11).
the apodosis begins with the conjunction 赒 / w (and): “When she spoke to him ..., and it happened ...”. Just as in the English (and German) construction, however, this and in both the Syro-Aramaic and the Arabic temporal sentence is not only superfluous to introduce the apodosis, but above all confusing. It appears, if only sporadically, to have slipped into Syro-Aramaic as a Hebraism via the translation of the Bible. In most cases, however, it is left out in the P'șitțā. The same applies for the Koran.

To this extent the observation about Ancient Hebrew that Theodor Nöldeke had already made in his above-mentioned sketch Die semitischen Sprachen [The Semitic Languages] (26) comes into play:

“The character of Ancient Hebrew is in essential parts of it, in particular in sentence construction, very old-fashioned. The coordination of sentences predominates over subordination more than in another Semitic written language more exactly known to us. The sentences are preferably joined together only with an “and.” Even subclauses and adverbial modifiers, especially of a temporal nature, are commonly combined to form a whole with a mere “and it was,” “and it will be,” and then the main clause is loosely linked to that with an “and.””

211 Naturally, it is thus for us often

211 Note (1) “For example, ‘And it was when he had made an end to offer the present, and he sent away the people,’ Judg. 3:18 (= ‘And when he had made an end..., he sent away the people’). ‘And it came to pass that Isaac became old, and his eyes became weak to see, and he called Esau his eldest son,’ Gen. 27:1. ‘And it was at her coming, and she moved him,’ Judg. 1:14. ‘And it came to pass in the evening, and he took Leah his daughter,’ Gen. 29:23 – ‘And it shall be if the wicked man (be) worthy to be beaten, and the judge shall cause him to lie down and to be beaten...,’ Deut. 25:2. ‘And it will come to pass on that day, and I will break...,’ Hos. 1:5. Similarly in countless cases.”

In the case of all of these passages the “and” before the apodosis is left out in the P'șitțā. The passage cited from Judges 1:14, however, reads according to the P'șitțā version: אִנָּא אָסָּא וּמַעַּֽשֵׁ֖ל אֶלַּֽעַד אֵֽלֵֽעָדָֽ֑א (w-kad ʾay-lā, eragrat l-mesal men abûḥ ʾaqlā) “And when she came in (to her husband, i.e. when she was led to him), she was moved (by him) to ask of her father a field.”
doubtful where, according to the sense, the apodosis begins.\footnote{Indeed, Nöldeke’s comment (18) in his Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft [New Essays on Semitic Linguistics] in the chapter on “Stylistic and Syntactic Peculiarities of the Language of the Koran,” (paragraph four), bears witness to this: “Frequently a protasis in the Koran lacks the apodosis or the main clause.” At the same time, Nöldeke apparently did not notice that his observations about Ancient Hebrew can also in part be carried over to the Koran.} What are so lacking are particles that could clearly express the finer concatenation of thoughts. To a large extent fantasy determines the usage of the verb tenses, sometimes seeing what has not been completed as completed, at other times what has been completed as still taking place.”

This observation of Nöldeke’s on the syntax of Ancient Hebrew fits the sentence from Sura 18:47 being discussed here exactly, because:

(a) as a result of the “superfluous” و / w (and), the apodosis beginning with وحشرنهم (wa-hasilaməhum) has not been identified as such by our Koran translators, even though the tense change it introduces (perfect as opposed to the imperfect in the protasis) particularly emphasizes this and clearly distinguishes the two parts of the sentence from each other;

(b) Nöldeke’s comment, according to which something future (not completed) is presented as having already happened whereas the protasis is in the imperfect (or future) tense, is further true here of the apodosis in the perfect tense وحشرنهم فلم نغادر منهم أحدا (literally, “and we have gathered them and overlooked none of them” instead of “and we shall gather them and overlook none of them”). According to the modern-day understanding just the opposite relationship would be correct: “On the day when = when one day the mountains have collapsed and the earth has split open, we shall gather them together and overlook none of them.” In this respect, Nöldeke’s previously cited comment on Ancient Hebrew is also true of this unusual sentence construction: “To a great extent fantasy determines the usage of the verb tenses,
sometimes seeing what has not been completed as completed, at other times what has been completed as still taking place."

The lexically as well as syntactically misunderstood and distortedly rendered sentence from Sura 18:47,

"And on the day (of the Last Judgment), when we move the mountains (from their places) and you see the earth (under them?) come out and we (finally) gather (all of) them (i.e. the people) (to us) and do not leave out one of them! [Und am Tage (des Gerichts), da wir die Berge (von der Stelle) bewegen und du die Erde (darunter?) herauskommen siehst und wir sie (d.h. die Menschen) (schließlich alle zu uns) versammeln und nicht einen von ihnen auslassen!]

should be understood, on the basis of the lexically more reasonable Syro-Aramaic reading, but syntactically on the basis of a sentence construction that is also attested in part in the Syro-Aramaic translation of the Bible under the influence of Biblical Hebrew, as follows:

"On the day when the mountains collapse and the earth appears to be ripped open, we shall gather them together and overlook none of them."

Sura 37:78-79

Insofar as for Arabic غادر (gādara) (to leave, to abandon) the Koran also uses ترك (taraka) as a synonym, reference will be made in the case of the latter to the following spellings misread in four passages as تركنا (taraknā) (we have left, to be left over) instead of تركنا باركنا (= ركنا / barrek) (bāraknā) (we have blessed). These are the following verse refrains in Sura 37 to the memory, respectively, of the prophets Noah, Abraham, Moses and Aaron, and Elias: 78, 108, 119, and 129. Verses 78, 108 and 129 each run: وتركنا عليه في الآخرين (wa-taraknā ʿalayhi ft ʾāhirin); Verse 119, referring to Moses and Aaron, says in the dual:
وتركنا عليهما في الآخرين (wa-tarānakā ʿalayhi wa-ʿālā ʿl-ʾāhirīn). By our Koran translators this verse refrain (78) has been rendered as follows:

(Bell II 445): 76. “We have left upon him among those of later times (the saying)...”

(Paret 371): “Und wir hinterließen (als ein Vermächtnis) unter den späteren (Generationen den Segenswunsch) für ihn…”

(Blachère 477): “et Nous le perpetuâmes parmi les Modernes.”

Thus our Koran translators follow Ṭabarī (XXIII), who essentially interprets verses 78 (68) and 108 (88) in the following way: We have preserved a good memory of him (Noah or Abraham, respectively) among the generations after him until doomsday. Thus may he be assured of the blessing: “Peace be (respectively) upon Noah, upon Abraham!”

What is surprising, however, is that the same spelling in Verse 113 وبركنا عليه وعلى سحق (wa-bārāknā ʿalayhi wa-ʿālā ʿl-ʾānhq) “and we blessed him and Isaac,” has here been read correctly, in contrast to the four misread passages. For particularly in connection with the preposition على (ʿalā) this spelling scarcely allows any other reading than برك (bāraka) (to bless). In the sense of “to leave a legacy,” as Paret understands it, ترك (tarak) ought to be followed positively by the preposition لـ (in favor of) and not by على (ʿalā), which would have the negative meaning of “to leave (something) to someone as a burden.”

Undoubtedly responsible for this incorrect reading is the misinterpretation of the expression في الآخرين في ʾāhirīn (ft ʾl-ʾāhirīn), which can have two meanings, depending on which substantive one infers with it: (a) the “later (generations),” as Ṭabarī interprets it, or (b) the “later (times)” = the future world, the hereafter. In the singular feminine form the latter meaning is common in Arabic (الآخرى / al-ʾāhira / al-ʿūhrā < Syro-Aramaic < ʾēhrāyē / (a)ḥraytā).213 The plural form that appears in

213 Cf. Lisān IV 14b: (al-ʿūhrā and al-ʾāhira: the perpetual place of residence, the hereafter). With regard to its being a borrowing from Syro-Aramaic ʾēhrē / (a)ḥraytā cf., e.g., ʾamnā (14a): (2) (ʾāhīra, ʾāhīra, نهایة (nīhāyya) (end = last days, hereafter).
the Koran (الأخرين) here refers either to Syro-Aramaic (بزامه) (times) or (عالمه) (worlds). Precisely the latter meaning is referred to in the verse immediately following Verse 78, i.e. Verse 79, which has been misunderstood by our Koran translators as follows:

(Bell II 445, 77): “Peace be upon Noah in (all) the worlds.”

(Paret 371): “Heil (salám) sei über Noah unter den Menschen in aller Welt (العالمين)!“

(Blachère 477): “Salut sur Noé dans l’Univers!”

Yet what is to be understood in this context under (العالمين) is, as a transliteration of the Syro-Aramaic (عالمه), “both worlds”: this world, the secular world, and the next world, the hereafter. What is intended here by the Syro-Aramaic plural suffix -ة / -ً would be the Arabic dual suffix ين / -اين. Namely, this understanding follows from the Koranic context insofar as God (a) rescued Noah and his family from the Flood (Verse 76) and kept his descendants alive (Verse 77) and (b) in addition to this, he has praised him in the hereafter (Verse 78); from which results (c) (Verse 79): “Peace be upon Noah in both worlds!” In other words, God’s blessing applies to Noah in this and the next world. Also corresponding to this sense is the summarizing conclusion in Verse 80: “Thus (namely) do we reward the righteous!” The previously cited Verses 78 and 79 are therefore to be understood as follows:

“And we blessed him (in addition to this) in the hereafter: Peace be upon Noah in both worlds!”

214 Cf., e.g., Thes. I 127: خلاصه رؤساء (بزامه [ا]برص) “novissimis temporibus.”

215 Cf. Thes. II 3009: دخلت مكانها وبداية (عالمه د-غامه و-دا-جفيه) saecula praesentia et futura (present and future “worlds”); in addition, 2899 under (2): (هانه العالم) haec vita (this [earthly] life, this world), in opposition to: دخلت مكانها (عالمه دا-جفيه) (future world); hence the “two worlds”: دخلت مكانها (تنزع العالم) (Ephr. II 338А,...).

216 The plural form (العالمين) that Paret puts in parentheses and gives in the Arabic status rectus should therefore be viewed as hypothetical.
The other verse refrains 108, 119 and 129 are to be understood accordingly. Furthermore, in Sura 26:84 what is meant by the term الأخرين (al-\(\text{a}\text{h}\text{ir}\text{in}\)) is also not the “later (generations)” (Paret), but the “last (times)” = the “hereafter.”

Sura 26:90-91

In order to return to the spelling بَزَ (baraza), the verses 90-91 from Sura 26 may be cited in this context:

وازلقت النجة للمتقين وبرزت الجحيم للغايين

Without further ado following the laconic interpretation by Tabari (XIX 87), our Koran translators render the underlined expressions as follows:

(Bell II 357): 90. “The Garden shall be brought nigh to those who show piety, 91. And the Hot Place advanced to those who are beguiled....”

(Paret 304): (90) “Und das Paradies wird (an jenem Tag) an die Gottesfürchtigen nahe herangebracht. (91): Und der Höllenbrand wird denen, die abgeirrt sind, vor Augen gestellt (burrizat).”

(Blachère 397): 90 “[au jour où] le Jardin sera avancé pour les Pieux 91 et la Fournaise sortie pour les Errants...”

It remains to be seen whether in Arabic the root زلف (zalaf) really does mean دينة (danā) (< Syro-Aramaic، دن / dnā) or قرب / qaruba (الهـ / qreb) “to be near, to come closer,” as the Lisān (IX 138a ff.) conjecturally explains it in referring to two dubious Arabic verses. On the other hand, if we base it on the Syro-Aramaic root أَف (zalāf), what results in the first place is the figurative sense “to shine, to gleam, to adorn.”

Whence the reflection on whether the spelling أزلفت should be read, not

217 Thus the Thes. I 1130 cites: مَلَكَة (zulāf) ornatio, politio, (zulāf d-mānī) elegantia vestium, (in Arabic): صنف التلبب وبروتها (ornament and shine of clothing); further 1131, under مَلَكَة (m-zalāf), also as applied figuratively to “elegant and brilliant discourse.”
“uzlifat,” but azlaqt “azlaqat” or “uzliqat.” In fact, only the Syro-Aramaic root דלמ (zlaq) yields the original meaning of “to radiate, to shine,” which the Thes. (I 1131) assigns to its more common variant form דלפ (zlag). This is, in turn, used most of the time in the Apel form.\textsuperscript{218} Therefore the reading azlaqt (azlaqat) would be justified. Accordingly, Paradise would not be “brought near unto the god-fearing” (Paret), but would, more reasonably, “shine forth” for the god-fearing.

This reading is confirmed by a number of expressions that the Lisān (X 144b) cites under the root צלך (zaliqa), whereby it, in turn, is also not always able to distinguish here between the Arabic original meaning “to slide” and the homonymous Syro-Aramaic root with the original meaning “to shine.” What is in any case revealing is the meaning “to adorn oneself” used to explain (with reference to Abū Turāb) the reflexive stem צלץ (tzallqa) (it is said of someone tzallqa and tzayyaqa when he smartens himself up). This meaning is also confirmed by the ensuing hadīt according to which ‘Alī characterized two men coming out of the baths מталכינ (mutazalliqan) “all spruced up” as mina l-mufāsirin “belonging to those who strut.” The closing explanation is equally clear: צלץ (one says of someone tzallqa when he looks after himself in such a way that his [skin]color receives a glow and a shimmer [a shimmering glow]. On the other hand, the Lisān (IX 138a ff.) cites several expressions under the root צלף (zalafa) that probably belonged under the root צלך (zaliqa), for instance, when it describes the mirror asuzzy (az-zalafa\textsuperscript{a}) (139b) although it points rather to the Syro-Aramaic דלמ (zlaq) (to shine).

Now that the Lisān has also confirmed the Syro-Aramaic reading, the first part of Verse 90 cited above is accordingly to be understood as follows:

“(on the day when ... ,) and Paradise will shine forth (or adorn itself) for the god-fearing ...”

\textsuperscript{218} Cf. Thes. I 1126, under aph. צלפ (azlag) affulsit, effulsit, splenduit; and with reference to the Syrian lexicographers. اشرق اثار لمعو، سطع. أضاء.
The spellings that were misread (as ازلفت / ursionat) in Suras 50:31 and 81:13, but which are in reality homonyms (ازلفت / azlaqat / uzliqat), are to be corrected in the same way.

As for the misread spelling برزت (burrizat) in the second verse segment, what was already said above about the Syro-Aramaic root רך (traz) (to split, to split open) in Sura 18:47 can be applied, so that here Hell will split itself open (in the sense of to open up suddenly) in order to “devour” the damned. Summarizing, the double verse from Sura 26: 90-91 would thus read:

“(On the day when ... ,) (90) Paradise will shine forth (or adorn itself) (91) for the god-fearing and Hell will split itself open for the damned.”

Sura 68:51

Picking up from the root زلق (zaliqa / zalaqa (<  חל / zlaq), reference will be made to a passage in Sura 68:51 that, though read correctly, has nevertheless been misinterpreted:

وان يكاد الذين كفروا ليزلفونك بابصرهم لما سمعوا الذكر ويقولون أنه لمجرون

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219 Compared to this, immediately after Christ’s death on the cross, according to the Christian idea, Sheol is “split open” to free the souls imprisoned therein as a result of the work of salvation; this is documented by the Thes. (II 4498) with the following citation from Jacob of Sarug (d. 521 A.D.): يأب حئي (ettarazat šyol wa-npaq segre ga-h ism bah) (Sheol split itself open, and the rows [of people] imprisoned therein came out).

220 Namely, the lexical basis of the Arabic word غاويين (gawiyn) is the Syro-Aramaic גוי (gawıya) (to lose one’s way, to go astray), (1) (bada, halaka) (to be lost, to be damned). It is also likely that it was from the latter meaning that the Arabic هللاك (halak) “eternal damnation” (cf. H. Wehr) originated as a religious technical term. Here, too, as so often, the Koran uses the first lexical meaning of the Syro-Aramaic expression in the assumption that the further meanings will emerge from it as a matter of course.
Our Koran translators render the underlined expression as follows:

(Bell II 599): 51. “Lo, those who have disbelieved almost cause thee to stumble with their looks, when they hear the Reminder, and they say: ‘Surely, he is mad’.”


(Blachère 611): 51 “En vérité, ceux qui sont incrédules, ayant entendu cette Édification, te percèrent\footnote{221}{221 Here Blachère adds the following note: "yuzliqina-ka ‘they will pierce you.’ Literally: they will make you slide. The sense seems to be: Considering the Prophet to be possessed, they try to exorcise him and resort to hypnotism."} certes de leurs regards et diront: ‘Certes, il est possédé!’.”

Thus they partially follow the interpretations enumerated in ʿTabarī (XXIX 46) for the expression لیزرقلونک (la-yuzliqūnaka). In doing so, however, they pay no attention to the one that comes closest to the Syro-Aramaic sense, namely: لیصرعونک (la-yəśraʿūnaka) (they would almost “knock” you “down” with their looks). In connection with this, ʿTabarī makes reference to a saying of the Arabs: كاد فلان بصرعني بشدة نظره یلیز الوق (zlaq) / zalaqahu bi-bašariti), though without quite knowing how to interpret the verb أرزقه (azlaqa). As a conjecture it gives the explanation “to force someone from his spot or position” as well as the above-mentioned saying with the meaning “to knock down, to dash to the ground,” to which it adds the following: نظر فلان إلي نظرا كاد بأكلني وكاد بصرعني (“so-and-so cast me such a look as to almost devour me or knock me down”).

In fact, however, the root زلقت (zaliqa / zalaqa) is connected with the Syro-Aramaic ճل (zlaq) to the extent that the latter can mean not only “to be radiant, to shine, to gleam,” but also – under the ʿApel form


(azleq) – “to flash, to cause to flash,” and thus in a general sense: “to kill by lightning, to dash to the ground, to strike down.”

However, the findings made in the meantime as to the confusion of specific Syro-Aramaic letters in the process of transcription from Garshuni/Karshuni into the Arabic writing system make it more likely that the Arabic letter ل/L in يُزْقُونَك/yuziqunaka is a mistranscription of the Syriac letter ل/.vn. Read Garshuni/Karshuni لحَصَبُهُ = Arabic يُزْقُونَك/yuziqunaka (< Syro-Aramaic /zāq, 1. to cry, yell, 2. to peal, rumble [thunder], Afel /azeq – cf. Mannā 205b), this verb means as a variant of Arabic صَعَق /sa'qa (1. originally: to cry < Old Aramaic / Hebrew צָעַק /š'q): 2. to strike down with lightning – the latter meaning Arabic rather صَعَق /as'qa (cf. Lisān X 198a: أَصَعَقَتْهُ الصَّعَقَةَ /as'qaat-hu š-sā'qa : is said of someone struck by lightning). This meaning is to be assumed figuratively, in the causative/transitive stem in the sense of “to strike suddenly down”, as in the verse discussed above, and in the intransitive stem in the sense of “to collapse suddenly”, as attested in Sura 7:143: وُخِرَ مُوسى صَعَقًا: “and Moses fell (suddenly) down thunderstruck.”

222 Cf., e.g., C. Brockelmann, Lexicon Syriacum 198b: نَفَعُ ( zalqā) 1. Fulgor, radius (lightning, ray); Af. Fulgere fecit (to cause to flash).
225 Morphologically, the Koranic spelling صَعَقَة (traditional pronunciation sa'iqa – Syro-Aramaic sa'qā) renders accurately the Syro-Aramaic status emphaticus as attributive form of the passive participle لَحَصَبُهُ /za'qa, Old Aramaic *لَحَصَبُهُ /sa'qā, as discussed above in the chapter on Satan (p. 98). In the vernacular of the Near East the word زَاَقَة zāqa in the sense of lightning, thunderbolt (< Syro-Aramaic حَصَبُهُ / z'aqtā [cry], حَصَبُهُ /za'qta [lightning] – cf. Mannā 205b) is quite common.

Since it appears now clear that the meaning lightning, thundersbott is a metaphorical sense derived from the original meaning cry, none of our Koran translators seems to have noticed that the Koran employs the synonymous Arabic substantive صِيحة /sayха in the same sense (cry = lightning, thunderbolt). This meaning can be inferred from the context of the following ten Koran passages:
The philological discussion of Sura 68:51 leads us henceforth to the following understanding:

"Truly, those who are unbelieving would with their scowls have almost struck you down (= looked daggers at you) when they heard the admonition, saying: ‘He is indeed a possessed one!’.”

So understood, the verse being discussed from Sura 68:51 would thus be:

„Truly, those who are unbelieving would with their scowls have almost dashed you to the ground (as if with a bolt of lightning) when they heard the admonition and (at the same time) said: ‘He is indeed one possessed!’.”

Suras 11: 67,94; 15: 73,83; 23: 41; 29: 40; 36: 29,49; 38:15; 54:31. Although Ṭabarî (XIV 44) explains this word in Sura 15:73 (صيحة /aś-sayha = the cry) as صاعقة العذاب /sā‘iqat al-ṣaqāb (the lightning of pain = punishment), all our three Koran translators understand it literally as cry (Bell: the Shout; Blachère: le Crie; Paret: der Schrei). On the other hand, the word صيحة /sayha (cry) in eschatological connexion has the sense of the (trumpet)-blast on the Judgement Day. This understanding can be derived from the following passages: Suras 36:53; 50:42 (cf. following Suras, where it will be blast upon the trumpet: 6:73; 18:99; 20:102; 23:101; 27:87; 36:51; 39:68; 50:20; 69:13; 74:8; 78:18). The word صيحة /sayha (cry / lightning / irump of doom), that occurs thirteen times correctly in the Koran, is once misread in Sura 80:33. The Koranic seeming hapax legomenon with the spelling الصيحة /as-sayha (the cry = crack of doom). The medial ل- /alif in the misread الصيحة is, as seen above (p. 72-96), an alternative writing of medial ب- /y as in يأ /بِرَأً (falsely بِرَأ / barā’ = برَيَأ /bariya > bariya) (Suras 9:1 and 54:43; see above p. 97 ff.). That this uncommon spelling has its origin in an occasional Syro-Aramaic orthographical peculiarity will be shown elsewhere.

226 From the different renderings of the verb tenses one can see that our Koran translators are having trouble coming to terms with the syntactic cohesion of this sentence. What determines the tense in this case is the main clause in the past tense لا يسمعون (lammā sami‘a) “when they heard.” The imperfect subordinate clause، ويقولون (wa-yaqulun) (literally “in that they speak” describes an action occurring in the past and is therefore to be rendered in the perfect tense.
Additional examples in the Koran of apodoses introduced by و / wa (and)

Sura 37:103-104

The further apodoses exceptionally introduced by the conjunction و / wa (and) will demonstrate that Nöldeke's remark -- that in the case of many a protasis in the Koran the apodosis is lacking -- is for the most part not true. Among other places, we encounter such a temporal clause in Sura 37:103-104:

فلما أسلمت وتره للجبين / ونذره ان يابراهم

Here, despite the و / w (and) preceding it, the apodosis has been cor-

with "in that they spoke." The same applies for the modal and main verbs that are likewise dependent on the main clause and in the imperfect tense at the begin-
ing, يکاد . لیزلفونک / yakād" , la-yuzliqānaka, which for the same reason should be rendered in the perfect tense with "they were almost able to dash you to the ground" or subjunctively "they would almost have dashed you to the ground." In this regard, cf. C. Brockelmann, Arabische Grammatik [Arabic Grammar], § 92 (a): "The imperfectum (indicative) describes an event or state of affairs as taking place or existing before the eyes of the speaker; it can thus refer to all three time levels."

This last comment thus justifies not only the perfect, but also the subjunctive understanding of يکاد . لیزلفونک (yakād" , la-yuzliqānaka), here, however, with reference to the past and not to the present or future, as all three of our Koran translators have it, without exception. This in turn finds its justification in § 92 (c): "By means of an imperfect subordinated to a perfect, an action is expressed that accompanies another action, and indeed a past action."

If necessary, one could also see in this imperfect tense a case following § 92 (b): "As praesens historicum it can also vividly describe the past."

Accordingly, the syntactical relationship of these connected clauses ought to be seemingly clear. Paret, however, rips apart this structural harmony by making the adverbial complement وهم يقولون wahum yaqūlūn (whereas what really means "whereby they said") into an independent clause in the present ("And they say"). As one can see, it is not the fault of the Koran if it is even misunderstood in places in which in Arabic it is seemingly مبين (mubīn) "clear."
rectly identified, already by Nöldeke, and by our Koran translators. Because of other misreadings, however, their translations will be given in the following:

(Bell II 446): “When they had resigned themselves, and he had laid him down upon his face (literally, ‘to the forehead’), (104) We called to him: ‘O Abraham!’…”

(Paret 372): “Als nun die beiden sich (in Gottes Willen) ergeben hatten und Abraham seinen Sohn (W.: er ihn) auf die Stirn niedergeworfen hatte (um ihn zu schlachten), (104) riefen wir ihn an: ,Abraham!’…”

(Blachère 479): “Or quand ils eurent prononcé le salâm et qu’il eut placé l’enfant front contre terre, (104) Nous lui criâmes: ‘Abraham!’…”

The following Syro-Aramaic reading will result from the philological analysis of this connected double verse:

(103) “Now when the two of them were finished (arranging the pyre) and he (Abraham) had (laid) him (his son) bound upon the fire (wood), (104) we called to him: Abraham! …”

The first thing to be said about the verb أسلم (aslama) (< Syro-Aramaic אֲשָׁלֵם aslem) is that according to its Syro-Aramaic transitive usage it is a priori not to be viewed as reflexive in this passage, as Paret and Bell

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227 Th. Nöldeke, ibid. 18 (penultimate paragraph).

228 Nevertheless, Paret remarks in his Commentary (417) in this regard: “The apodosis seems to be missing. For this reason an equivalent supplement must be inserted at the end of Verse 103 (according to Zamaḥṣarī and Baiḍāwī after quad sadaqa r-ruʿyā in Verse 105). Or it is to be assumed that the apodosis is exceptionally introduced by wa- (as Ṭabarī says concerning this passage;…).” In fact, Ṭabarī (XXIII 80) maintains that the “Arabs” sometimes set the وَأَوُا / wāw (and) in front of the apodosis of فلما وَحَتى وَإِذَا (fā-lammā, hattā, iḍā) (as, until, when) (i.e., of temporal clauses beginning with these three words). Still apparently nobody has noticed that this usage, limited to the Koran, is to a certain extent indirectly a Syro-Aramaism, but is more frequently a Hebraism.
have done, in part following Ṭabarī.²²⁹ In his Commentary Paret refers to Helmer Ringgren, Islam, ḥaslama and muslim (Uppsala, 1949) 26 f. The Künstlinger translation reproduced there, "When they were finished" (27), should not be dismissed just because ḥaslama in this meaning is not attested in Arabic and because Künstlinger had taken this from Hebrew. To be more exact, it has been taken from Syro-Aramaic. Both meanings, (a) to submit (oneself) and (b) to finish (something), would in themselves be acceptable according to the Syro-Aramaic ܐܫܠܐ (ašlem), depending on which object one is imagining with it.²³⁰ For the understanding of the Koranic context, however, Genesis 22:9 ought to be quoted:

"And they came to the place which God had told him of; and Abraham built an (or the) altar there, and laid the (fire)wood in order (upon it); then he bound his son Isaac, and laid him on the altar upon the (fire)wood."²³¹

In contrast to this, the Koranic report skips the details relating to the arranging of the altar and the firewood, but summarizes it in the outcome with قلما اسلما (fā-lammā aslamā): "Now when they were finished (with the arranging of the pyre)." This interpretation is supported by the traditional reading according to Ibn Masʿūd, Ibn 'Abbās and Muğāhid upon which Blachère (479, note 103) bases his translation: fā-lammā sallamā (misunderstood by Blachère as follows): "Quand ils eurent prononcé le salām" (when they had spoken the salaam). Yet precisely this variant reading, which in the Arabic transcription is to be pronounced

²²⁹ Ṭabarī (XXIII 79) gives three interpretations for the verb: (a) to agree, to be of the same opinion (both Abraham and his son agreed...); (b) to submit (to the divine will); (c) the son surrendered himself to God, whereas Abraham surrendered his son to God. All three interpretations correspond to the Syro-Aramaic ܐܫܠܐ (ašlem) (Thes. II 4186f.): concordavit; se dedivit; tradidit.

²³⁰ Cf. Thes. II 4186: ܐܫלב (ašlem) (1) complevit, perfectit (to bring to an end, to complete); (4187): Cum ܢܡܐ (nāṣā): se dedidit (to devote oneself: to submit).

²³¹ Translation according to the Syriac Bible 63DC, United Bible Societies (London, 1979) 15b.
سلام / *salima* and not *sallama*, is equivalent to the Syro-Aramaic لحم *(šlem)*: "(when they) were finished." 232

Against Ringgren’s opinion that the most natural explanation here would be that Abraham and his son had submitted to God’s will, one can point to Verse 102 from which this already follows. Namely, in response to Abraham’s question concerning the sacrifice of his son, which God had demanded of him in a dream, the son consents and declares that he is willing to submit to God’s command. 233 That the two then set out on their way, as well as the other unmentioned details from Genesis 22:3-9, is presupposed by the Koran as already known. As a result it is more likely that فَلَمَّا أَسْلَمَا *(fa-lammā aslamā)* ("now when they were finished") is to be understood as the conclusion of the prior preparations. The related وَتَلَّهَ لِلْجَبِينَ / *wa-tallahu li-l-ğabîn* (according to the previous reading): "(after they were finished, and he) had thrown (him) down on his forehead" (Paret), fits just as logically as the last act before the burnt offering. The following analysis concerns itself with this last detail.

Of all the previous scholars of the Koran, none appears to have become suspicious about the detail just cited, although neither in the Biblical account nor in the Apocrypha, nor in any other literature is there any indication that Abraham had specifically *laid* (Speyer) 234 or *thrown* his son *down on his forehead* (Paret). The Western Koran scholars must have seen in this a Koranic variation.

But even linguistically nobody has raised any objections, although the conjectural explanations on this point by the Arabic Koran commen-

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232 See *Thes.* II 4183: لحم *(šlem)*, Ar. سلام *(salima)*, finitus, completus, absolutus est; and with a reference to the Syrian lexicographers (4184): لحم *(šlemman)*: فرغنا *(fargna / fargnā): ("we are finished"). The expression mentioned by the *Lisān* (XII 291a) سلم من الأمر *(salima min al-amr)* is accordingly not to be understood, as interpreted by the *Lisān* in Arabic, as نجا *(najā)* (to escape from, to successfully elude an affair), but in the Syro-Aramaic sense as فرغ منه *(faraga / fariqa minhu)* (to be finished with it).

233 The reference in the Haggadah to the devotion of Abraham and his son, mentioned by Heinrich Speyer, may also refer to this (*Die biblischen Erzählungen im Koran [The Biblical Stories in the Koran]* 165).

tators are scarcely convincing. Thus, for example, Ṭabarī (XXIII 80) offers the following interpretations for this passage: (a) He threw him to the ground on his (temple?) (here Ṭabarī explains the dual al-ġabīnān as that which is located to the left and right of the forehead, and furthermore that the face has two [temples?] جبينان between which is the forehead); (b) he laid him down with his face to the ground; (c) he threw him down on his forehead; (d) he threw him down on his mouth; (e) he held him by the forehead to slaughter him.

Jeffery (101), uncontested and without any further justification, adopts the interpretation given by Ṭabarī under (a) with the definition: “The temple, or side of the forehead.” But his subsequent explanation is indecisive:

“The exegetes got the meaning right, but neither they nor the Lexicons have any satisfactory explanation of the origin of the word from the root جبين.”

Citing Barth, he nonetheless considers an early borrowing from Aramaic نامة (ḡīnā) (brow or eyebrow) or Syro-Aramaic حین (ḡīnā) (eyebrow) to be possible. What is lacking here, however, is any indication of the usage of جبين (ḡabīn) (forehead) in modern written Arabic,235 as well as in the contemporary Arabic dialects of the Near East.

But actually the above-mentioned clarification of the expression by Ṭabarī does suggest the meaning of the Syro-Aramaic حین / ḡīnā (eyebrows). When Ṭabarī explains that there are جبينان (ḡabīnān) to the left and the right of the forehead, he with certainty means by that the Syro-Aramaic حین / ḡīnē, namely the two “eyebrows,” and not, as this came to be misunderstood by the Arabic lexicographers, the two “sides of the forehead.”236 But if the forehead lies “between the two eye-

235 See, for example, Hans Wehr Arabisches Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart [Arabic Dictionary for the Written Language of the Present Day] (Wiesbaden, 51985), in which the meaning given there besides “forehead,” “side of the forehead,” must have stemmed from this misinterpretation by Ṭabarī.

236 The Lisān (XIII 85a) explains this as follows: والجبين: فوق الصدع، وهما جبينان عن يمين الجبهة وشمالها (al-ġabīn is the upper part of the temple; of
brows,” this absolutely corresponds to the Syro-Aramaic expression שָׁפָה לָחֵץ / bêt ghînê, namely that which lies “between the eyebrows” (or in the area of the eyebrows), i.e. precisely: the “forehead.” Arabic جبين (gabîn) in the meaning of “forehead” probably originated etymologically from the Syro-Aramaic by omitting the Syro-Aramaic שָׁפָה bêt) (between) and adopting the singular or pausal form of שָׁפָה / ghînê.

But the real problem does not lie in the etymologically correct explanation of this expression, but in its misreading. In fact, the concrete guidelines of the Biblical account (Gen. 22:9) provide us with an indication of the real sense of this passage. There it says namely that Abraham has “bound (his son) and laid (him) over the (fire)wood. Upon closer examination, the Koranic passage proves to be absolutely adequate.

Namely, unsubjected to further justification by Arab commentators on the Koran and just as seldom subject to examination by Western Koran scholars, the meaning of the verbal root تُلُّ (talla) in the sense of

these there are two جبينان / gabînân to the right and to the left of the forehead; and according to Ibn Sayyidîr. والجبينان حرفان مكتفتا الجبهة من أين سيده جانيها فيما بين الحجاجين مصعدا إلى قصاص الشعر (the gabînân are two margins surrounding the forehead on both sides in the area above the eyebrows up to where the hair begins); وقيل: ما مبين القصاص إلى الحجاجين; (others say: these are each located between where the hair begins and the rim of the eye socket): وقيل حروف الجيبة ما بين الصدفين متصلا عدا الناصية , كل ذلك جبين واحد (on the other hand, others say: the edges of the forehead in the area between the two temples through to the forehead hair, all this is a gabîn = a forehead); وبعض يقول هما جبينان gabînân—by which probably only Syro-Aramaic شفة / ghînê “eyebrows” can be meant! قال الأزهري : وعلى هذا كلام العرب , والجبينان : الجبينان (al-Azharî said: the linguistic usage of the “Arabs” corresponds to this; al-gabhatîn “the two foreheads” = al-gabînân “the two eyebrows” (?). As Jeffery has remarked above, one scarcely knows, in fact, what to do with such interpretation attempts. This, however, is a typical example of Arabic lexicography whenever it is a question of the etymological explanation of borrowed expressions. Especially striking here is the constant appeal to the linguistic usage of the “Arabs,” even when it is not infrequently a question of Aramaisms.

صرع (sara’ā) (to throw to the ground) has become accepted. And this although this root has never been accepted in this meaning in the Arabic language (in H. Wehr it is not even cited once). Even if the Lisān (XI 77b) can explain صرع (sara’āhu) with تلّه (tallahu), in doing so it is relying on this misinterpretation by the Koran commentators. That it furthermore cites as evidence for it, among other things, a verse by the poet الکمیت / al-Kumayt (al-Asadī) (680-744 A.D.), illustrates precisely that often clumsy method of the Arabic lexicographers, who, in order to explain obscure Koranic expressions, invoke, as false evidence of them, their misunderstood use in later Arabic literature.

In reality the Koranic spelling تلّه / t-l-h is in turn based on the Syro-Aramaic root تلّه (tll̄a), which the Thes. (II 4440) links etymologically with the Arabic تلّه (tala) (to follow), but whose lexical meaning it gives with the Arabic علق (’allaqa) (to hang, to hang up).238 That Syro-Aramaic root تلّه (tll̄a) renders the Arabic علق (’allaqa) (to hang) in Arabic under (3) as follows: علق (’allaqa), ألق (anāqa), ألق (anāqa), ألق (rabaqa). Similarly, in reference to a female camel (spoken of in a ḥadīth) with فتّلها (fa-tallahā) (Lisān XI 78a), it is not “he had her kneel,” as presumed by the Lisān, but rather “he tied her up” that is meant. In general, the Lisān here confuses the roots تلّه (tala) and تلّه (tal) because of the defective Arabic spelling. Only with the help of the cited expressions can a given meaning sometimes be determined on the basis of the context from the equivalent Syro-Aramaic root. As concerns the further ḥadīth أثبت بمفاتيح خزائن الأرض فتّلّت في يدي (Lisān XI 78a f.) (the keys to the treasures of the earth were brought to me and hung on tied to my hand), this last meaning from Syro-Aramaic تلّه (tll̄a) would fit better than the interpretation presumed by the Lisān, “thrown down into my hand.” The same is true of the Syro-Aramaic root تلّه (tal) to which the Thes. (II 4437)

238 C. Brockelmann, Lex. Syr. 824b, instead cites the Arab. تلّه (tala demisit funem (to let down a rope), which he may have taken from the Lisān (XI 79b). However, the verse that the Lisān quotes as evidence for this interpretation (to let a rope down when drawing water in a well) is seemingly unclear and does not, to be sure, permit this assumption. What suggests itself more would be, in imitation of the Syro-Aramaic root, the meaning “to hang, to hang up” or “to tie up,” say, on a hanger or a roller (cf. the Arabic explanation given in Mannā [149b] for the Syro-Aramaic term دعامتان تنصبان على البير: “two supports affixed above a well on which a wheel is attached for the drawing of water”). Namely, the meaning “to attach, to tie (to), to tie up” for the Syro-Aramaic تلّه (tll̄a) is rendered by Mannā (838b) in Arabic under (3) as follows: علق (’allaqa), ألق (anāqa), ألق (anāqa), ألق (rabaqa).
maic тлα (тлα) can at the same time mean “to hang, to hang up” and “to tie (to), to bind” is illustrated by the Thes. (II 442) under (3) with the following citations:

λαμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμανμα

But the Thes. (II 4441) presents us with a further instance that could have virtually be taken from our Koran passage. Namely, in speaking of Abraham it is said: тлα прр ɐ l tлα “he bound his son (and placed him high) upon the pyre” (i.e: he placed his son bound upon the pyre). The Syro-Aramaic expression тлα (тлα) (here to be understood as altar, pyre)\(^{239}\) in turn helps us to decipher the misread expression لجبن (Li-l-ğabin) (previously understood as: to be thrown down upon one’s forehead). Namely, read differently, this should yield a synonym of حلظ (لئبة) (altar, pyre). For that, we only need to imagine the point under the /ğ/ as not being there, which results in the reading لجبن (Li-l-ğabin or Li-l-ğabbín). However, read in Arabic the root حن (habana), after a search through the Lisān, produces no meaning. Yet here, too, as in the case of the two preceding expressions, an identical Syro-Aramaic root should help us further.

First of all the Koranic spelling للجبن suggests the triliteral Syro-Aramaic root حب (haban). With the original meaning of “to be lazy, sluggish,” this proves, however, after a check of the Thesaurus and Brockelmann’s Lexicon Syriacum, to be unsuitable. The next root to be considered is the mediae geminatae حب (hab) whose original meaning “to burn”\(^{240}\) appears to fit our passage. The suffix ين / -ן would correspond

\(^{239}\) Cf. Thes. II 2891 (2) excelsum, altare, ara.

\(^{240}\) Thes. I, 1168: حب (hab), exorsit, accensus est. Mannā (213b): اتقد (itaqada), اضطرم (itahaba), اذن (ittarama). Arguing in favor of a borrowing from Syro-Aramaic is the Arabic root حب (habba), which is still common usage only in the meaning “to love, to like,” which derived originally from “to be inflamed in love for.”

assigns the Arabic تل (talla). Here, too, the explanations provided by the Lisān (79b) are not always convincing.
to the Syro-Aramaic masculine plural suffix -īn. The Syro-Aramaic transcription سَيِّ (ḥābbīn)\(^{241}\) would accordingly be an active masculine plural participle, congruent with the reference – implicit in the Koran but explicitly named in Genesis 22:9 – to مَعَ (qaysē) (pieces of wood), which would yield the meaning “the (pieces of wood) (for) burning.” The originally attributive active participle (the burning), referring to the implicit noun (pieces of wood), would substitute for it as the substantive. Accordingly, under حَبَبُ (hābbū) = سيَي (ṣī), in analogy with the Koranic plural وَقُود (waqūd) (Suras 2:24; 3:10; 66:6; 85:5), one would understand “burning” (materials / pieces of wood) = “burning materials” / “pieces of wood for burning” (or collectively: firewood).\(^{242}\)

Still to be explained in the case of الْحَبِينَ (li-l-ḥābbīn) is the function of the prefixed preposition لِ / lī-. On the basis of the examples cited above from the Thesaurus, one would here expect the equivalent of the Syro-Aramaic حَبَبُ (ḥābbū) (on, above), i.e. the Arabic على (alā). It is not documented in Classical Arabic that the preposition لِ / lī- is used in this meaning.\(^{243}\) The Thesaurus also gives no example for this usage in

\(^{241}\) On the verba mediae geminatae, cf. Nöldeke, Syrische Grammatik [Syriac Grammar], § 178 B.

\(^{242}\) On the attributive use of the active participle, see Nöldeke, Syr. Gramm., § 282, par. 2: نَرَأَ يَقْطِتَ (nārā yāqṭītā) “a burning fire,” several times in Daniel 3; on the nominal use of the participles: §§ 281, 282; the Thes. (I, 1621) provides a further example in this regard with مَهَبَ (māha) (1) jones, ligna quibus ignis acceditur. الحَبَبُ (al-ḥābb) (firewood), for which Mannā (315a) additionally cites the Koranic وَقُود (waqūd) (firewood, fuel). The Thes. documents حَبَبُ as a verb (I 1168): خَمْرِ حَبْنِ مَنْهِ (gumrē ḥabūn mench) carbones succensi sunt ab eo (coals blazed up out of him), 2 Sam. 22:9, Ps. 13:9; and additionally as a substantive (1170): حَبْبَة (ḥabbū) quidcunque facile acceditur, quisquiliae, soramentum (anything easily inflammable, hay, brushwood), accompanied by further examples.

\(^{243}\) Yet what Carl Brockelmann calls “the direction-pointing la,” as discussed in his Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen [Outline of the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages] II, Berlin, 1913 (rpt. Hildesheim, 1961), 377, § 242, has in reality the same function. This appears clearly from the example quoted there: Ḯkabba līmuqghībi meaning (he) “fell on his face.” That this la- is a reduced form of عَلَى / 'alā > إِلَی / ilā > لِ / lī (not lī-) will be explained in a forthcoming publication.
Syro-Aramaic. *Manna*, however, out of a total of 31 functions of the  strdup, mentions under the twenty-fifth the meaning  (alā) (on) with the following example (364 a):

لا بناء لهم في الأرض ولا إنا موضوعا على صخرة.

“They have neither bases (anchored) in the ground nor foundation based on rock.”

*Further Utilization of ل- / li- instead of على (alā) Sura 7:143*

We further encounter this function of ل- / li- in the meaning of على (alā) (on) in Sura 7:143: (fā-lammā tağallā rabbuhu li-l-ğabal). The preposition ل- / li- (actually la-), here as dative, has been misunderstood by our Koran translators as follows:

(Bell I 150, 139): “but when his Lord unveiled His glory to the mountain, …”

(Paret 135): “Als nun sein Herr dem Berg erschien, …”

(Blachère 191): “[Mais] quand son Seigneur se manifesta à la montagne, …”

However, what is probably meant here is that God appeared on the mountain, as is confirmed by Exodus 24:16. This function of the preposition ل- / li- (la-) in the sense of على (alā) (on, above), a function that is documented by the Eastern Syrian lexicographers, is one of the hitherto unappreciated Eastern Syriac details in the Koran.

Thus, according to the Syro-Aramaic reading, the double verse 103-104 from Sura 37 is to be understood as follows:

„Now when the two of them were finished (with the arranging of the altar for the burnt offering) and he (Abraham) had (laid) him (his son) bound upon the fire(wood), we called to him: Abraham!”
Another reading of the spelling لَحَبَن (la-l-habbīn) would be conceivable since, unlike the Thesaurus and Brockelmann’s Lexicon Syriacum, Mannā (216a) also quotes the Syro-Aramaic verbal root  كلم (hban), parallel to  كلم (ḥabīn), in the meaning  كلم (iṭṭarāma),  كلم (iṣṭāla),  كلم (tāʾaggāga) (to burn, to flare up, to blaze up) and with it the extended verbal stems  كلم (ḥabbēn),  كلم (eṭḥabbīn),  كلم (aḥben), and  كلم (eṭṭabbīn). The absence of this root with this meaning in the other lexicons, however, gives rise to the suspicion that this might only be a secondary formation from كلم (ḥabīn). However, if this variant was in fact in use among the Eastern Syrians, two things would be conceivable:

(a) as a singular passive participle  كلم (ḥbīn) (in the Arabic pausal form حبَن / ḥabīn) it could be included among the substantives as a synonym for  كلم (yāqdā) (firewood), something which would change nothing in the proposed interpretation;

(b) however, if by it one understands, in reference to Isaac, the “burnt offering,” it would then be permissible to understand the preposition  كلم / li- (la-), not in the meaning  كلم (on, above), but as a particle of determination in the sense of as, to (respectively, to do or to become something). Even though Nöldeke considers this function in Syro-Aramaic to be a Hebraism from the translation of the Bible (Syrische Grammatik [Syriac Grammar] § 247, e.g., Gen. 2:7), Mannā (363a) cites it under  كلم (‘āṣira”) (tenthet) (li-ṣ-sayruna) (as an expression of becoming) with the example:  كلم (ehwē l-kōn l-a-bā) (akūnu la-kum abā”) (I will become as a father to you). In this meaning, the verse فلما أسلما (سلما) وتله للحبيين (ta-lammā aslamā / salimā wa-tallahu / talāhu la-lḥabīn) (Syro-Aramaic: حَد جَي علَحَمَ مُلَّحَمَ لَحْبَن) would be understood as follows:

Now after the two of them were finished (with the arranging of

244 Perhaps falsely derived from the unrecognized suffix of the 3rd person perfect feminine plural of كلم (ḥabēn) or the 3rd person masculine plural of the active participle كلم (ḥabbēn), or of the feminine plural كلم (ḥabbān).
the altar for the burnt offering) and he (Abraham) had bound him (his son) to become (as) a burnt offering. (we called to him: Abraham!) ...“.

Yet as reasonable as this reading may appear, it has two arguments against it: (a) the prototype of the Biblical account (Gen 22:9), according to which Abraham bound his son and laid him on the firewood, and (b) the circumstance that, at least until now, the Syro-Aramaic root .authenticate (ḥan), except in Mānā, does not appear to have occurred anywhere else in Syro-Aramaic literature. Thus, as things stand, preference must be given to the first reading.

Finally, a point should be made about a further detail in the last verse. The borrowed Arabic particle أَنّ / an (properly َذَن > َذن, from Old Aramaic ِنِن / hēn > ِلِن / َذن, originally, among other things, a demonstrative pronoun) used so frequently in the Koran to introduce direct speech (أَنّ ِبَارِي ِهِم / an yā ِبَارِي ِهِم) is nothing other than the rough translation of the corresponding Syro-Aramaic particle ِن / َن, which also has this function.245 As a Syriacism, this use of the particle أَنّ / an proper to the Koran has never really been absorbed into the Arabic language, even though it was employed in later classical Arabic literature in imitation of the Koran, and this, probably also for the reason that, because unusual, it was considered particularly classical.246

Sura 12:15

Moreover, another apodosis introduced by the conjunction و / wa (and) occurs in the following temporal sentence from Sura 12:15:

فَلما ذهبا به واجمعوا ان يجعلوه في غيبيت الجب وواحيها اليه لنتبينهم بامرهم هذا وهم لا يشعرون

246 Cf. C. Brockelmann, Arabische Grammatik [Arabic Grammar] § 147, note 2 (184). However, Brockelmann refers, in the case of the function of أَنّ / an to introduce the direct question in classical Arabic, to no dependence whatsoever on Syro-Aramaic.
Confused by the ٓ / wa (and), our Koran translators are unable to comprehend the syntactical scheme of this temporal sentence made up of a protasis and an apodosis and try in different ways to find a solution:

Bell (I 219) fails to see the apodosis and suspects a gap in the text: “So when they had taken him away, and agreed to place him in the bottom of the cistern . . . . and We suggested to him the thought: ‘Thou wilt certainly tell them of this affair of theirs, when they are not aware’.”

Paret (191) comes up with the apodosis and puts it in parentheses: “Als sie ihn dann mitgenommen hatten und übereingekommen waren, ihn auf den Grund der Zisterne zu tun (war es um ihn geschehen). Und wir gaben ihm ein247: ,Du wirst ihnen (später) über das, was sie da getan haben (W: über diese ihre Angelegenheit) Kunde geben, ohne daß sie (es) merken (daß du selber zu ihnen sprichst)’.”

Blachère (260) shifts the apodosis to Verse 16 and reads three protases in front of it: “Quand ils eurent emmené Joseph et furent tombés d’accord pour le jeter dans les profondeurs d’un certain puits, [quand] Nous eûmes révélé [à Joseph pour le consoler]: ,Tu leur rediras, sans qu’ils le pressentent, leur actuel mésfait!’, 16 [quand] ils furent revenus le soir à leur père, en pleurant, ils s’écrièrent:...”

Here our Koran translators seem to have overlooked ُTabarti, since he has recognized that in this temporal sentence a ٓ / wa introduces the apodosis, although he places the latter too early. In his opinion the sentence should be read:

“No when they had taken him with them, they came to an agreement to let him down into the depths of the cistern. And we

247 However, under note 11a Paret makes a correct assumption: “Or, ‘to put him onto the bottom of the cistern, we gave him in.’”

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idence for which we find in the following examples cited in the *Thes.* (II 2823) under (2): ﺱْاْا ﺹْاْا ﺹْاْا (’ubbē taḥtāyē g-ar‘a) (the lower depths of the earth); ﺱْاْا ﺹْاْا (’ubbē ’amīqē) (the deep abysses); ﺱْاْا ﺹْاْا (’ubbēh da-ṣyōl) abyssus inferorum (the immeasurable depths of Hell). However, because of the Koranic defective spelling, probably the Koranic as well as the variant reading of Ubayy in ﺱْاْا (I ḏ gāyba” I-gubb’) given by the *Lisān* (I 655b, ult.) correspond to the Syro-Aramaic حَيْبَة (’yyāba) (Thes. II 2824): obscuratio (darkening, darkness), which would justify the pronunciation عَيْبَة (’uyyāba / ’uyāba). Also coming close to this sense is the additional nominal form حَيْبَة (’yyāba), 251 for which the *Thes.* under (2) gives the

251 A probable derivative of this is Arabic عَيْبَة (’ayba) which the *Thes.* (II 2824) associates with it in the meaning of large basket, trunk, closet. Cf. the *Lisān* I 634a: (’ayba: is a container made of leather in which tools/haggage are kept); (’ayba: is in addition a basket made of leather, / zabbīl < Syro-Aramaic حَلْمَل / zabbīl / zabbīl / [S. Fraenkel, *Aramäische Fremdwörter* (Aramaic Foreign Words) 78], in which the harvested grain is transported); (’ayba: is furthermore that in which clothing is kept). What the *Lisān* then cites is interesting here, the Ḥadīq (a saying of the Prophet) on the occasion of the peace treaty with the Meccans in Ḥudaybiyya: لا إغلال ولا إسلام (Abū ʿUbayd is said according to al-Azhari to have explained the إغلال والإسلام (al-īgīlāl wa-l-īslāl), but to have refrained from the interpretation of عَيْبَة مكفوحة (’yyāba makṭūfa). Then the *Lisān* explains the expression عَيْبَة (’yyāba), with reference to the “Arabs,” who are said to designate that which is concealed in the heart with عَيْبَة (’yyāba) (probably < Syro-Aramaic حَيْبَة / حَيْبَة: the dark, concealed), just as one would keep his clothes in an عَيْبَة (’yyāba) (closet) (< Syro-Aramaic حَيْبَة / حَيْبَة). Yet the oscillating explanation in the *Lisān* (XI 500 f.) of إغلال (iğīlā) between “theft, plunder” and “betrayal” points rather to a borrowed variant from Syro-Aramaic حَيْبَة (ma-ʿaltā) (Mannā 542a/b, under [4]: إسلام (iṣlāl then proves to be a parallel expression as a further variant based on Syro-Aramaic حَيْبَة (šelēlā) (Mannā 790b: غزوة / غزوة / [zaḥfā] ra marauding, military expedition). إسلام (iṣlāl) then proves to be a parallel expression as a further variant based on Syro-Aramaic حَيْبَة (šelēlā) (Mannā 790b: غزوة / غزوة / إسلام: spoils of war; [2]: استبلك القتال / iṣṭābāl al-qitāl: thick of battle). Among others, the *Lisān* (XI 342a) lists the following approximative conjectures: (a) إسلام: غزوة / غزوة (as-sariqa ʿa-ṣaṣhīa (secret purloining); (b) إسلام (al-ṣāra ʿa-ṣaṣhīa (open attack). In the case of the helplessness of the *Lisān* to explain
here rules out the meaning قَرْ (qār) “bottom” that was falsely conjectured by the Lisān and that in this context is only possible in the singular. On these grounds it seems justified, as proposed above, to translate في غيبت الجب (gayābāt l-ğubb) with the intensifying plural: into the “depths” (into the abyss) or into the “darknesses” (into the dark) of the cistern.

In this connection in the case of the Syro-Aramaic root حَبَّ (ḥb) (in the first stem, to be ridiculous; to go under, to disappear no longer common) one should note the following Arabic equivalents that Mannā (531b) cites under حَبَّ (ḥb) (‘ayyēḥ) (and in part under حَبَّ / aḥb): عَيْب (‘ayyēḥ), سَخْر (ṣāhir) (to ridicule, to make fun of); غَيْب (2) (gayyaba), عَتَام (wārā), غَيْب (3) (gayyama) (to cover with clouds, to cloud over).

From this Syro-Aramaic root two main variants, which were in all likelihood originally created dialectally, then developed in Arabic with each of them being assigned one of the two original meanings of the Syro-Aramaic expression: (a) one variant faithful to the original حَبَّ / عَيْب (‘ayyēḥ) in the meaning of “to bear a stigma; to find fault with, to revile due to a stigma,” and (b) a second Arabicized variant غَيْب (gayyaba) in the meaning of (I) “to go under, to disappear, to not be seen” and (II) “to cause to disappear, to make invisible,” from which was derived an extended Arabic secondary variant: غَيْب (‘ayhab) and غَيْب (gayhab) (which the Lisān [I 632b f. / 653b] gives, respectively, as an additional root: غَيْب or عَيْب). That these last are secondary variants is evidenced by the nominal form cited in the Lisān with the meaning “dark of night, darkness;” غَيْب (‘ayhab), whose plural form غَيْب (gayāhib) (darknesses, obscurities) corresponds exactly to the Koranic في غيبت الجب (gayābāt l-ğubb) (darknesses of the cistern). In the same way, the Lisān (I 633ff., 654a ff.) quotes under each of the earlier main variants expressions that indicate their Syro-Aramaic origin. As a result of the pronunciation-based splitting of this originally single root, it was practically inevitable that the later Arabic lexicography would in part mix up the interpretation of these two variants.
his companion the true sense of his – at first glance – shocking action: The boat belonged to poor boatmen; a king who was seizing every boat in the surrounding area had been pursuing them. For this reason, he explains, ارتدت ان اعيبها (arattu an a’tbahā) “I wished [according to the previous understanding:] to damage it.” The underlined Arabic expression is in fact understood in this way by our Koran translators without having any doubts about the explanation given by Ṭabarī.

[قِبِّ الْحُشْهَةٍ] [literally: to come to the sin]: [irtakabu ḥatīya’tan] “to commit a sin”. Thus, likewise, in the Mary Sura 19:27 (La-qad ġi’ti say’a’ fariyā) “truly you have done something abominable” (according to Paret, Kommentar [Commentary] 324, the meaning of fāriyān – “something unheard-of.” Übersetzung [Translation] 249 – is disputed). The Arabic spelling فريا (fariyā), however, corresponds to the Syro-Aramaic ضربة (parā or pāryā), depending on whether a passive or an active participle of the root ضرب (prā or ضرب (prā) is to be read here (although the comparative form ضربة would also be possible). Taking into account the fact that the Arabic meaning that ماننا 605a gives under ضرب (prā) (ba’āga, شق (ṣaqqa) (to rip open, to tear to pieces) is the Arabic meaning with the greatest likelihood of being correct here, the most reasonable reading appears to be ضرب (pāryā) in the figurative sense of “heart-rending.” Following this sense the mediae geminatae ضرب (par) – under whose palpe ماننا (parpar) ماننا (604b) lists precisely the meanings (6): سلب قلبه من شدة الوجع (suliba qalibu min šiddatu l-wa-ga) (his heart passes away, is torn to pieces from all the pain), (8): غُدَّب (qalīdaba), مزق (mazzaqa) (to torture, to tear to pieces) – appears to be a variation of the root ضرب (prā) and ضرب (prā). A fourth variety still to be named is the mediae ضرب (prā), whose Arabic meanings ماننا (580) gives as follows: (1) فار (fara, galā) (to cook, to overcook); (2) غضب (ga’diba, īqāzā) (to be angry, to become furious); (3) نفر (nafara, isima’uzzā) (to experience an aversion to, to detest). It is not impossible that the Koran means the last root based on the meaning, but based on the rhyme employs the tertiae ضرب / ضرب. This all the more so since the latter meaning (“scandalous, repugnant, disgust- ing”) seems best to fit the previously named parallel expressions امرأ (amarrā) (irritating, outrageous) and نكرا (nukra) (disturbing, repugnant). The expression from Sura 19:27 (La-qad ġi’ti say’a’ fariyā) (= Syro-Aramaic ضرب / ضرب / ضرب (parā or parrā) would accordingly have the following meaning, equivalent to the Syro-Aramaic participial adjective ضرب (pāryā) or parrāyā): “You have truly done something disgust- ing!”

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(Bell I 281,78): "... I wished to damage it ..."

(Paret 245): "... Ich wollte es nun schadhaft machen ..."

(Blachère 326): "... j’ai voulu l’endommager ...

For his part, Ṭabarī (XVI 1 f.) refers to Muḥāhid, who explains the (general) sense of the expression with the verb occurring in Verse 71, خرق (ḥaraqā) : "to damage (something) by ripping a hole (in it)." The sceptical question, what use of this would have been, since in the Koran it is said of this king after all that he was taking every boat whether damaged or not, is met with the answer: This king was seizing every intact boat (كل سفينة صحيحة) as certain readings show. At the same time Ṭabarī refers to the alleged reading of Ibn Mas‘ūd وكان وراءهم ملك يأخذ كل سفينة صالحة عصبا , whom, without further ado, Blachère also follows and translates: "... un roi qui, derrière eux, s’arrogéait tout bon vaisseau, comme prise [a king who, behind them, was seizing every good vessel as booty]." The fact that this dubious addition has in reality had to take the rap for the misinterpreted reading اعيها (aʿibahā) will be shown in the following.

The explanation provided by Ṭabarī to interpret the statement فأدت أن أعيها (I wished to “damage” it), testifies namely to an uncustomary transitive use in Arabic of the basic stem عاب (ʿaba), even though the Arabic lexicons, probably on the basis of this misinterpreted Koranic passage, in addition to the customary intransitive use (faulty, to have defects) also falsely list this transitive use (to make faulty)254. This is just one among other examples of misunderstood and distorted Koranic expressions that have been accepted into the Arabic lexicography.

The actual basis for this misunderstanding, however, is that the traditional Koranic reading اعيها (aʿibahā) leaves absolutely no room for

254 See, for example, Hans Wehr’s Arabisches Wörterbuch [Arabic Dictionary], under عاب (ʿaba). Information on the transitive use, exclusively, of the 2nd stem عيب (ayyaba) (to find fault with, to criticize for having a flaw, etc.) is given to us by the linguistic usage of modern Arabic dialects, particularly in the Near East.
However, a look at the other meanings of the Syro-Aramaic verb حکب (سر) yields in addition the transitive meanings "to force, to capture," which Mannā (557b) renders in Arabic under (2) as follows: الزم . اجبر . قسر . غلب (alzama, ag-bara, qasara, qahara, galaba). The Thes. (II 2952) also cites equivalent expressions and other Arabic expressions from the Eastern Syrian lexicographers, with the exception of غصب (gasba). This suggests that the spelling غصب is not to be read as "gasba," but – corresponding to the Syro-Aramaic expression – as عصيا "asya," although in the end this changes nothing in the sense. Namely, compared with the Arabic terms attested to by the Eastern Syrian lexicographers, the reading "gasba" appears to be a more recent secondary form which, though common in modern Arabic, first arose etymologically from the root عصب (asaba) < Syro-Aramaic حكب (šabb) (to wind, to tie, to wrap). The root عصا (asā) has also been misread in the following case:

Sura 21:87

An additional, similarly misread spelling based on the Syro-Aramaic root حكب (šāb) (to be disobedient, unruly) occurs in Sura 21:87: وذًا النون إذ ذهب مغضبا (wa-dā n-nūn id dhaba mugādiba). The expression has been understood by our Koran translators as follows:

(Bell I 311): "And him of the fish – when he went off at cross purposes…"

(Paret 268): "Und (weiter) dem mit dem Fisch [d.h. Jonas]. (Damals) als er zornig weging…"

(Blachère 354): "Et [fais mention de] l'Homme au Poisson quand il s'en fut courroucé…"

The fact that Jonah did not exactly go off "in rage," but in rebellion against Yahweh’s command, Bell may have correctly assumed from the corresponding Bible passage (Jonah 1:3), but not from the Arabic misreading مغضبا (mugādiba) (enraged). This he seems to have trusted just as little as the interpretation Tabari (XVII 76 ff.) gives of it accord-
It is astonishing that all three Koran translators miss the direct reference in this verse to Verse 15, even though Verse 102 with its اجمعوا أمرهم (agma‘i amrahum) (they resolved together, they agreed upon their plot) again takes up exactly the same expressions occurring in Verse 15. Thus the grounds are provided for rendering the expression لتنبئهن بأمرهم هذا with “you’ll see, you will proclaim to them this their conspiracy.”

Additional Apodoses Introduced by ُwa (and)

Sura 2:259

Beyond this syntactical particularity this verse segment offers a series of lexically interesting expressions, which, though neither questioned by ُTabari nor by our Koran translators in any way, should nonetheless be rethought. In terms of content, it is a question of a man who does not believe in resurrection. To prove its existence to him, God has him die. After a hundred years have passed, He awakens him again and asks him how long he thinks he has been dead. “One day or just a fraction of a day,” the man answers. “It was all of a hundred years,” God replies, and continues:

فانظر إلى طعامك وشرائك لم يتسنه وانظر إلى حمارك ولنجعلك أية للناس وانظر إلى العظام كيف نشرها ثم نكسوها لحما

This verse segment has been understood by our Koran translators as follows:

(Bell I 38, 261): “[L]ook at thy food and drink; it has not become stale; and look at thy ass – in order that We may make thee a sign to the people – and look at the bones how we shall make them stand up and clothe them with flesh.”

(Paret 38): “Sieh auf dein Essen und dein Getränk (das du vor dem Einschlafen bei dir hastest)! Es ist (trotz der hundert Jahre) nicht verdorben [Note: W: alt (und schlecht) geworden]. Und sieh auf deinen Esel! (Auch er hat sich nicht verändert.) (Wir haben dieses Wunder) auch (deshalb bewirkt) um dich zu einem Zei-
chen für die Menschen zu machen. Sieh nun auf die Gebeine (dieser verödeten Stadt?), wie wir sie sich erheben lassen und sie hierauf mit Fleisch bekleiden!"

(Blachère 70): "Regarde ta nourriture et ta boisson! Elles ne sont point gâtées. Regarde ton âne! Nous allons faire certes de toi un signe pour les hommes. Regarde ces ossements comment Nous les ressuscitons et les revêtons de chair!"

This lexically and syntactically misunderstood verse segment will be examined in further detail in the following.

1. Arabic طعام (ta'am) (nourishment, food) is etymologically identical with Syro-Aramaic ṭā'mā (ṭā'mā). The original meaning of the equivalent verbal root ṭem (ṭēm) (to eat, to taste) is not in common use (in the first verbal stem) in modern Arabic, but occurs four times in the Koran in the former meaning (to eat) (Sura 5:93; 6:138,145; 33:53), and once in the latter (to taste, to sip, said of water) (Sura 2:249).

One cannot see, however, why God first of all points out to the man who has been restored to life that his food and drink have not gone bad, even though Blachère sees in this a parallel to the legend he cites. Namely, one must pay attention to the essential difference between ‘Abed-Melek, who in said legend has only been asleep, and the man restored to life who is spoken of in our Koran passage. This particular circumstance makes it seem difficult to comprehend the connection with eating and drinking, as well as with the donkey. Now, although from the point of view of Arabic such elementary terms as eating, drinking and the donkey allow no leeway at all for alternative interpretations, which is also why our Koran translators have not doubted them in the least, we should still try with the help of a Syro-Aramaic reading to arrive at a more plausible sense.

In fact, according to the Thes. (I 1497), Syro-Aramaic ṭemā (taʿmā) also has the meaning (γ) mens (understanding).257 Nearer to

257 The same can be found in W. Gesenius, Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch [Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Dictionary] (Berlin, Göttingen, Heidelberg, 1959) 278a: "تعلم (ta'am) – 2. Feeling and accordingly intelligence,
found Jerusalem rebuilt. Moreover, through a miracle his bread and his figs were as fresh as they had been the day before he fell asleep.

Meanwhile, the legend told about the donkey in *Tabari* is in contradiction with the Koranic context insofar as there it is said explicitly: "to make you an example for the people," not the donkey. From this it follows that the subsequent description of the resurrection in the Koranic text refers unequivocally to the man. This is all the more so the case because there is no talk anywhere in the Bible about animals also being resurrected. The following analysis may thus serve to provide us with another understanding of this passage.

Therefore, the subsequent *وانظر إلى حمارك* does not say, "And look at your donkey!" (Paret), but logically:

"Behold your perfection (or completeness) (i.e.: how perfect, how complete you are)!

To instruct the other people who will one day be resurrected, it is graphically depicted to the resurrected man *in retrospect*, on his example, how God will proceed in the restoration of the resurrected people. Hence this description does not refer to the abruptly appearing donkey, of which it cannot at all be a question here. In the process, the subsequent sentence is composed syntactically of a protasis and an apodosis that is introduced by a (*superfluous*) *wa* (and):

"And therewith we make you an example for the people, [and] behold how we restore your bones and cover them anew with flesh.”

5. In reading *نانشة* (nanšuzu) the dot of the *ز* / z has been falsely placed, which is all the more surprising since the verb *نشر* (našara) occurs several times in the Koran in connection with resurrection (for example, in Suras 21:21; 25:3, 40; 35:9; 44:35; 67:15; 80:22). The reason must be that the verb here refers explicitly to the bones. Whence, also, the misinterpretation ascribed to it: "to cause to rise up."²⁶⁰ This circumstance

²⁶⁰ This misinterpretation has made its way into the Arabic lexicography. Thus, H. Wehr, for example (*loc. cit.*) explains both *أنشة* (*anšaza*) and *أنشر* (*anšara*) with
speaks in favor of a loan translation from Syro-Aramaic ḫulayd (pšat), whose original meaning Mannā (618a) gives in Arabic as بسط. فرش. نشر (basata, faraša, našara) (to unfold, to reach out, to spread out), as well as the following figurative senses under (4): سوى. عدل. قوم. أصلح (sawwā, ḍaddala, qawwama, aslahā) (to make straight, to rectify, to straighten, to restore). From the Koranic context it is now clear that the last meaning is what is meant.

What is interesting in this connection are the synonyms سوى (sawwā), which the Koran uses several times, in addition to خلق (halaqa) (to create), in the sense of “to make,” and عدل (‘addala) (to make straight), which occurs in Sura 82:7 (الذي خلقك فسواك فعدلك) (who created you, formed you and made you straight). It is now clear from the loan translation that what is meant by the Koranic expression نشر (našara) is not per se “to raise from the dead,” but, with reference to Syro-Aramaic ḫulayd (pšat), “to restore.” Also corresponding to this idea of the renewed creation of man on the day of resurrection is the Koranic formula, repeated in different variations, as for example in Sura 4:10 “He created a first time and repeated it anew.”

It becomes clear from this example of case (f) (page 24),

(a) that a genuinely Arabic expression has been misread because the Arabic philologists were unable to recognize its meaning in the Koranic context;
(b) that its rectification is only possible after identifying, on the basis of the context, the Syro-Aramaic expression of which it is apparently a loan translation;
(c) that its more exact meaning can be subsequently determined thanks to the semantics of the lexically equivalent Syro-Aramaic expression.

6. Finally, the Arabic adverb ثم (funma) is not to be understood here in the normal sense of “thereupon, afterwards.” Following Syro-Aramaic اذ (tāb), the meaning “anew” is more appropriate to the context.

the same meaning, respectively, “to bring back to life” and “to raise from the dead.”

261 Cf., e.g., C. Brockelmann, Lexicon Syriacum [Syriac Lexicon] (817b), 1. Iterum
From this philological discussion the following syntactic and lexical understanding results according to the Syro-Aramaic reading for the verse segment from Sura 2:259 cited above:

"Yet behold your condition (i.e.: how you are constituted) and your (overall) state: it has not changed. Behold your perfection (i.e.: how complete you are)! And therewith we make you an example for the people, [and] behold how we restore your bones and cover them anew with flesh!"

Period Construction

Sura 11:116-117

(116) فقلا كأن من القرون من قبلكم أولو بقية ينهون عن الفساد في الأرض إلا قليلا من انجينا منهم واتبع الذين ظلموا ما اتفرقو فيه وكانوا مجرمين (117) وما كان ربك ليهلك القرى بظلم واهلها مصلحون

Not alone the failure to appreciate the true function of the extrinsically "superfluous" conjunction و/ wa (and) has had as a result that the subsequent apodosis has been overlooked and that the syntactical structure of these two connected verses, Verses 116 and 117 of Sura 11, has been thus totally distorted by our Koran translators and, as a consequence, nonsensically rendered as follows:

(again). Mannâ (831b: ثُمَّ. أيضًا. ثانية:(fumma, aydan, tâniyatan) (afterwards, also, once more / again). That the Koranic ثُمَّ (misread as fumma) is not Arabic at all, but a defective spelling of the secondary Eastern Syriac dialectal form ܐܬܐ (tûm < Syro-Aramaic tûh), as is attested in Mandaic (cf. E.S. Drower, R. Macuch, A Mandaic Dictionary, Oxford 1963, p. 483a: “tum 1 [Talm דע, Syr. ܐܬܐ, Ar. ثُمَّ ]”, then, after that, MG xxxiii n. 1, 49:ult., 204:13, 429.9-15”), will be discussed (with other Koranic particles) in a forthcoming study.

262 In the case of the Koranic أُيَة (âya), as a loan word from Syro-Aramaic ܥܝܬܐ (âtha), the Syro-Aramaic meaning should regularly be taken into account, depending on the context. In this case, Mannâ (46a) gives it under (8) in Arabic: عبرة (tbra) (example, instance, model).
(a) The determining factor is the misinterpretation of the Arabic particle لولا (law-lā), which Paret and Blachère see as an interrogative particle, whereas Bell sees in it an optative particle and, in so doing, is following Ṭabarî (XII 138), who indeed explains لولا (law-lā) with هلأ (halla) (oh, if only). Right from the start, however, in both cases, this erroneous assumption excludes an apodosis. As to the former case, it is astonishing first of all that one could take لولا (law-lā) to be an interrogative particle at all. Bergsträsser’s view\(^\text{263}\) that, insofar as it does not have the meaning “if not” it corresponds to the German “warum nicht” (English “why not”) in a rhetorical question, is misleading to the extent that thus only an optative clause introduced by لولا (law-lā) (e.g., لولا جاء / law-lā ga’ā “if he had only come!”) can also be formulated as a rhetorical question (“Why in the world didn’t he come?”). What is needed for this, however, is not the optative particle لولا (law-lā), but only the interrogative particle لما (li-mā) or لماذا (li-māda). That it is even possible according to ibn Ḥiṣām to consider لولا (law-lā) as a genuine interrogative particle must be based on a misinterpretation of the Koranic use of this particle. This is confirmed, moreover, by Bergsträsser’s remark that such a use is unknown in the non-Koranic language, which is why one substituted هلا for it in the exegesis of the Koran. With this exclamation particle, however, the intention was precisely to make clear the meaning of لولا (law-lā) as an optative particle and not as an interrogative particle. From this it becomes clear that all of the Koran passages in which لولا (law-lā) was taken to be an interrogative particle,\(^\text{264}\) and in which the meaning was thus partially distorted, should be revised.

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264 On the basis of a preliminary examination, these are for Paret the following 38 Sura passages: 2:118; 4:77; 5:63; 6: 8,37,43; 7:203; 9:122; 10:20,98; 11:12, 116; 13:7,27; 18:15,39; 20:133,134; 24:12,16; 25:7,21; 27:46; 28:47,48; 29:50;
41:44; 43:31,53; 46:28; 47:20; 56:57,62,70,83,86; 58:8; 68:28; plus one occurrence of لوم (law-mā) (15:7) (the use of which besides that of لولا / law-lā, as a hypothetical optative particle has been documented in modern Arabic dialects of the Near East). Moreover, Nöldeke had in a way acknowledged this use at least in the case of لولا (law) in his Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft [New Essays on Semitic Linguistics] (last paragraph of page 18):

In the case of لولا (law) the omission of the final clause is, to be sure, at times effective or at least permissible. Indeed, لولا occasionally passes over into the meaning of ليت (layta) somewhat or introduces a modest (perhaps ironically modest) question; in such cases, no main clause is expected.

Nöldeke’s understanding of the particle لولا (law) in the case of the lacking apodosis in the sense of ليت (layta) (if only, were it just) is correct. Its interpretation as a question, however, is only to be understood in a general sense and as an alternative; لولا (law) in itself can never be an interrogative particle. Nöldeke’s interpretation of the particle لولا (law-lā), which, probably trusting the Arabic philologists, he understands, like Bergsträsser, as a negative interrogative particle (loc. cit. 21), is, however, incorrect: Much affected in the Koran is لولا (law-lā) “whether...not?”, “ought not?”, for our “why not”; otherwise هلا (hallā) is usually used for that. I can still remember a use of لولا (law-lā) in a verse by Garîn: تعودون عفر النبي أفضل مجدكم بني ضوطرى لولا الكمي المقعا “You cover yourselves in magnificent glory for butchering the old camels, you scoundrels; why not the heavily-armed warriors?”

As a conjecture, Nöldeke attributes the uncommon use of لولا (law-lā) in this verse to either the Koran or the language of Mecca and Medina. In fact, however, this لولا (law-lā) had already been misunderstood by the Arabic editor of the divan in question in the sense of the exclamation particle هلا (hallā) (cf. the presumably homonymous Hebrew גידי) and misinterpreted as an interrogative particle. In reality this لولا is made up, separately (law-lā), of a hypothetical and a negative particle with the meaning “if not” (nominally) or “were not” (verbally). Thus it is a question in this verse of a hypothetical conditional sentence with reversed protasis and apodosis in which for emphasis the apodosis is placed in front, as described by Nöldeke himself in his Syrischen Grammatik [Syriac Grammar], § 379:

“For stronger emphasis the governed clause is sometimes positioned far in front of the governing clause.”

Accordingly, the introductory verb تعودون (ta’uddān) is not to be understood as indicative “you cover,” but as subjunctive: “you would cover... if there were not = were there not the heavily-armed warrior.” This is, in turn, explained in Nöldeke’s Syrische Grammatik [Syriac Grammar], § 375 (300, second paragraph): Sometimes there is no other indication of the unreal at all besides the لولا (elltā
However, the lack of this meaning in both post-Koranic Arabic literature and vernacular Arabic suggests that the explanation quoted in the *Lisān* is actually made up. Thus, the assumption is more likely that the later points set on both *r* are superfluous and that the original spelling was / *istafrīr*: “put to flight” (i.e. avert, turn away from me).

(b) In contrast to Bergsträsser, Bell initially grasps لولا (law-lā) correctly as an optative particle in the meaning of “if only.” In the process, this Koranic usage also corresponds to that of current Arabic dialects of the Near East where the attached particle ل (ła), which is unstressed in its pronunciation, is perceived as a pure filler particle without further meaning. To this extent an optative clause introduced by the particle لولا (law-lā) (actually law-la) makes an apodosis superfluous. Bell also translates Verse 116 accordingly.

But the following exception particle connected with it لولا (illa) (“except” or after a negation “only”) suggests here a negative use of لولا (law-lā), even if Bergsträsser in considering this passage (loc. cit., note 2) thinks that this may have been “invented” because of the illā or may perhaps even be based on the “misunderstanding” that the sentence would for that reason have a negative sense. This is because the Arabic philologists that Bergsträsser cites certainly did not have in mind the equivalent Syro-Aramaic usage of لا أي (ella la) (“if not”).

However, if we take this Syro-Aramaic understanding as a basis, Arabic لولا is to be read separately as law lā and understood as a hypothetical conditional particle with negation. From that point of view لولا كان (law lā

:\[
= \text{Arabic لولا / law}, \text{which is clear in itself, and that is followed by a clause with the imperfect, the participle or a noun clause...}.
\]

As one can see, in interpreting the verse in question Nöldeke has thus allowed himself to be misled by the Arabic philologists.

265 Cf. *Thes.* I 198: لا أي (ella lā) (also written together), *si non, nisi*, which is compared, citing the Syrian lexicographers, with the Arabic لولا (law-lā) or لولا أن (law-lā an). For the expression of a condition presented as impossible by لا أي (ella) or لا أي (ella lā), see further Nöldeke, *Syrische Grammatik [Syriac Grammar]* § 375.
With this distortedly rendered hypothetical conditional sentence previously unrecognized by Western Koran scholars, the Koran offers us at the same time a perfect example of a syntactically demanding sentence composition like those Nöldeke sketches in his Syrischen Grammatik [Syriac Grammar] under the chapter heading "Period Construction: Crossing Clauses and Other Irregularities" in § 378:

"Grounded in the make-up of their language, the Syrians’ tendency to construct longer periods is in no small way encouraged by the model of the Greek style. Such periods arise through the coordination and subordination of clauses of the discussed types or of types quite similar to them. Here there is an unlimited abundance of possible ways in which to combine the familiar elements in individual cases. § 379. The freedom of the word order in the clause is in part also carried over into the arrangement of the clauses serving as the component parts of the period. For stronger emphasis the governed clause is sometimes placed far before the governing clause, and not infrequently veritable crossing clauses occur."

With this in mind, the underlined expressions in the previously cited double verse still need to be individually examined.

On the Meaning of بقية (baqiya)

Koran scholars have puzzled a great deal over the Koranic expression أولوا بقية (qilal baqiya) (virtuous [people]). Tabari (XII 138), starting from the Arabic meaning of بقية (baqiya) (rest, what is left), explains the expression succinctly with, دار بقية من الفهم والعقل, "such as have (so much) insight and understanding left over [to spare, i.e. they have more than they need]" that they recognize what an advantage they have as believers in God, and what a disadvantage they have as nonbelievers. In his Kommentar [Commentary] on this passage Paret refers to his note on Sura 2:248, and there to baqiya in Sura 11:86 and 116 (53):
“Thus in both cases *baqīya* appears to mean a quality or power that in some way works against disaster.”

Looking more closely at Verse 2:248, in which it is said of the Ark of the Covenant that it is equipped with “*sakīna*” and “*baqīya*” (not translated in Paret’s *Übersetzung [Translation]* 36), he continues:

“Accordingly one can also interpret the expression in the present verse as such a quality possessed, together with *sakīna*, by the Ark of the Covenant. But the subsequent *minnumā taraka*... (“of which something ... has been left”) does not specifically refer to *baqīya*, but generally to the Ark and its contents. See R. Paret, “Die Bedeutung des Wortes *baqīya* im Koran [The Meaning of the Word *baqīya* in the Koran]” (*Alttestamentliche Studien*, Friedrich Nötscher zum sechzigsten Geburtstag [*Old Testament Studies*, Festschrift for Friedrich Nötscher on His Sixtieth Birthday], Bonn 1950, pp. 168-171); A. Spitaler, “Was bedeutet *baqīya* im Koran? [What Does *baqīya* Mean in the Koran?]” (*Westöstliche Abhandlungen*, Rudolf Tschudi zum siebzigsten Geburtstag [*West-to-East Monographs*, Festschrift for Rudolf Tschudi on his Seventieth Birthday], Wiesbaden 1954, pp. 137-146). Spitaler translates *baqīya* in 2:248, depending on one’s interpretation of the passage, either with “favor,” “goodness” or simply with “remains or relics”."

The guessing game over the explanation of this expression can in the meantime be put to an end by the Syro-Aramaic. Following our proven method we need only look for the Syro-Aramaic lexical equivalent. This we find in the erbal root *ḏūr* (*ītar*), whose original meaning the Eastern Syrian lexicographer *Mannā* (320b) gives in Arabic as follows: فَضْلُ بَقِيَّة ("*faṣūla, baqīya*" (to be left, to remain as rest)). With that, however, the Arabic expression بَقِيَّة (*baqīya*) is still not explained. To determine the real sense, the further semantic meanings of the Syro-Aramaic verbal root must then be examined. Among these *Mannā* gives us under (4) the following Arabic meaning: فَضْلُ كَانَ فَضِيلًا ("*faṣūla, kāna faḍila*" (virtuous, to be excellent)). And corresponding to these *Mannā*
(321a) gives us further under (2) the Arabic meaning of the Syro-Aramaic nominal forms مَيْثَأ (m-yattartī) and مَيْثَأ (m-yatrrī): فضيلة، حسنة (fadila, ẖasana) (virtue, excellence). In Arabic, the expression فضيلة (fadila), a lexical borrowing from Syro-Aramaic, has been taken up into the language in the figurative sense of “virtue, excellence,” but not the synonymous expression، بقية (baqīya), which is only understood in its concrete sense of “rest.”

It is clear from the Koranic context, however, that with بقية (baqīya) (“rest”) the Koran, following the Syro-Aramaic semantics, really means فضيلة (fadila) (virtue). As a result, our Koranic expression أولو بقية (ulta 272 baqīya) (olta fadila) would be explained as “[people] with virtue = virtuous [people].”

On the Meaning of أترفوا (utrīfī)

Our Koran translators have for the most part correctly translated the verb أترفوا (utrīfī) (from Verse 116). Referring to the linguistic usage of

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271 To be sure, in many an Arabic dialect in the Near East the variant بقية (baqwa) (pronounced: ba'we) is still in use today, say, in the following expression، أنسان بلا بقية (insān ba-lā baqwe) (a man without “rest” = without morals, without moral backbone), where again a loan translation from the lexically equivalent Syro-Aramaic expression has also been additionally confirmed in the vernacular.

272 The pronunciation ulta (with a short first u), as the canonical version of the Koran reads it, is implausible. It contradicts the Koranic orthography to the extent that this generally omits the و / u in a closed first syllable as a mater lectionis for short u. This is evidenced by the Arabic transcription of numerous Syro-Aramaic loan words in the Koran, such as فرقان / furqān, طغبان / ṭugyān, سلطان / sultan, جبه / ḏubba, جنح / ḏunāḥ, نفتلا / ṭufṭalā, قدس / quds, etc. The complete spelling، if it was originally not to be pronounced with a diphthong awlā (in imitation of the demonstrative pronoun هو لا – in all likelihood pronounced ḥawlā or ḥawlē – of which it appears to be a secondary formation with a hypercorrect plural ending in the nominative case), at any rate suggests rather a monophthongization to ı than to  uğ (and thus in many a dialect today in the Near East هو لا is pronounced ḥolū). Arbitrary, in any case, is therefore the pronunciation ulta (with a short first u).
though the *Lisān* continually refers to the linguistic usage of the "Arabs," its occasionally clumsy explanation of it demonstrates precisely that it is unfamiliar with the expression in question, for example, when it cites the still commonly used congratulations for newlyweds, بالرفاء والبنين (bi-rīfāʾ wa-l-banīm), under both رفأ (rafāʾ) (I 87b) and رفأ (rafāʾ) (XIV 331a) and falsely explains the expression رفأ (rafāʾ) with "harmony." H. Wehr (*loc. cit.*) even translates it accordingly: "Live in harmony and have sons!" Yet according to one *hadīt* the Prophet is said to have forbidden the use of this congratulatory formula. This indicates that under رفأ (rafāʾ) he did not exactly understand "harmony," but instead must have understood the more negative Syro-Aramaic meaning of رفأ (rafāʾ) or رفأ (rafāʾ) ("softness" = exuberant, dissolute life). Positively, however, the borrowed رفأ (rafāʾ) is equivalent to the expression, probably created in Arabic via a loan translation, رخاء (raḥāʾ) ("softness" = carefree life, prosperity, luck). In this way the above-mentioned congratulations also become comprehensible: "The best of luck and many children!"

Just as suspicious is the meaning "to bring on shore" for رفأ (rafāʾ) (see H. Wehr, *loc. cit.*), from which مرفا (marfaʾ) "harbor" is derived. Namely, it is contradicted by the *hadīt* of Abū Hurayra about the Day of Judgment, which the *Lisān* (I 87a) cites as evidence of its use: فتكون الأرض كالسفينة المرفأة في البحر تضربها الأمواج (the earth will then become like a (violently) shaken ship on the ocean that is thrown to and fro by the waves). In terms of the meaning, the expression المرفأة (al-murfaʾa) is based on the mediae geminatae root رف (rafāʾ) (< Syro-Aramaic رف / raḥ), so that the المرفأة (al-murfaʾa) should actually be pronounced المرفأة (al-muraffa) (Syro-Aramaic رف / da-m-rappā). For only this reading produces the expected sense here, "to be shaken, to be shocked," corresponding to تضربها الأمواج (tadribuḥa l-anwāg) "to be thrown to and fro" (< Syro-Aramaic رف / raḥ) by the waves.

276 On the rendering of the Syro-Aramaic ر / p by the Arabic ب / b see S. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen [The Aramaic Foreign Words in Arabic]* xxii: "Occasionally ب occurs for Aramaic ر (Φ) ...." Here it must be pointed out that ر / p in the oral tradition of the East Syrians is always pronounced as a hard (p), which is also still evidenced today by the New
Namely, the sense of the Arabic verb ضرب (daraba) (schlagen) expected in this context could only be discovered via the semantics of the Syro-Aramaic verb ضَرِبُ / trap̣ – as reproduced above. Whence the suspicion that ضرب (daraba) is only a phonetically Arabicized form of the Syro-Aramaic ضَرِبُ (trap̣) (or the East Syriac trap̣).

Excursus on the Etymology and Semantics of Arabic ضرب (daraba) (to strike)

If this assumption is correct, then this finding should open up new perspectives for a potentially different understanding of each use of the verb ضرب (daraba) in the Koran. For this, a comparison must be made with the semantic contents of the Syro-Aramaic ضَرِبُ (trap̣) to determine first of all to what extent Arabic ضرب (daraba) stands for Syro-Aramaic ضَرِبُ (trap̣). For in the process one must not lose sight of the fact that (a) another Syro-Aramaic synonym may stand behind it, and that (b) ضرب (daraba) has perhaps slipped into Arabic and became

East Syriac dialects. The presumption that Arabic ضرب (daraba) is a secondary dialectal formation derived from Syro-Aramaic ضَرِبُ (trap̣) (or East Syriac trap̣) is supported by the semantic contents of the Syro-Aramaic root. In this regard, see Thes. i 1523 ff., which lists among the Arabic expressions quoted by the Eastern Syrian lexicographers ضرب (yadrib) (1524), ضرب (ittirab), ضرب (darb) (1525 f.).

Insofar is Fraenkel, who sees in ضرب (daraba / darb) a genuine Arabic expression for striking coins (loc. cit. 195), to be contradicted. Here one must consider whether it is not more likely that behind this stands the Syro-Aramaic ضَرِبُ (trap̣) (East Syriac strap), which among other things can mean both “to cast, to smelt, to purify” (especially with regard to precious metals) and “to press, to punch” and “to hurl” (cf. Thes. II 3446 ff.; Brockelmann, Lexicon Syriacum 638). In any case, the Arabic expressions Fraenkel discusses and whose origins he questions, are traceable back to this Syro-Aramaic root: (a) صرف (sirf) “the pure wine” (172), (b) the same in the meaning “pure red” (185), further صَرَفُ (sarraf) (probably originally “caster of coins,” then “changer of coins”) as well as صرف (sarafa) “to creak, to crunch,” which in Fraenkel’s opinion does not appear to belong here at all (see Mannā, ضَرِبُ / strap̣, 650a, under (4): صَرَفْ / ssara asnānahu “to press one’s teeth together, to grind one’s teeth”).
semantically independent long before the Koran. We find a first example in an expression that confirms the former assumption. In Sura 24:31 certain rules are listed concerning the behavior of women; among them we find:

**Sura 24:31**

ولا يضربن بارجلهن ليعلم ما يخفين من زينتهن

Until now this verse segment has been understood, in accordance with Ṭabarī (XVIII 124), in the following way:

(Bell I 339): 2.“... and let them not beat with their feet so as to let the ornaments which they conceal be known.”

(Paret 289): “Und sie sollen nicht mit ihren Beinen (aneinander) schlagen und damit auf den Schmuck aufmerksam machen, den sie (durch die Kleidung) verborgen (an ihnen) tragen [Note: W.: damit man merkt, was sie von ihrem Schmuck geheimhalten].”

(Blachère 379): “Que [les Croyantes] ne frappent point [le sol] de leurs pieds pour montrer les atours qu’elles cachent.”

According to this understanding, women are indeed allowed to wear jewelry, but not to show it on the outside or to draw attention to it by slapping their legs together or stamping on the ground with their feet. From this conjectural and unsuccessful interpretation one sees that the Arabic commentators did not know what to do with this, to their ears, foreign-sounding expression: بضرين بارجلهن (yadrībna bi-argulthinna) (speaking of women, “they strike with their feet”). However, the sense becomes clear as soon as one imagines the equivalent Syro-Aramaic expression that stands behind it, and which the Thes. (I, 1524) cites as follows: “ פעולה במוחלבן b-reglayhēn pedibus suis tripudiantes, incessu artificiali utentes (“striking” with their feet, “stamping” their feet = hopping, skipping, in that they walk about in an artificial way), Isa. 3:16.” What is interesting here is that the Koran paraphrases this Bible passage with the Syro-Aramaic expression of the
Psīṭṭā more accurately than, say, the Jerusalem Bible. However, in Syro-Aramaic the expression actually means “to hop on one’s feet = to skip.” Furthermore, if one were to compare the Arabic زينة (zīna) (jewelry) with the Syro-Aramaic șebṭā, for the latter the Syrian lexicographers also give the figurative sense بهة . حسن . حمال (bāhā, ḥusn, ǧamāl) (magic, grace, beauty) (Thes. II 3360, decus). Thus, roughly translated, the verse cited above from Sura 24:31 should instead be understood as follows:

„They should not (walk around) with their feet hopping (= skipping) so that their concealed charms stand out.”

277 In other words, there (loc. cit. 1036b) this passage from Isa 3:16 is rendered as follows: “and jingling their ankle bracelets.” Here the Hebrew רֹּצֵּקְלָהָם תַּקָּסַנָה (wu-bragšēhem t’akkasna), contrary to the explanation given in Gesenius (585a), “to adorn oneself with ankle bracelets, or to jingle them to cause a stir” with the indication “(a coquetry also disapproved of in the Korān [Sur. 24:32], cf. Doughty 1:149),” probably has less to do with jingling ankle bracelets than with the Hebrew variant עָכָּס (ʿqas) and the Arabic عَقَس / ʿaqasa, عَقَس / ʿaqasa as well as Syro-Aramaic حمح / ʿqas) equivalents that Gesenius (614a) etymologically associates with it with the meaning “to spin, to wriggle.” Interesting in this respect is the expression that is cited by the Lisān (VI 145a) for عَقَس (ʿakasa): تعكس الرجل: مشى مشي الأفعى (taʾakkasa r-raḡul : maša mašya l-aťa) (said of someone taʾakkasa means: to walk like a snake = to wriggle, to weave), وربما مشى السكران كذلك (this is also by analogy said of one who is drunk). Accordingly, the Hebrew expression would mean (to skip, so that while walking one) “(artificially) twists or turns one’s feet,” whereas the Koranic or Syro-Aramaic variant means (to skip, so that while walking one) “(artificially) hops on one’s feet.” The fundamentally seductive intent in this is documented by the Thes. (II 2967a) in the figurative sense of stimulatio, incitatio (stimulation, seduction) with, among other things, the following Hebrew-related Syro-Aramaic expression ʿṣer yāḥān w-waṣayḥōn (her charms and enticements) (Ephhr. ed. Lamy i. 489. 5).

278 Literally: “They ought not “to stamp” with their feet (= “to hop”) in such a way that what they conceal of their charm becomes known (= revealed).” By that what is meant is: in that they display their concealed charms in a seductive way. The meaning “to reveal, to display” for Arabic أَلْمَعَ (aʾlama) (to cause to be known) results from the lexically equivalent Syro-Aramaic expression
Another Meaning of بقية (baqīya)

Sura 11:86

(Another Meaning of بقية (baqīya))

(Bell I 213): 87. “The abiding (portion) [i.e. the eternal reward] of Allah will be better for you, if ye be believers.”

(Paret 186): “Die Kraft (?) [note: Oder: Güte (? baqīya)] Gottes ist besser für euch, wenn (anders) ihr gläubig seid.”

(Blachère 254): 87/86 “Ce qui reste auprès d’Allah [note 87. Text.: le reste d’Allah] est un bien pour vous si vous êtes croyants.”

In this verse the expression بقية الله (baqīya tu llāh) has a different meaning than اولوا بقية (ilīn baqīya) in Sura 11:116. In the verse which precedes it, Verse 85, Šū‘ayb (Shu‘aib) warns the Midianites against dishonest profit through the falsification of weights and measures. The expression بقية (baqīya) is directly connected with this unlawful enrichment. Blachère and Bell do in fact approximate the sense, but without being able to explain the term properly.

That is because here, too, the real meaning is to be determined via the semantics of the same Syro-Aramaic lexical equivalent نفون (yu-trānā) (profit). Under the root نفون (itā) Maunnā (320a), besides the original meaning بقية (baqīya) (to remain), lists under (6) the following Arabic meaning: ربح . أكتسب (rabiha, iktasaba) (to win, to acquire). Under the aforementioned nominal form (321b) he accordingly lists under (2): ربح . مكسب (ribh, maksab) (profit, acquisition). As a synonym for نفون (tāqūtā) (trade, profit) 279 the Thes. (II 4389) cites the fol-

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279 The Koranically borrowed تجارة أن ثبور (tīgāra) in Sura 35:29 they expect a profit that will not become worthless, i.e. a profit of lasting value and Sura 61:10 is meant in this Syro-Aramaic sense of “acquisition, profit.” So, too, لفظ الCalling the مثلا (al-baqīyat‘a s-sāliḥā) (probably for مثلا / my-atrūtā tābātā, Thes. I 1653, egregia facta, gesta praeclara) “good, excellent works” in Sura 18:46 and 19:76.
lowing expressions: “de mercatura spirituali ṭeqūtā ṭeqāṭā (ṭeqūtā d-dayrāyūtā) (spiritual acquisition through a monastic way of life); (2) labor, opus, ṭeqūteh da-ḥeldhāba (ṭeqūteh da-ḥeldhāba) (the work of the adversary, of Satan). That could be contrasted with قَبْيَةِ اللَّهِ (baqīya “Ilāh) as the “work of God,” here in the sense of “acquisition well pleasing to God.” From this the following sense results for this expression in the context of Sura 11:86:

“The acquisition (pleasing to) God is of greater advantage to you if you are believers!”

A Third Meaning for بقية (baqīya)

Sura 2:248

ان أية ملكه ان ياتيك التابوت فيه سكينة من ربكم وبقية مما ترك آل موسى والهرون

In his translation (36) Paret leaves the expressions sakīna and baqīya untranslated as special Koranic terms, although in his Kommentar [Commentary] (52) he suggests for qaṭiyatun the meaning “rest” (= “relic”?). The latter seems to be the best fit here inasmuch as Mannā (821b) gives for the Syro-Aramaic synonym ṭeqāṭa (šarkāna), in addition to the original meaning بقية (baqīya) (rest), under دخيلةه (2) (dāhīra) (relic). There is accordingly in the Ark of the Covenant a “relic” that Moses’ and Aaron’s clans have left behind.
Arabic orthography, a masculine accusative ending. Instead of replacing it with the appropriate feminine ending, the final /a/ was dropped without replacement. This is, to be sure, a mere supposition, the correctness of which could only be proven by corresponding examples from earlier Koran manuscripts.

In any case, the former explanation is confirmed by a further instance in Sura 3:40 ("Lord, how shall I have a son when old age has now overtaken me and my wife [is] barren?"). Here, too, عاقر (‘aqir) (barren) is a predicate of عاقر (my wife) and has, from the point of view of Arabic, a masculine ending. As discussed above, however, this is based upon an optical illusion, since the Syro-Aramaic status absolutus feminine ֹך תָּו (‘aqrā) is formally indistinguishable from the status emphaticus masculine ֹך תָּו (‘aqrā). Whence the conversion by analogy into the Arabic masculine pausal form.

Finally, the two instances in Sura 19:5 and 8, where it is repeated, وكانت امرأتي عاقرا (wa-kanat imra‘atī ‘aqira”) ("in that my wife is barren"), are not to be explained by the need to rhyme. Here the Syro-Aramaic spelling of the status absolutus feminine ֹך תָּו (‘aqrā) is faithfully reproduced.

Omission of the Feminine Ending of the Adjective in Classical Arabic

This rule of Syro-Aramaic grammar according to which the status absolutus feminine in the predicate adjective and participle, through the dropping of the /a/ and the retention of the final /a/, does not differ formally from the status emphaticus of the corresponding attributive masculine form, now opens our eyes to a phenomenon of classical Arabic grammar that has until now been considered a mystery. Carl Brockelmann (Arabische Grammatik [Arabic Grammar] § 65) summarizes this phenomenon as follows:

Note 1. "Thus the adjectives that refer to the sexual life of a
woman or a female also do not require the feminine ending, such as مرضع (murdi’un) ‘suckling,’ عاقر (‘aqr’un) ‘barren.’
2. The adjectives فعل (f̲aʿl’un) in the active and فعل (faʿl’un) in the passive sense as well as كذوب (kaḍūb’un) “lying” and جريح (gāriḥ’un) “wounded” also take no a feminine ending as predicate and attribute.

Brockelmann derives this analogy from those Semitic words that are also feminine in gender without a feminine ending. He makes no mention of the Aramaic background, although the first group is documented in the Koran and the adjectives named in the second group فعل (f̲aʿl) and فعل (faʿl) clearly point the way to the equivalent Aramaic (or Syro-Aramaic) prototypes.

But even before him Theodor Nöldeke drew attention to the problem. In his study Zur Grammatik des classischen Arabisch [On the Grammar of Classical Arabic] (Vienna, 1897; reprint Darmstadt, 1963), he remarks in this connection (20 §19):

“In the case of adjectives, the use or omission of the feminine ending merits a more comprehensive examination. What the ancient and modern grammarians have given does not exhaust the subject. In Sura 22:2, تدهل كل مرضعة عما أرضعت, one would expect مرضع; the feminine form is explained very artificially.“

Nöldeke would surely have been able to recognize the quite simple reason for this phenomenon, if only his view had not been obstructed by his respect for the exaggerated antiquity of the so-called old Arabic poetry. As already discussed with regard to the example from Sura 22:2 cited above, there is no reason to leave off the feminine ending of مرضعة

Note 1: “See, among others, Sib. 2, 222 f.; Ibn Qotaiba, “Adab alkâtib,” 104 ff.; Mufassal 83; contribution at 268 f.; Reckendorf 18. The reason for the phenomenon that the feminine ending is lacking in the case of so many feminine adjectives is still fully obscure. It is true though that in the case of words of feminine sexual meaning this could be connected with the fact that the Semitic substantives that exclusively designate what is by nature feminine, all seem to have originally been without a feminine ending... .”
1. For the expression في حو اسم (fī ġawwār s-sama) Bell, with his translation "in the midst of the heaven," was the only one who correctly recognized from the context the equivalent Syro-Aramaic root expression (b-ġaw šnayyas) (cf. Thes. I 665: (b-ġaw) intra, in medio ("inside, in the midst of"). As a Syro-Aramaic substratum the expression جوا (ġawwār ġawwār) (inside), as the opposite of برا (barrā) (< Syro-Aramaic barrā / barrā “outside”), is quite common in contemporary Arabic dialects of the Near East, both adverbially and as a preposition (as in جوا ال البيت "inside the house"), yet not in classical or modern written Arabic. It is very likely that in today’s Arabic the common expressions البريد الجوی (al-barīd al-ġawwār) (airmail), السلاح الجوی (as-silāh al-ġawwār) (airforce), الخطوط الجویة (al-ḥuwūf al-ġawwāya) (air routes, airlines), النشرة الجویة (an-našra l-ġawwāya) (weather report), etc. are traceable back to the unrecognized Syro-Aramaic prepositional expression صحة (b-ġaw) = Arabic في حو (fī ġaww) (inside, in the midst of) in Sura 16:79 and its misinterpretation as a noun (air, atmosphere).

Now, even if جوا (ġaww) in the mentioned Sura has been read correctly, it has nonetheless been misunderstood. On the other hand, the spelling الحوايا (al-hawāya) (< Syro-Aramaic /gwāyc/) (the innards) in Sura 6:146 has been correctly understood, but incorrectly read. That is also why it has not been recognized that both expressions stem from one and the same Syro-Aramaic root.

2. In the Koranic usage of the verb سخر (sahhara) it has until now apparently not been noticed by Koran scholars that two Syro-Aramaic roots must here be distinguished from one another:

a) سخ (sahhar), which corresponds to the Arabic سخر (saxxara) (cf. Mannā, 784a: 1 /fâṭama sawwada / to blacken, to make black [this meaning has been retained with the unchanged pronunciation سخر /sahhara in Arabic]; 2 /fâṭaḥa, hataka / to disgrace, to expose; 3 / saxxara, šaggala / to exploit, to make someone work without pay). Without exception our Koran translators have based their translations on this last meaning, which has entered into Arabic with the Arabicized pronunciation سخر (sahhara).
b) What has been overseen in the process, however, is that with the spelling سخر (sahhara) the Koran is also reproducing the Syro-Aramaic causative stem (šafʾel) ūwx (šawḥar). This, however, is cognate with the root ūwx (šar) and is a variant of the causative stem (afʾel) ūwx (awḥar), which corresponds to the Arabic أَخْرَ (ahhara). For example, for this the Thes. (I 125f.) gives in Arabic the (transitive as well as intransitive or reflexive) أَخْرَ (ahhara) (to hold back, to detain). أَخْرَ (ta′āhharā) (to be late, to stay); and for ūwx (šawḥar): retardavit, retinuit (to hold back, to hold onto). Although the last meaning emerges clearly from the context of Sura 16:79, and in particular from the subsequent Arabic verb مَّا يَمِسِكُونَ النَّاسَ (only God holds onto them), none of our Koran translators have noticed that here مَسْخَرَتْ (musahharat) cannot mean “to be in the service of”. Read as the Syro-Aramaic مَسْخَرَتْ (m-šawhrāṭ) (held back, held onto), the verse has the following meaning:

“For have they not seen how the birds stay in the middle of the sky (whereby) only God is holding onto them?”

Depending on the context it will accordingly be necessary to examine whether in a given passage the Koran means with the Arabic سخر (sahhara) (a) the Syro-Aramaic ūwx (šawḥar) (to subject, to make subservient) or (b) ūwx (šawḥar) in the Arabic sense of أَخْرَ (ahhara) (to detain, to hold back).

This idea that God holds the birds suspended in the sky and prevents them from falling to the earth is also based on the verbal form مَوَاهْرُ (mawāhir) in Sura 16:14 and 35:12. There it is said of ships on the sea وَتَرَى الْفَلْكَ مَوَاهْرَ فِيهِ / فيه مواخر that they are “ploughing through it” (Bell I 250). Paret translates “Und du siehst die Schiffse darauf (ihre) Furchen ziehen” (216, 359), and Blachère “voguer” (293).

Yet the Arabic plural form مَوَاخِرُ (mawāhir) is not, as until now wrongly assumed, based on the imaginary Arabic root مَّخُ / māhir supposedly means
“cutting through the water, a ship setting to sea” and مآخِر (plural مآخِر) supposedly even means “ship”). Instead, what we have here is a Syro-Aramaic masculine plural present participle حَكَّمِ (m-awhrin) (the feminine plural being حَكَّمِ / m-awhran) of the causative stem حَكَّمِ (awhar) (to hesitate, to linger, to stay). This means that ships linger on the sea (on the surface of the water) (i.e., that God prevents them from sinking).

This again shows how Western Koran scholars have allowed themselves to be led astray by Arabic philologists who, in ignorance of Syro-Aramaic, have once more taken the prefix m- (from حَكَّمِ / m-awhar) for a radical. This has also led A. Jeffrey to place مآخِر (mawakhir) in the corresponding alphabetical order (m-). He explains the expression as follows:

“Plu. of مآخِر (mawakhir), that which ploughs the waves with a clashing noise, i.e. a ship. Zimmern, Akkad. Fremáw, suggests that it was derived from Akk. clippu mawirtu, a ship making its way out into a storm. If this is so it would have been an early borrowing direct from Mesopotamia.”

Although the expression may stem directly from Mesopotamia, in any case not from the Akkadian mawirtu, but from the af’el form of the Syro-Aramaic root حَكَّمِ (chār) (which is not common in p’al), namely حَكَّمِ (awhar), whose masculine singular and plural present participles are, respectively, حَكَّمِ (m-awhar) and حَكَّمِ (m-awhrin), the feminine being حَكَّمِ m-awhran (cf. Thes. I 125 f.: act. part. حَكَّمِ [m-awhar] moratur, cunctatur, tardat [he is hesitating, lingering, staying]). The Koran gives the last form with the Arabic plural of nouns مآخِر (according to the modern reading, ma-wahir),286 where here too the middle alif / a is

286 The lack of the earlier Syro-Aramaic feminine ending plural (-ān) of the participle in Arabic is substituted in the Koran mostly by the suffix –ā of the regular feminine plural (pluralis samus / sound plural) of verbal adjectives (as substantives), but also sporadically (in contradiction to the classical Arabic) by the irregular plural form (pluralis fractus / broken plural) of some nouns derived from participles (e.g. حَكَّمِ / bāhira [steamboat], plural حَكَّمِ / bawahir) as in this case (مآخِر / mawahir(a) instead of classical Arabic مآخِر / mu‘āhhar). A fur-
This is probably also why one pronounced בור ר바 רבב (instead of רָבָא / רָבְרָבָא)\(^{287}\) (op. cit. 756).

The localization of this phenomenon in the East Syrian-Mesopotamian region may give us an interesting clue concerning the orthography of many a word in the Koran. In this regard the Koranic spelling of סִחָרָה (sahhara) for the Syro-Aramaic וָחָרָה (vawhar) seems to provide a parallel, though here too, at any rate according to the traditional reading, instead of the compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel a, a doubling of the following consonant occurs. However, one must not overlook the fact that the Syro-Aramaic verbal stem under discussion, safel, is unknown in Arabic and for this reason a distinction could not be made between סִחָרָה (sahhara) for וָחָרָה (vawhar) and וָחָרָה (vawhar), which is why, in the last instance, analogy is to be assumed to the verbal stem which has made its way into Arabic. סִחָרָה (sahhara), This example precisely illustrates the problem, that not only different verbal classes are identifiable behind the *scriptio defectiva* (defective spelling) of the Koran, but also verbal roots that have to be distinguished from one another.

**On the Etymology of the Koranic Word صِرَاطٌ (sirāṭ)**

Regarding the etymology of the word صِرَاطٌ (sirāṭ), Jeffery (p. 195 f.) refers to the early Arab philologists, who had taken it to be a borrowing from Greek. He concedes that they are right, but he points out that the Greek word is in fact a Hellenized form of the Latin *strata*. However, all the Western authorities cited by Jeffery (*Fraenkel, Kremer, Dvořák, Vollers*) seem to have overlooked the fact that the Koranic orthography is merely the phonetic transcription of the Syro-Aramaic כִּרְאָמָו (cerṭā and śerta\(^{2}\)) or כִּרְאָמָו (surtā\(^{2}\)). Jeffery also cites the variants صِرَاطٌ / sirāṭ and زِرَاطٌ / zirāṭ, whereby the latter variant also corresponds to the Syro-Aramaic כְּרַי / zarta (as recorded in *Thes.* II 2739). Under the verbal root כִּרְאָמָא (sarat) the *Thes.* (II 2738 f.) gives the following corre-

\(^{287}\) This would explain the creation of the Arabic interrogative particle ّ / ّا from the Syro-Aramaic ḫ / aw (see below, p. 245, note 300).

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sponding Arabic words: (a) شرط (ṣaraṭa), (2) scalpsit (to score, to strike) (b) it. lineas duxit, delineavit, scriptis, خط كتب (ḥaṭṭa, kataba) (to draw a line, or write). Furthermore, the Thes. (II 2739) gives under the nouns سرفا (serfā) and سورفا (surfā) the corresponding Greek γραμμή and Latin linea (line), as well as the Arabic metathesis سطر (satr) (line) that is quite common in today’s Arabic. The verbal form سطر (satara) (to write) occurs five times in the Koran (Sura 17:58; 33:6; 52:2; 54:53; 68:1) (Jeffery p. 169 f.).

Consequently, the Koranic expression صرات مستقيم (ṣirāt mustaqīm) does not mean “straight path” but “straight line.” Therefore, one is justified in asking whether the Latin strata does not come from Syro-Aramaic אֶשֶׁרָא (ṣrāʾ), with the emphatic phoneme š being rendered by st. As proof for this thesis one can cite the historically attested Greek and Latin transcription of the name of the North Nabatean town بصرة /Bostra as Bošṭa and Bostra respectively, whereas the first ṭ in the Latin word strata is not found in the Koranic spelling/ṣirāt. In one case the emphatic phoneme š is rendered in Greek and Latin by ps as attested in the name of the town Ἀσσίστα (Maṣṣīštā), which is transcribed as Mopsuestia (see Thes. II 2195).

Are Latin lexicographers right in deriving strata from the verb sternō (to sprinkle and, only secondarily, to flatten, to pave), or, given the secondary meaning of this verbal root, unless the Latin is a coincidental allophone of the Koranic word, is not this etymology more likely a fiction? The usage of line in the sense of way is, moreover, quite common in modern European languages, as for example in English bus line or in German Eisenbahnlinie (railway line). It is therefore not contradicted by the Koranic parallel expression سأواء السبيل (sawāʾ as-sabīl) (< Syro-Aramaic אֶשֶׁר אָסָבִיל / šawy̱ṭ š ḫā, the straight path, literally: the straightness of the path) (Sura 2:108; 5:12,60,77; 60:1).

On the etymology of the word قصر (qasr)

A further example of the Greek and Latin transcription of the emphatic phoneme š by st is the Koranic word قصر (qasr) (< castle) (Suras 7:74; 22:45; 25:10;), borrowed from Eastern Syro-Aramaic “אֶשֶׁר (qasra)” as
allophone of Syro-Aramaic ﬀ ﬀ (gzārā) / ﬀ ﬀ (gzirtā) and transcribed in Latin as *castrum* and in Greek as *kāstrop* (Jeffery p. 240). All the western specialists quoted by Jeffery (*Guidi, Fraenkel, Nöldeke, Krauss, Vollers*) have overlooked this phonetic phenomenon. If Jeffery is right with his assertion that this word has no verbal root in Arabic, it does not automatically follow that the root must be either Greek or Latin. The Arabic form قصر (qasr) is a direct borrowing from Eastern Syro-Aramaic ﬀ ﬀ (qasrā) (morphologically a passive participle like ﬀ ﬀ /sa’tā, ﬀ ﬀ /sa’tānā > sātānā = Satan – see above p. 100 ff.), the root of which is a phonetic variant of Syro-Aramaic ﬀ ﬀ (gzar) with the original meaning “to cut” (referring to the crenelated wall or to “cut” trenches or any trench-like defensive measures giving protection from assailants “cutting” fortifications).

That according to Nöldeke (ZDMG xxix 423) “قصر (qasrā) as used in the Mishnah and Jerusalem Talmud is but a form of ﬀ ﬀ (qasrā), which like (Syriac) ﬀ ﬀ (qasrā) was derived directly from *kāstrop*” (Jeffery 240, note 6), is get it backwards. Both Aramaic ﬀ ﬀ (qasrā) and Syriac ﬀ ﬀ (qasrā) (scarcely used in Syro-Aramaic, though quoted in dictionaries) are nothing but a secondary re-borrowing from Latin *castrum* or Greek *kāstrop*. Hence it follows that Latin *castrum* (diminutive) *castellum* *castellum* *castellum* > English

288 See C. Brockelmann. *Lexicon Syriacum*. 112 b, under ﬀ ﬀ (gzirā), 5. *pinnarumu* (battlement); further in Mannā, 102 b, (4) (stine cut square), (šeruftrē afzīr yibā (9) (a courtyard protected by a wall in a temple or monastery). From the battlement of the wall as rampart of an encampment, this word passed on to the whole fortress, citadel. The Syro-Aramaic verbal root ﬀ (gzar) (to cut) explains the original meaning of Arabic ﬀ (gāzišra) (island = “cut” from the mainland) as direct borrowing from Syro-Aramaic ﬀ ﬀ (gzirtā).

289 The relation of *castrum* with the Old Aramaic verbal root ﬀ (qasr) (to cut) (cf. S. Segert, *Altaramäische Grammatik [Old Aramaic Grammar], Glossar [glossary]* p. 550: ﬀ ﬀ /qasr “ernten [to harvest] (?)” – properly “to cut”, as in New Hebrew – cf. W. Gesenius, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch*, 722a) helps us again to elucidate the etymology of the Latin verbal root *castrō* (to castrate) in its original meaning according to the semantics of the Syro-Aramaic root. Therewith the proper sense of the derived Latin word *cas-
castle. German Kastell, French château (and similar words in other European languages) are a borrowing from Syro-Aramaic via Greek and Latin.

These examples show how the etymology can contribute to reveal us, be it in a small way, a hidden side of a former cultural interchange in the Mediterranean area between East and West. Some of these borrowed Semitic words in Greek and Latin are traceable in the Occident to the Phoenicians, whose language is closely akin to Hebrew and Syro-Aramaic, or to the Hellenes in the Orient since Alexander the Great. This can explain the etymology of some still unexplained (or incorrectly explained) Greek or Latin words as e.g. taurus (bull; Taurus) < Greek ταῦρος, that C. Brockelmann (Lexicon Syriacum 819b) compares to Syro-Aramaic ﻰد (tawrā) and Arabic ثور (tawr). Yet rather than a common Semitic origin (SEM) assumed by Brockelmann, the original meaning of this word can be concluded from the secondary Syro-Aramaic verbal root ﻰد /twar < ﻰد /tbar (to break, to cut up [the soil, the field] = to plough). This meaning makes clear the Koranic passage in Sura 2:71, where the cow that Moses demands from his people as sacrifice is described as follows:

يقول أنها بقرة لا ذول تنير الأرض ولا تسقي الحرف مسلمة لا شية فيها
(Bell I 10, 66.): “He says, she is to be a cow not broken in to plough up the land or to irrigate the cultivated ground, but kept sound without a blemish upon her.”

Philological analysis:
a) According to Old Aramaic (whereof in some Syro-Aramaic verbal adjectives still preserved forms) as well as to Hebrew, ذول / qalṭl is grammatically a passive participle (like رسول / rasūl

trātus (castrated = “cut” = eunuch) becomes clear. Both Old Aramaic and Syro-Aramaic variants (قصر /qasār with the variant ﺟزر /kṣar and ﺞزر /gazr) continue as substratum in Arabic (as قصر /qasara [to restrict, restrain, confine], qasūra [to be or to become short, to be unable], ﺞسر /kasara [to break < to cut] and ﺞزر /gazar [to slaughter < to cut], therefrom ﺞزر /gazār [butcher]) with some further semantical variations.
[messenger] = مرسل / mursal [dispatched]) and were to be rendered in classical Arabic accordingly by مختلة / mu’dallala in the sense of مسخرة / musahhara (subjected, made subservient). The lack of the feminine ending in دلول / dalūl (instead of دلولة / dalūla) is due to the dropping of the feminine end-f of the Syro-Aramaic participle in predicative position (as explained above p. 217 ff.). Thereby the latter form (as status absolutus) is orthographically no longer to be distinguished from the masculine participle in attributive position as status emphaticus (*دلول / dalūlā > dalūlā = دلول / dalūlā). This explains the analogous transposition of the Syro-Aramaic predicative feminine form into the Arabic masculine form (as in Sura 7:56 [قريب] instead of قربى [qariba = Syro-Aramaic كريب] من المحسنين [assuredly, the mercy of God is near to the benefactors = those who do well, right]).

b) The following verbal form تثبر / ṭūṭār, derived from the secondary Syro-Aramaic verbal root ثب / twar > ثب / tār, renders the Af’el form ثب / ṭār with the meaning quoted by Mannā (833b) under حرث الأرض: / ḥaraṭa, ḥalaḥa l-ard (to plough, to till the land).

This meaning makes clear that the derived noun ثب / tawrā is etymologically the form from which the Arabic, Greek and Latin words ثور / twar, γαῖρος and taurus are borrowed and that semantically, according to Syro-Aramaic ثب / tawrā, the proper meaning of this word was originally a “plough-(animal)” (and not necessarily a bull).

c) The spelling تسقي / ṭasqī, as imperfect of the Arabic root سقي / saqā (< Syro-Aramaic سق / sqā) means indeed “to give to drink = to irrigate”. Yet who has observed the agricultural labor knows that the working order subsequent to the ploughing is not to irrigate the cultivated ground, but to harrow it. Now, to obtain this sense, we just need to read the retroflexed Arabic end-ق / q (ق), as it is attested in the Koran codex of Samarkand (CD 0024, l. 2; see p. 348), as a Syriac end-ق / n (= Arabic ق / n) and to strike out one dot on the ق / q to obtain the Arabic reading تسفن /
tasfin" (< Syro-Aramaic ܬܪܐ / šfan) instead of the false modern Arabic transcription تبسة – misread as tasqī. The Syro-Aramaic verbal root ܬܪܐ / šfan explains Mannā (801b) in Arabic as follows: سلف سوئ الأرض بالملفكة لتزرع / salafa, sawwā l-arḍ bi-l-mislaṭa li-tuzra (to harrow, to level the field with a harrow for sowing). The Lisān (XIII 209b f.) is not able to understand what the root سفن / safana exactly means, since he interprets it approximately by ڭشر / qašara (to peel). Consequently, the solely derived and in modern Arabic very common word سفينة / safīna (ship, boat) is so called, because it peels the surface of the water (لأنها تفسف وجه الماء أي تقشره), whereas the Syro-Aramaic verb means to glide on the water surface. Hence سفينة / safīna means properly a “glider”.

d) Since the Arabs have borrowed the agricultural expressions from the Arameans, 290 it is only logical that the Koranic word حرفت / ḥart (a ploughed field) is a direct borrowing from Syro-Aramaic ḥartā < verbal root ḥāṭ / ḥrat (to plough, to cleave). 291 Yet the latter meaning suggests that the Syro-Aramaic verb is a secondary formation of an original root mediae geminatae ḥāṭ / ḥarr (> ḥāṭ), of which some verbal adjectives are still conserved in Syro-Aramaic, as ḥrāṭ / ḥrarā (hole), ḥrāṭ / ḥurrā (hollow, cavern), ḥrāṭ / ḥarrūṭa (well, cistern). 292 This original meaning shows that the Syro-Aramaic substantive ḥrāṭ / ḥartā (= Koranic حرفت / ḥart) is grammatically an early passive participle as attributive adjective (hence in the status emphaticus) with feminine ending (according to the feminine Syro-Aramaic ḥrāṭ / ḥāṭ [soil, field]) as explained above on Satan (adjective masculine ḥrāṭ / ḥarrā, feminine ḥrāṭ / ḥarrūṭa > ḥrāṭ / ḥartā = Koranic حرفت / ḥart).

291 Cf. C. Brockelmann, Lexicon Syriacum, 260a, 1. fodit, excavavit (to dig, to excavate); Mannā, 267a: حرفت. فلح. شق / ḥarṭa, falaḥa, šaqqa (to plough, to till, to cleave).
292 Cf. Mannā, 259b.
due to the mistranscription of the Syro-Aramaic /r of the verbal root ʿaš ʿaš as an Arabic ʿaš ʿaša instead of ʿaš ʿaša (cf. Mannā 755b: ʿaš ʿaša, bärta [to bribe]. / rāsā [to blame, censure, dispraise]; under Af'el / arṣī: ʿarṣī / qarrāfā, ittāhāmā [to charge, suspect, accuse]). The general meaning supposed by some commentators relates to the clearness of the colour of the cow, while some others are of the opinion that she has to be without any blemish. The latter sense can be approximately confirmed, if we read instead of شوية / šiyata : / là šiḥha or ʿubha fiḥā “without [any] suspicion” (as to her blamelessness).

After this philological analysis, the discussed passage of Sura 2:71 can henceforth be reconstructed as follows:

(yaqūl(u) innahā baqrā(a) tu-ṭīn(u) l-arḍ(a) wa-lā tasfin(u) l-ḥar(a), mu-sallama lā šiḥh(a)/šubh(a) fiḥā)

“He says: she is to be neither a cow subjected to plough the soil nor to harrow the ploughed [field], [she shall be] faultless, without [any] suspicion [as to her blamelessness].”

Further misunderstood identical spellings

The same homonymous root of the latter form, written with the alternative emphatic ص / ʿaš in Sura 52:37 (al-muṣayṭīn), and Sura 88:22 (muṣayṭīn), was falsely understood as “to dominate.” With the stereotypical phrase اختفت أهل التأويل في تأويل ذلك (the commentators are divided in their opinions of this word), Ṭabarî (XXVII 33 f.) in this regard quotes two meanings: (a) / al-musālaṭīn (those who are established as rulers), (b) / al-munazzilūn (those who cause to descend – in the context of Sura 52:37 [according to Bell] – from the treasuries of thy Lord). Although this understanding is nearer to the intended sense, Ṭabarî decides in favor of the majority of commentators.
cern likewise substantives, as the common noun شوبك / șawbak (rolling pin), a secondary form of the nomen agentis *شاَكَ / șabbāk, derived from شبَك / șabbak < Syro-Aramaic شَبَك / sabbek (to paste, to stick together). S. Fraenkel and J. Barth had noticed this relatively scarce formation, but without to recognize its secondary character. While namely S. Fraenkel considers the form فعل / fay'āl to be genuine Arabic, adducing as argument the word șaytān, that he takes for Ethiopian (see above p. 100 ff.), J. Barth sees these cases reduced only to substantives in Arabic and means that such forms apparently do not occur in other (Semitic) languages. But in reality both S. Fraenkel and J. Barth have overlooked a) the above quoted verbal forms in spoken Arabic, b) at least two verbs in Syro-Aramaic, namely: صبر / șayṭara < Old Aramaic șeṭar / hammen (> Arabic صبر / șamīna / ʾāmna / ʾāmmana) (to believe) and صبر / șaybar < Old Aramaic șaṭār / sabbar (> Arabic صبر / șabara) (to be patient, to endure, to persevere).

Since it is now clear that صبر / șayṭara is nothing but a secondary form of the root صبر / șatara = سطع / șatrara < Syro-Aramaic ساطع / șṭār (from which the Arabic word ساطع, cleaver, is morphologically and etymologically derived), the two Koranic passages are henceforth to be understood as follows:

(Sura 52:37)

"Do they have the treasuries of your Lord? Are they the distributors?"

(Sura 88:21-22)

"So warn, you are just a warner, you are not the distributor (i.e.: the one who allots the retribution) among them."

The subsequent verses 23-26 confirm this meaning, since it is there said that it is God that will punish the unbelievers.


295 R. Bell (II 653) translates: “But thou art not over them an overseer” and notes to the last word: “The meaning and derivation of the word is not quite certain.”
“It is said: the name of Qurayš is derived from (the verb) ta-garraša i.e. ta-ğamma’a (= to meet, come together) to Mecca from its surroundings after they (i.e. the Qurayš / Qarīš) were dispersed in the countries, when Quşayy (atually Qašṭ < Syro-Aramaic ṣaṣṭīm / qaṣyāḏ = the Far One – as far as he is said to be almost a Nabatean originating from Syria) b. Kilāb had triumphed over it; for this reason Quşayy / Qašṭ was called ‘assembler’.”

From this philological understanding Qurayš / Qarīš cannot be the name of a single tribe, particularly of that of the Prophet, as it is assured by the Islamic tradition. What this word designates is rather a tribal confederation known as foederati in the Eastern Roman Empire. It is hence not excluded that with these Qurayš / Qarīš (quoted once in Sura 106:1) the almost Christianized Arabs foederati of Syria were meant (to compare with Sura 30:2-5, where it is said that the Believers will rejoice about the victory of the Romans with the help of God). This would in return explain that Quşayy / Qašṭ, said to be coming from Syria, was possibly able to occupy Mecca with the help of these Qurayš / Qarīš = foederati (assuming, however, that this account of the traditional Muslim historiography is authentic.296

From the original meaning of the Syro-Aramaic verbal root ܒܪܐš / qraš (to gather –that C. Brockelmann, Lexicon Syriacum, 702a II, takes mistakenly for a borrowing from Arabic ܩܪš / qarašā), are further derived figurative meanings as quoted by Mannā (710a/b). To these meanings belong in classical Arabic: برد قارس / bard qāris (< Syro-Aramaic ܒܪܐš / qarsā – cf. Mannā 705b) (biting coldness – with regard to [a] the together drawn = contracted water by freezing, [b] the gathered = contracted limbs – under the influence of cold – making someone to huddle up, to shiver with cold); the variant قرص / qaraša (to pinch – by gathering = pressing the skin together between two fingers < Syro-Aramaic

From the Syro-Aramaic variant כָּרָשׁ in its figurative sense (to press) is finally derived Arabic قرَاشَ / qaršān – actually qaršān (corsair, pirate) < Syro-Aramaic כָּרָשָׁה / qaršānā = כָּרָשֹׁת / qaršōt – cf. Mannā 706a: مصادر. مهارک / muḥāṣṣim, muṣāğir (adversary, fighter). The original meaning of the Syro-Aramaic verbal root (to press > to extort) makes the etymology of corsair (= extortioner) from Syro-Aramaic more probable than from Italian corsaro or middle Latin cursarius.297

As far as the word pirate, synonym of corsair, means a bandit, the Syro-Aramaic verbal root כָּרָשׁ / praf with the meaning to break, to tear (cf. Mannā 609a, 2: שָׁקַע / šaqqa, mazzaqa) makes its etymology from the latter more plausible than from Latin pirata or Greek πειράτης (allegedly from the root πειράω, to undertake, to attempt, to try). In Mandaic (Mandaic Dictionary 379a) the verbal root PRṣ (praf) has also the sense of to make a breach, and in some Syro-Arabic dialects of Northern Mesopotamia has perṣat the sense of to pluck out, to tear away, to rip off, to pull out. It is therefore presumably not a simple re-borrowing from Greek when C. Brockelmann (Lexicon Syriacum 595b) compares Syro-Aramaic כָּרָשׁ / praf (rather parrāṣā = modern Arabic نสมาช / naṣṣāl [pickpocket]) to Greek πειράτης: “praedo maritimus” (pirate).

297 The same may concern the homonym corset, the function of which suggests a possible derivation from the Syro-Aramaic verbal root כָּרָשׁ (to press), that makes more sense than from French noun corps (body); unless corset is rather composed of the Latin nouns corpus and sēdēs (< sedeō / sēdō), i.e.: “body-fit”.
Accordingly, the three further identical passages are to rectify as follows: (Sura 15:52) (traditional reading: innā [properly: inna] minkum wagilīn) (to read: dāhilīn – as present participle) (we are afraid of you); (Sura 15:53) (traditional reading: lā tawğ̣al) (to read: lā tadhāl [be not afraid]) – as confirmed by the Lisān, by what means the Koran is discharged from an unjustified anomaly imputable to the Arab grammarians and philologists; (Sura 23:60) (to read: wa-qullūbihum dāhīl [their hearts being in fear], as transliteration of the Syro-Aramaic present participle plural, the end-h being an alternative writing of the end-alif to designate the plural ending َā = ِسā /dāhīlā – Arabic to read: dāhīlā > dāhīla – by no means dāhīla-tun).

As to this alternative writing, the Koran gives us the following convincing illustration: (Sura 68:43; 70:44) (traditional reading: hāsī’ā-tan absāruhum); (Sura 54:7) (traditional reading: ḥusṣa’ān absāruhum). Both traditional readings are arbitrary and without any philological foundation, since the historically verifiable Syro-Aramaic orthography leads in both spellings to the sole possible reading: hāsī’ (> Arabic ḥāṣī’a – not hāṣī’ā-tan and less than ever ḥusṣa’ān) absāruhum (their looks down cast [in reverence]).

b) As an Arabic w/w mistaken Syro-Aramaic ُ/َ There are more examples for the rendering of a Syro-Aramaic ُ/َ as an Arabic ُ/َ. In Sura 11:70 we find the following example:

فَلما رأى يديهم لا تسأل إليه نكرهم وأوجس منهم خيفة

Bell (I 212, 73) translates: “Then when he saw their hands not reaching forward to it, he disliked them and conceived a fear of them”.

Though, here too, the underlined word is nearly correctly understood, a verbal root وَجُس / wağasa is nevertheless unknown in Arabic. The unsettled explanation attempts made hereto by guess in the Lisān (VI 253) relate to the presumable understanding of this Koranic passage. Ibn Sayyidih is right, when he says: هو عندي أنه على التسمح إلا لا نعرف له فعلًا (in my opinion, it is a denominator, because we don’t know a verb of it).
14. MISREAD ARABIC EXPRESSIONS

Sura 17:64

Sura 17:64 offers us one example, among others, of not just Syro-Aramaic but also Arabic expressions that have been misread and/or misinterpreted. Here the context is that God has cast Satan out of Paradise for his refusal to bow down before Adam. Satan asks God for permission to be allowed to abide among men until the Day of Judgment in order to sow confusion among them. God grants him his request and adds:

واستفز من استسطت منهم بصوتك وأحلب عليهم بخيلك ورجلك
وشاركهم في الأموال والولد وعدهم وما يعدهم الشيطان إلا غرورا

Following the Arabic understanding this verse is rendered as follows (here on the basis of Paret’s representative translation):

(Paret 233): “And startle (wa-stafżiz) with your voice whom- (ever) of them you can, pester (?wa-ağlib’alaihim) them with all of your hosts [note: literally – with your cavalry and your infantry], take part in their wealth and their children (as a partner) and make them promises!” Satan only makes them deceptive promises.

(Blachère and Bell translate accordingly).

Concerning the underlined terms:

(a) That Satan is said to “startle” the people with his voice contradicts another Koranic statement according to which Satan “whispers in the hearts of men” (Sura 114:5). For the dubious reading استفز (istafżiz), the Lisān (V 391b) gives the following meaning:

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298 The Koranic verb لاحتبكن (la-ḥṭanika) (Verse 62) has been misread; by Paret (233) it has been rendered thus: (I will with few exceptions) “do in” (?) [Note: Or … “bring under my sway” (?)] (his descendants). The falsely placed upper point of the ن / n yields as a lower point ب / b the correct reading لاحتبكن (la-ḥtabikana) < Syro-Aramaic سبي (ḥ alq), Manṣūr (215a): بلبل (3) بَلْبَلَ (balbala, šawwaša) (to entangle, to confuse).
However, the lack of this meaning in the post-Koranic Arabic literature as well as in the vernacular Arabic suggests that the explanation quoted in the *Lisān* is actually made up. Thus, more likely is the assumption that the later points set on both ز / r are superfluous and that the original spelling was استقرر / *istafrir*: “put to flight” (i.e.: avert, turn away from me – cf. Sura 38:82).

(b) “*pester them*” (Blachère: *fonds sur eux*; Bell: *assemble against them*); the corresponding explanation in the *Lisān* (I 269), according to which one, among other things, attacks somebody shouting, is here just as unconvincing. On the other hand, the meaning given by the *Lisān* (I 363b) under خَلْبُ (ḥalaba): خَلْبُ (ḥalaba-hu: to outwit someone) is appropriate here.

Accordingly, the dot below in the ج / ǧ should be moved up above (خ / ḥ) and واَلخَلْبِ عَلَيْهِم (wa-ḥlub ʿalayhim) should be read in the modern meaning of وَانصب عَلَيْهِم (wa-nsub ʿalayhim) (and outwit them).

(c) بَخَيْلَكَ وَرَجَلَكَ (bihaylīka wa-rağilīka) supposedly “with your cavalry and your infantry” (Blachère: avec ta cavalerie et ton infanterie; Bell: assemble against them thy horse and thy foot); that the cavalry and the infantry are poorly suited to outwit someone is fairly obvious. Therefore another reading should be considered. Some possibilities for بَخَيْلَكَ (bihaylīka) are either بَخَيْلَكُ بَخَيْلَكَ (bihaylīka) (with your tricks) or, since this word does not occur anywhere else in the Koran in this meaning, بَخَيْلَكُ (bihallīka or

299 The expression occurring in Sura 4: 98 (Paret 77: “who dispose of no possibility [ḥila]”) has nothing to do with the homonymous Arabic word in the meaning of “trick.” As a loan translation from the Syro-Aramaic expression ḫyāla (Mannā, 412b: قدر. استطاع: سَلا) (literally: “to be capable of a strength,” i.e. “to have the strength at one’s disposal,” a tautology for “to be able to, to be capable of; to be in a position to”), it is still today a commonly employed Syriacism in Arabic. That which in modern Arabic is taken to be the feminine ending of خِيلَة (ḥila) should in the Koran be viewed as a reproduction of the emphatical Syro-Aramaic ending of سَلا (ḥaylā). The
15. The Misreading and Misinterpretation of Thematic Contents

Now that it has become clear from the preceding analysis of individual samples of the language of the Koran that already in normal linguistic usage the Koran text has been in part so misread and misinterpreted by Arabic philologists and exegetes, it will no longer be surprising if meanwhile deeply anchored notions in the Islamic tradition, indeed religious contents, have been partially based on an equally misunderstood Koran text. Included among these notions are the Ḥūrīs or Virgins of Paradise.

The Ḥūrīs or Virgins of Paradise

To introduce in the following the notion of the so-called Ḥūrīs or Virgins of Paradise, which until now has been considered as a specific component of the Koranic presentation of Paradise, the article Ḥūr will be cited from the *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden, London, 1971; vol. 3, 581b f.)⁴⁰³:

Ḥūr, plural of ḥawrāʾ, fem. of ḥawwar, literally “the white ones,” i.e. the maidens in Paradise, the black iris of whose eyes is in strong contrast to the clear white around it. The nomen unitatis in Persian is ḥūrī (also ḥūrī-bihīšīrī), Arabic ḥūrīya. The explanation of the word found in Arabic works “those at whom the spectator is astounded (ḥār)⁴” is of course false and is therefore rejected even by other Arab philologists. These maidens of Paradise are described in various passages in the Korān. In Sūra 2:25, 3:15, 4:57, they are called “purified wives”; according to the commentators, this means that they are free alike from bodily impurity and defects of character. In Sūra 55:56, it is said that their glances are retiring i.e. they look only after men...

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⁴⁰³ See also the *Ezjiylopaedie des Islām*, vol. 2 (Leiden, Leipzig, 1927) 358 f.
upon their husbands. "Neither man nor jinn has ever touched them"; this is interpreted to mean that there are two classes of them, one like man and the other like the jinn. They are enclosed in pavilions (55:72). They are compared to jacinths and pearls (Sūra 55:58).

Later literature is able to give many more details of their physical beauty; they are created of saffron, musk, amber and camphor, and have four colors, white, green, yellow, and red. They are so transparent that the marrow of their bones is visible through seventy silken garments. If they expelorate into the world, their spittle becomes musk. Two names are written on their breasts, one of the names of Allāh and the name of their husband. They wear many jewels and ornaments etc. on their hands and feet. They dwell in splendid palaces surrounded by female attendants and all possible luxury etc.

When the believer enters Paradise, he is welcomed by one of these beings; a large number of them are at his disposal; he cohabits with each of them as often as he has fasted days in Ramaḍān and as often as he has performed good works besides. Yet they remain always virgins (cf. Sūra 56:36). They are equal in age to their husbands (ibid. 37), namely 33 years (al-Baidāwī). These are all very sensual ideas; but there are also others of a different kind. In discussing the Korānic “wives” (2:25), al-Baidāwī asks what can be the object of cohabitation in Paradise as there can be no question of its purpose in the world, the preservation of the race. The solution of this difficulty is found by saying that, although heavenly food, women etc., have the name in common with their earthly equivalents, it is only “by way of metaphorical indication and comparison, without actual identity, so that what holds good for one may hold for the other also.” In another passage (on Sūra 44:54) al-Baidāwī observes that it is not agreed whether the hūrīs are earthly women or not. Likewise Şāfi‘i authors have spiritualized the hūrīs (see especially Berthels, loc. cit.).
4:47; 5:46; 6:92, etc.). To this extent it takes the Scripture as its model, for example in Sura 4:82 when it cites as an argument to prove its own authenticity:

 ولو كان من عند غير الله لوجدوا فيه اختلافا كثيرا

"Were it (the Koran) namely not from God, you would find (in comparison to the Scripture) many differences (inconsistencies)."

There would be such an inconsistency, however, if the likes of the ḥūrīs, assumed by the Koran to be an essential feature of its eschatological notions, were not to be found in the Scripture. Then the Koran, against its usual assertion, would have thus produced proof that it had not come from God.

Yet in its conclusions the following discussion will concede that the Koran is right. For the Koran is not to blame if, out of ignorance, people have read it so falsely and projected onto it their subjective, all too earthly daydreams. We therefore intend to deal in more detail with the individual verses upon which these so-called ḥūrīs or virgins of Paradise are based.

Sura 44:54; 52:20

وزوجتهم بحور عين

The starting point for this misunderstanding is in all likelihood these two Sura verses (44:54 and 52:20), where in each case (according to the reading until now) it says: "wa-zawwâqâhum bi-ḥūrîn ʻmîn." Without contesting it, our Koran translators accordingly render this clause as follows:

(Bell 501,536): "and We have paired them with dark-, wide-eyed (maidens)."

(Paret 415,439): "Und wir gehen ihnen großäugige Huris als Gattinnen..."

(Blachère 528): "Nous les aurons mariés à des Houris aux grands auréoles..."
veux." (558) Nous leur aurons donné comme épouses, des Houris aux grands yeux."

On the basis of the following discussion this verse will be understood in the Syro-Aramaic reading as follows:

"We will make you comfortable under white, crystal(-clear) (grapes)."

It is characteristic of Western Koran research that it has never called into question the diacritical points that were subsequently added to the Koran text and that in each case first determined the suggested letters in an original spelling in need of interpretation. Today the extant, still unpointed early Koran manuscripts provide evidence that these points are not authentic. Nonetheless the conviction has never been challenged that the later pointing was based on an assured oral tradition. A detailed philological analysis, however, will reveal that this is a historical error.

**On the Verb زوجتهم (zawwağ-nā-hum)**

In the previously cited verse it should first be noted that in the verb زوجتهم (zawwağ-nā-hum) two falsely placed points (one above the ر / r [=ız / ız] and one below the ح / ḥ [= ǧ / ġ]) have resulted in the misreading "to marry." Namely, if we read the original spelling purified, i.e. without these two points, the result is the reading روحهم (rawwaḥ-nā-hum) (according to the context): "we will let them rest" (as God says with regard to the blessed spirits of the departed in Paradise). This reading finds its justification in the common Syro-Aramaic and Arabic verbal root רוח (rwaḥ) / روح (rawaḥ*), under whose causative stem rawwaḥ Manna (728a) gives under point (2) the homonymous Arabic meaning: أراح (arāḥ*) (to let rest). But the causative stem with the same meaning is also quite common, 304 so that one wonders how Arabic read-

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304 Cf., e.g., H. Wehr, *Arabisches Wörterbuch* [Arabic Dictionary], 330a, under روح, II: "to refresh, to revive; to allow to rest, to allow to relax, to give rest and relaxation." In any case in modern Arabic the variant ريح (rayaḥ*) is
ers could have read it wrongly. The reason is presumably that they did not know what to do with the following preposition لـ /bi- (in, with), which in Arabic is incompatible with this verb, whereas in the meaning “with” it is perfectly compatible with the verb زوج (zawważa) (to marry); therefore in this connection the only possible reading according to the Arabic understanding was “to marry with.”

On the Meaning of the Preposition لـ / bi-

In the process the Arabic philologists with certainty did not think about the meaning of the preposition لـ / bi- in Syro-Aramaic. Namely, among the 22 different functions of this preposition, Mannā (48a) gives under (20) the following meaning: بين (baya) “between, under.” In fact, this meaning alone gives the reading روحهم (rawwah-ñ-hum) its correct sense: “We will let them rest under (between)” (so-called حور عين ħur ʾin) (roughly: “We will make them comfortable, cozy, snug under such [ħur ʾin]).

On the Double Expression حور عين (ħur ʾin)

Now because one assumes on the basis of the masculine personal object suffix (zawwaq-ñ-hum) that it is men who are supposed to be married, it was only logical to the Arab commentators that it had in the case of the following double expression, حور عين (ħur ʾin), to be a question of female creatures with whom those men were to be married. Whence the necessity to interpret this expression accordingly. The Arabic philologists have correctly understood the Arabic adjective حور (ħūr) (as a plural of the feminine حوراء / ḥawra) as a borrowing from Syro-Aramaic ḥwār (ḥwar) “to be white” (rāṣ / ḥewār / “white”). But on the basis of the presupposed virgins, they have likewise understood the following

usually used in this meaning, although the Koranic (i.e. Syro-Aramaic) form روح (rawwaha) is common, particularly in the modern colloquial Arabic of the Near East, in expressions like those cited in Wehr روح عن نفسه (rawwah aʿan naftsīh) (to relax, to refresh oneself, to be amused).
for a passage like 43:70; the invitation to enter Paradise with their spouses can only be directed at the earthly wives.\footnote{309}

In spite of this statement, which contradicts the sense imputed to Sura 44:54, Horovitz stops at these findings without daring to take the further step of trying to clarify this obvious contradiction. In fact, it would have sufficed to subject the corresponding passages to a closer philological examination. This may now bring the hoped-for solution to the puzzle.

To conclude with regard to the expression حور (ḥūr), it has now been ascertained that it is formally an Arabic feminine plural adjective, and that this adjective refers to a substantive of the same gender which, although the Koran does not name it here, can be determined from the remaining Koranic description of Paradise.

\textit{On the Expression \\عين (\textit{m})}

This word, whose singular form in the pronunciation (\textit{ayn}) (eye, well, etc.) is common to both Syro-Aramaic and Arabic, has been understood in the Arabic exegesis of the Koran as a plural. Yet the two commonly employed plural forms for this in Arabic are عيون (\textit{uyūn}) and \\أعيان (\textit{ayyān}) (for eyes and wells, respectively, not to mention \\أعيان / \textit{ayyān} for notables). Accordingly in the case of this form, which is explained as an additional plural variation occurring only in this Koranic expression عين (\textit{m}), it may be a question of the graphical rendering of the Syro-Aramaic plural عين (\textit{aynā}), though in the Arabicized pausal form (i.e. with the omission of the Syro-Aramaic emphatic ending which is foreign to Arabic). Of necessity the only possible pronunciation in Arabic, to make the distinction from the singular (\textit{ayn}), would accordingly have been عين (\textit{m}). This does not mean however that (\textit{m}), for example, would be an Arabic plural of the substantive عين (\textit{ayn}) (eye). Whence the necessary assumption in Arabic that one is dealing here with the plural form of the feminine adjective عيناء (\textit{aynā}) in the meaning “big-eyed” (woman), as the \textit{Lisān}\footnote{310} explains it.

\footnote{309 Paret, ed. \textit{Der Koran} [The Koran] 57.}

\footnote{310 As far as that goes, it may be correct that the Arabic عين (\textit{m}) is the plural of the}
The most reasonable explanation seems to be the following cited in the Thes. (II 2867) under حَيَاء (‘in):


It is moreover interesting to note that the Lisān (XIII 302b f.) has also preserved a reminiscence of the Syro-Aramaic meaning in the following expression: رَجُلٌ وَ عَيْنَ الرَّجُلِ: مَنْتُ (wa-‘ayn r-raḡul: manzaruh") (the "eye" of a man = his "appearance" – actually his "esteem", hence: عَيْنَ الرَّجُلِ / al-‘ayyān "the notables"320), and further on (306a): عَيْنَ الشَّيْءِ: التَّفَسِّيْرُ مَنْهُ (the "eye" of something = its exquisiteness, treasure – hence: عَيْنَةُ / ‘ayyina321).

With that the meaning of عَيْنَ (‘in) should actually be clear. As a noun standing in apposition to the plural حُور (ḥūr) "white" (ones) (grapes), it has a descriptive function. As such it can be in the singular ("a gleaming, splendid appearance" in the meaning of "gleaming, splendid appearance") or in the plural (in the sense of "treasures"). The

319 For the same meaning in Hebrew, see W. Gesenius, Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch [Compendious Hebrew and Aramaic Dictionary] 582b, (h) figuratively speaking: (a) the eye of the wine, i.e., its sparkling in the cup, Prov. 23:31...; (γ) sight; hence, form, appearance, Num. 11:7, Lev. 13:5,55. Ezek. 1:4 ff. 10:9, Dan. 10:6.

320 The Lisān does not remark that the current plural عَيْنَ (‘ayyān (notables) is derived from this meaning.

321 This feminine form means in modern Arabic "specimen, sample". But the original Syro-Aramaic meaning is "choice, prime, elite, flower" (= modern Arabic: خُبْطَة / nuḥba [select, choice], خِيرَة / ḥūrā [the best, choice, elite]).
spelling عين / ʿayn would accordingly have to be in the singular, yet in the plural, rather than ʾin (following the type سفينة، سفن / satīna, sūfūn and in the style of the commonly used plural form عيون / ʿuyūn), it would most likely be ʿuyūn. The Koran elsewhere uses the two plural forms عيون (ʿuyūn) (for springs, wells) and عين (aʿyun) (for eyes). This would presuppose a singular form عينة (ʿayna or ʿayyina) respectively, which would be derived from the Syro-Aramaic حنة (ʿayntā) (sing.), حنات (ʿaynātā) (plur.). Namely, the Thes. (II 2870) cites the Eastern Syrian lexicographers, who distinguish between حنة (ʿaynā), حنة (ʿaynātā) for living beings and the first-named for things. However, arguing in favor of the Arabic pausal form of the presumed Syro-Aramaic plural حنة (ʿaynā) is the variant of the Koran text of Ubayy for Sura 56:22 cited in Th. Nöldeke (Bergsträßer-Pretzl) (GdQ III 90) with the remark “quite striking”: وحورا عنا (Arabic: wa-ḥūraʿ ʾin an = Syro-Aramaic: حنة or حنة : حنة / w-hewwārē / w-hewwāratā – ʿaynā : “White [grapes] – crystal-(clear) = Crystal-(clear) white [grapes]”).

**Solution II**

Inasmuch as the Koran explicitly compares the “white(s)” (grapes) with pearls, the actual sense of عين (ʾin) or (ʿuyun) “eyes” has also been cleared up. Taking as its starting point the “sparkle, gleam” or the “sparkling, gleaming appearance” of gems, the Syro-Aramaic expression حنة (ʾin), as the Thesaurus proves, has itself been transferred to the gems. However, because the Koran compares the grapes with “pearls,” though these are not gems in the proper sense, we can take the alternative meaning given by the Thes. “crystal” (due to its clarity and its shine) or “jewel” as an expression of the “preciousness,” which in this respect is confirmed by the Lisān (عين الشئ : الفيض منه) for the Koranic context. Now because حور (ḥūr) as a designation of “white” (grapes) is in the plural, the noun عين that follows it in apposition is

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323 Cf. note 284 above.
logically also to be read as plural, which is indeed confirmed by the traditional reading of the Koran. Accordingly, the Koranic double expression حور عين (ḥūr-ʿun: ʿayun) says:

“White” (grapes): “jewels” (or rather) “crystals” = Crystal-(clear) white (grapes) [instead of: “dark-, wide-eyed” (maidens)].

This would explain the syntactic relationship between “eyes” [= crystal-(clear)] as a nominal adjective and the substantivized adjective “white” (grapes).  

324 In a recently by Jan M.F. van Reeth published essay entitled: “Le vignoble du Paradis et le chemin qui y mène. La thèse de C. Luxenberx et les sources du Coran [The Vineyard of the Paradise and the Way leading there. The Thesis of C. Luxenberx and the Sources of the Koran]” in: Arabica, vol. LIII, 4, (Brill) Leiden, 2006, p. 511-524, the author undertakes the task to detect the Christian sources of the Koran. Based on his erudite findings, he supposes a misreading of the double Koranic expression حور عين / ḥūr ʿin (rather ḥūr ʿayun) and proposes instead the emendation كور عنب (kūr ʿinab) or خور عنب (ḥūr ʿinab) in the sense of “some quantity of grapes or vine” (une certaine quantité de raisins, de vin – p. 515). Indeed, حور / kūr designates in Syro-Aramaic a “dry or liquid measure” of variable size and حنث / ṣē anb “grapes”; yet the palaeography allows such an emendation not. For neither within the حيجات and کيى style nor in the assumed case of a transcription from Syro-Aramaic is a misreading or mis-transcription of an Arabic initial ك / k as a حب / ḥ nor a Syro-Aramaic or Arabic final ن / n conceivable. A comparison of these four letters on the appended copies of the Samarqand codex suffices to exclude normally their confusion. See for example the second copy [CD 0098] following the index, line 4, the initial ك / k and the final ن / n in the word الم / ar-rāk̡i̡n [Sura 3:43], and line 5, the dotless final في / ʾ in the undotted first word الگي / al-gayb [the invisible], that can also be read الگي / al-ʿinab [grapes] but not الگي / al-ʿin (or rather al-ʿayun) [eyes = jewels, crystals], further the حب / ḥ in the following undotted word نوحية / nūḥī [we inspire it]. The unconsidered emendation of these letters, the graphical form of which is unequivocal, would transgress the principle of the lectio deficilior. The double expression حور عين / ḥūr ʿayun occurs three times in the Koran (Suras 44:54; 52:20; 56:22); its reading is graphically incontestable and semantically covered through the following expounded context. The task of the philology is to clarify the Koranic text in order to guard the historian of religion against hasty deductions and to provide him with a reliable basis for his far-reaching investigations.
In the history of the Koranic text this significant expression, which served as the inexhaustible source for the mythologized subject of the ḥūrī and not just for Arabic popular literature, would thus be restored to its historically authentic dimension thanks to Syro-Aramaic. It helps the Koran to achieve its original inner coherence. That the Christian-Oriental notions of Paradise depicted by Ephraem the Syrian find expression in the Koran can no longer be surprising when one knows that the Christian Syro-Aramaic hymns of Ephraem in the 4th century and afterwards gained such currency beyond the Aramaic speech area of Syria and Mesopotamia that they were even translated into foreign languages such as Greek and Armenian.325

Remarkable are to extent the erudite and to the Bible referring investigations of the author as to his new comparative interpretation of the Sura الفاتحة / al-Fatiha (p. 519-524). As to the expression غير المغضوب عليهم (guyr al-magdīb `alayhim) in verse 7, another understanding as the proposed reading from the supposed Arabic verbal root ʿdb in the sense of “couper, transpercer, abattre, éloigner” (to cut, pierce, strike down, take away) is conceivable without to modify the traditionnal reading, if we start from the Syro-Aramaic sense of the equivalent expression / ruḡzā ʿd-mārây (the anger of the Lord), as far as sinners (who transgress = ṣīn = Koranic يفسرون the divine law) incur the divine anger (cf. Mammā 721b, ٣٤٣٤/ arguez, 1. أُعْضَب / ağda [to anger], 2. أُذِنَب. أخطأ. أُذَنَب, اَغْذَاب, اَهْذَا [to commit an offense, a sin]). Instead of the proposed understanding: “le chemin de ceux que tu combles de grâce, non de ceux qui sont anéantis ou égarés”, it should be proposed: “le chemin de ceux que tu combles de grâce, non de ceux qui se sont attiré la colère [= qui ont transgressé la loi] ni de ceux qui se sont égarés [= qui se sont écarts de ton droit chemin].”

325 Cf. also A. Baumstark, Geschichte der syrischen Literatur [History of Syriac Literature] (Bonn, 1922) 32 ff.: “The life story of the ‘Prophet of the Syrians,’ as the grateful admiration of his people called him, began very early on to weave its web around the pious legend. Already purely in terms of volume the mass of what has been preserved under his name in the original and in the variegated dress of foreign languages is overwhelming, without one’s even coming close to exhausting what he actually wrote.” On the translations, 35 ff.: “Translations of A.’s [Ap(h)rem’s = Ephraem’s] works already appeared in Greek during his lifetime.” Further, on page 36: “One cannot help but be struck to a great degree by how relatively seldom it was for pieces existing in Syriac to come back in Greek translation.” .... “Finally, in the best of circumstances one
Additional Relevant Passages

If it has now been established that when the Koran uses the metaphorical expression حور عين (hūr 'īn) (or 'uyun), from which the expression hūrī has been falsely derived, it means the “white, crystal-clear grapes” of paradise, it should logically turn out that all of the remaining Koran passages that until now one had connected with the virgins of paradise in reality present further descriptions of these very same grapes of paradise, as indeed will be demonstrated by a more detailed philological examination of the following Sura verses: 37:48, 49; 38:52; 55:56, 58, 72, 74; 56:22-23, 34-37. The recurring expression ازوج مطهرة (azwāq muṭāḥara) in the Sura verses 2:25; 3:15 and 4:57 should actually not be included here, but because it has been falsely interpreted, it will be taken up beforehand.

Sura 2:25 (3:15; 4:57)

ولهم فيها ازوج مطهرة

(Bell I 5): 23. “therein also are pure spouses for them, ...”

(Paret 9): "Und darin [Note: i.e. in paradise] haben sie gereinigte Gattinnen (zu erwarten).”

(Blachère 32): “Dans ces [jardins], ils auront des épouses purifiées…”

would at the least always have to expect that the old translations, during their hundreds of years of use as practical devotional literature, would scarcely be able to escape unintentional distortion and deliberate revision of various sorts.” (We have before us such a revision for devotional purposes on, among other things, the topic of Paradise in the Koran.) The Armenian translation of the works of Ephraem is assigned to the 5th century. Later, translations were made by way of Greek into Coptic and into Old Church Slavonic. An Arabic translation, also via Greek, of around 50 pieces by A.[p(h)rem] on ascetic and moral subjects is said to have been completed as late as the year 980 (37).
The Koran does not only apply the expression زوج (zawğ) to people in the sense of "spouses," but also to animals and plants in the sense of "kind, genus, species." This is made clear from the context of many a verse, such as in Sura 43:12, which Paret (407) correctly identifies: "And (he it is) who has created all (possible) pairs [note: i.e. kinds (of living beings)]." Specifically applied to the plants of the earth (Sura 31:10), it is here too correctly identified by Paret (339): "And we have caused all manner of magnificent species (of plants and fruits) to grow upon it." Further examples can be found in the Suras 20:53; 22:5; 26:7; 36:36 and 50:7.

However, because the Koranic paradise consists of trees, plants and fruits, it is clear that what is meant by أزوج مطهرة (azwāg mutahhara) is not "purified wives," but "all manner of species of pure 326 (fruits)."

Moreover, that the fruits of paradise are pure will be shown in the passages that are yet to be discussed.

Sura 37:48-49

وَعَدَنَّهُمْ قَصَرَاتَ الْطَّرَفِ عِينَ كَانَهُنَّ بِيَدٍ مِّكنُونَ

(Bell II 444): 47. “With them are (damsels) restrained in glance, wide-eyed. As they were eggs [Or “pearls”], well-guarded.”

(Paret 370): 48: "Und sie haben großäugige (Huris) bei sich, die Augen (sittsam) niedergeschlagen. 49: (unberührt) [Note: or (makellos)] als ob sie wohlverwahrte Eier wären.”

326 With “pure” the Koran is perhaps rendering one of the meanings of the Syro-Aramaic صفٌ (gabē) (exquisite, noble), for which Mammâ (87b) gives, among others, the following Arabic expressions: صفي . جيد . فاضل . ظاهر (3) خالص . كريم . ثمين . فاخر (4) (noble, pure), (sheer, noble, precious, splendid). However, the actual meaning “pure” is also confirmed by Sura 55:56,74, where it is said that nobody before the blessed spirits of the departed has ever “defiled, soiled” these grapes.
(Blachère 476): 47/48 “Près d’eux seront des [vierses] aux re-
gards modestes, aux [yeux] grands et beaux, 47/49 et qui seront comme perles cachées.”

According to the Syro-Aramaic reading this will be understood as fol-
lows:

“They will have (at their disposal) hanging fruits (grapes) (for the picking), jewels(-like), as were they pearls (yet) enclosed (in the shell).”

On the Expression (qāṣirat‘ t-ṭarf‘)

Before one can here determine a fitting meaning for the first expression قشرات الطرف (qāṣirat‘ t-ṭarf‘), the second طرف (ṭarf‘) must first be explained. Now that ḥūrīs are out of the question, it would be nonsensical to want to speak of their (demurely lowered) “eyes,” as this word has been previously understood in Arabic. What is thus sought is a meaning that goes well with grapevine or grapes.

Here the Syro-Aramaic synonym adalafil (tarpā) (with the original meaning “leaf, foliage”) proves helpful. For the meaning we are seeking the Thes. (I 1525) lists under ḏimidrā ṣ (tarreḇ) folia decerpsit, racemavit (to pick [clean] the leaves or the grapes), with the following example: ḏimdrā  ṣ ṥimā (wāls qa-tarreḇ karmā) (we must pick [clean] the vineyard or the wine leaves). In addition to this there is in Mannā (297) under (4) قشر. كف (to pick the foliage or the fruits). Finally, in New East Syriac adalafil (tarpā) is documented in the meaning (a) leaf, foliage, (b) small branch.327

This leads us first of all to the meaning of the small branches laden with foliage and grapes of the grapevine. However, insofar as the de-
nominative adalafil (tarreḇ) can also mean “to pick,” the Koran offers us two parallel passages (Sura 69:23 and 76:14) in which it is said that the

(fruits) to be picked (قهفها) ٣۱٠ / qāṭūfūhā / qṭāf) hang down low. This meaning should be assumed for طرف (tarf).

With this last meaning, قصرات (qāṣirāt) should then produce an adequate sense. For the Syro-Aramaic verb مي (qsarr) Mannā (696b) gives under (2): قصر. خفض (qaṣṣara, ḥafafa) (to make short, to lower). This corresponds to the meaning assumed by our Koran translators, however with regard not to "lowered eyes," but to "lowered," i.e. "low-hanging" (and to that extent easy-to-pick) branches. A parallel expression occurs in Sura 69:23 with قطرها دانيها (qṭūfūhā dāniya) (its fruits are near to be picked, i.e. within easy reach) (< Syro-Aramaic دنیا).\(^{328}\)

A similar thought is contained in the expression وذلت قطرها تذليلا (wa-ḏullilat qṭūfūhā tagḥilā) (and its fruits are quite easy to pick).\(^{329}\) Thus for the expressions وعدهم قصرت الطرف and their parallel passages from Sura 69:23 and 76:14 suggest the following understanding:

"By them (will be) low-hanging branches (laden with fruit)."

The next word عين (ʿān) could here stand for the Syro-Aramaic plural حسكة (ʿāynā). The dropping of the emphatic ending would be caused by the Arabic transcription. Besides the meaning "gleam, shimmer," especially of gems, it has already been explained that the term can also designate the gem itself or a jewel.\(^{330}\) Accordingly, the double verse cited above from Sura 37:48-49 is to be understood as follows:

"By them (will be) fruits (grapes) hanging down, (like) jewels, as were they enclosed pearls (still in the shell)."

The final expression بيض (bayḍ‘), which Paret has rendered according to the Arabic understanding with "eggs," Blachèrc and Bell (in addition

\(^{328}\) Cf. Mannā 153b, ٣۱٠ (dnā), دن. قرب (danā, qaruba) (to be near).

\(^{329}\) Cf. Mannā 148b, ٣۱٠ (dalil) هون . سهيل (hawwana, sahhalā) (to facilitate, to make easy).

\(^{330}\) Thes. II 2867, Ap. lexx. (1) gemma (gem, pearl); furthermore, at 2870, Ap. lexx., the Arabic Áلما (al-mḥā) ("pearls" as well as "crystal") is given, among other terms, by Bar Bahlil and Bar 'Alī for علماء العين (ʿāynā / al-ʿāyn). With this expression, the Koran has once again handed down to us an interesting detail pointing to the Syrian-Mesopotamian region.
to “eggs”) have correctly conjectured as “pearls,” though not on the basis of the actual Arabic meaning. In fact, in Ṣabari (XXIII 57 f.) the majority of the commentators explain the expression in the meaning of “like an unshelled egg,” although the interpretation as “pearl” is also advocated once. Ṣabari himself, however, pronounces himself in favor of the former, the majority opinion. However, the parallel passage from Sura 52:24 “as if they were enclosed pearls,” suggests the latter meaning. Like بِلْوَرْ (lūlū) (pearls), بيض (bayḍ) too is a collective noun, which is indicated by the singular form of the verb. On the basis of the Arabic understanding, one can in fact understand “eggs” under بيض (bayḍ). The Lisān does indeed document the feminine form بيضة (baidha) in the sense of “white” to designate a variety of white grapes, but not to designate pearls. Once again, it is only via Syro-Aramaic that we arrive at this meaning to the extent that the Thes. (I 606), with a reference to the Eastern Syrian lexicographers, designates both the مَرَجَتْ (berūlla) and مَرَجَتْ (berūlha) margarita (pearl as well as crystal) as “white”: Albo limpidoque colore est, هَ وَالِ وَا-يَا (hewwār wa-slīḥ) (white and clear); hence the Syrians explain مَرَجَتْ (berulīh) as مَرَجَتْ (marganyātā hewwār) margaritae albae (white pearls). Accordingly, just as in the case of “white” (grapes) (حُور / hūr), with the Arabic collective noun بيض (bayḍ) the Koran is also designating “white” (pearls) following the equivalent Syro-Aramaic designation.

Sura 38:52

وعندهم قصرت الطرف اترباب

(Bell II 454): “With them are (females) restrained in glance, of equal age.”

(Paret 378): “während sie gleichaltrige (Huris) bei sich haben, die Augen (sittsam) niedergeschlagen.”

(Blachère 486): “tandis qu’auprès d’eux seront des [vierges] aux regards modestes, d’égale jeunesse.”

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As opposed to both of the prior verses (37: 48-49), in the present verse only the expression أتراب (aṭrāb) has been added. This expression could of course not fail to help spur on the fantastic imagination of the hūris to yet another adequate property. For, although one knew about the “big-eyed hūris” that they were to that extent “cute,” they still lacked one characteristic: in addition to that they had to be “young.” And so one hit upon the idea that this misunderstood Arabic expression had to mean something like “of the same age,” from which there resulted the meaning “forever young.” Subsequent commentators then even pinned their age down to the symbolic figure of thirty-three. So much for the history of the development of the expression أتراب (aṭrāb).

It is in the meantime clear that all the commentators were so taken with the idea of the hūris that for them anything else was out of the question. Yet it is astonishing that they have paid so little attention to the Koranic context. Namely, two verses further (54) it is said in regard to the supposed hūris: “This is our (heavenly) nourishment (رزقنا) it (will be) inexhaustible.” The Koranic statement is actually clear and excludes every possible figment of the imagination. In excess of food and drink there is nothing in Paradise.

The Koran confirms this statement in several passages, where it is said among others to the pious: “Eat and drink (كلوا واشربو) (Suras 52:19; 69:24; 77:43), enjoy (the fruit) of your toil”. Furthermore, it should be noted that even in later Medinan Suras the believers are never promised more than “gardens [properly bowers], under which rivers flow”. Not even in the Medinan verse (3:169) referring to those killed for the cause of Allah hūris are mentioned. Instead it is said about them (Bell I 62, 163): “Count not those who have been killed in the way of Allah as dead, nay, alive with their Lord, provided for”

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331 Tabari XXIII 174 f. also gives these interpretations: They are equal, equal in age, of the same age; they do not treat each other with hostility; they are not envious of each other; they are not jealous of each other.


Sura 55:56

فيهن قصرت الطرف لم يطمثهن انس قبلهم ولا جان

(Bell II 551): “In them are (damsels) of restrained glance, whom deflowered before them has neither man nor jinn.”

(Paret 448): “Darin [Note: D.h. in den Gärten (Mehrzahl)] befin- den sich (auch), die Augen (sittsam) niedergeschlagen, weibliche Wesen, die vor ihnen [Note: D.h. vor den (männlichen) Insassen des Para-dieses, denen sie nunmehr als Gattinnen zugewiesen werden] weder Mensch noch Dschinn (gānna) entjungfert hat."

(Blachère 570 f.): “Dans ces jardins seront des [vierges] aux re- gards modestes que ni Homme ni Démon n’aura touchées, avant eux.”

The result of the ensuing analysis will show that this verse is to be un- derstood Syro-Aramaically as follows:

“Therein (are found) drooping fruits (ripe for the picking), which neither man nor genius (i.e. an invisible being)335 before them has ever defiled.”

(نايئ الأرض) is not Arabic “we come over the land,” but Syro- Aramaic (nuṭi l-arāh) (modern Arabic = /nuṭi l- 'ardh/) “we cause the earth to be of use, to be fruitful, to come to fruition, to bear fruit”; cf. Mannāh 45b: اثمرت . انثل التي الأرض (atmarat, āqallat al-arāh) (the earth ‘is fruitful,’ bears fruit). According to this, the verse reads: „Schen sie denn nicht, daß wir die Erde (ihren Ertrag) bringen lassen (und dabei) ihre Früchte verringern (können)?“ [“Do they not see that we allow the earth to produce (its yield) (and at the same time) (are able) to reduce its fruits?”]

335 The original meaning of the Syro-Aramaic verbal root / gann, / gann, / gnā, Hebrew / gann > gnan (1. to hide, 2. to protect) suggests that “genius” (as a “hidden” = invisible being) is etymologically derived rather from Syro-Aramaic than from Greek γενόω > Latin genō < gignō (to engender, to bear). Of the same etymology is Arabic / ganna < Syro-Aramaic / gannā (garden > paradise – grammatically a passive participle) as a “protected place”. The most likely interpretation of the Koranic plural / gannāt would be that of
emerged as a denominative. This arises not only from the feminine present participle طامث (tāmiţ) (said of a woman when she has her period) listed by the Lisān (II 165b), but also from the listed meanings that coincide with those of the Syro-Aramaic verb َتَمُّمُّ (tamām) (Thes. I 1484), although with some shifts in meaning. Of course, an etymologically equivalent Arabic root ُنُمَيْ (tamiţa) given by both the Thesaurus and Brockelmann, is not listed by the Lisān, which is an argument in favor of its having also been borrowed from the Aramaic.

Now whereas the Syro-Aramaic root actually means “to be impure,” one has related the Arabic denominative to menstruation and naturally connected this with the idea of blood. So if a woman says “I am طامثٌ (tāmiţ)” (for I have my period), in Arabic one has understood “I am bloody,” whereas in Syro-Aramaic this meant “I am impure.” In Arabic usage, this notion was also logically applied to the transitive, thus resulting in the meaning “to deflower.” The comparison between the Lisān and the Thes. shows clearly that with the meaning “to deflower” one has a concrete imagination of blood in the Arabic usage, whereas in Syro-Aramaic one understands this in the figurative sense of “to render impure, to defile, to dishonor.”

And hence this fateful misunderstanding occurred in the Koran where the verb لم يطمثهن (lam yaţmithunna) is used transitively. By that in Arabic, especially with regard to the imaginary hūrīs, one was thus only able to understand “to deflower,” whereas in Syro-Aramaic it means “to render impure, to defile.” What moreover reinforced the Arabic commentators in their notion that the grapes of Paradise were women is precisely the feminine personal suffix هنِّ / -hunna, which according to the rules of Arabic grammar can refer only to rational living beings, i.e. exclusively to women, whereas the Koran in accordance with

336 This fact has previously been noticed by R. Dozy, Die Israeliten zu Mekka [The Israelites in Mekka], Leipzig-Haarlem 1864, p. 182, note 7: “As to امرأة طامث (imra‘a tāmiţ) it must be noticed that طامث (tāmiţ) is not an Arabic word that were derived from a root طمث (tāmīta), it is مناث (tāmā / tmai), the usual term for impure in Levitic sense; the last letter is a feminine ending."
the rules of Syro-Aramaic does not always make this distinction in the case of the feminine.\footnote{Thus, for example, in Sura 12:43 is said of the seven fat cows devoured by seven lean ones: يَكْلَوْنَ سَعُبِّ عَجَافٍ (ya’kulun suub ‘ajaf – as they were women), instead of classical Arabic – like a singular: يَكْلُونَ (ya’kulu-ha). In like manner, it is said of the seven withered ears of corn بَيْسَتْ (yabisit) (as a sound feminine plural for reasonable beings للعاقل / li-l-‘aqlil), i.e., women and not بَيْسَةٌ (yabisa – like a feminine singular لغير العاقل / li-gayr al-‘aqlil) for not reasonable beings). So, too, in numerous other passages of the Koran.}

Finally, one should not fail to mention in favor of the Arabic commentators that \textit{Tabari} (loc.cit.) also explains طَمَّتُ (tamiit\textsuperscript{a}) in the meaning of “to touch,” as Blachère likewise translates it. With reference to the \textit{white grapes} of Paradise, this understanding would be correct. However, with regard to the intended \textit{ḥūrs} this expression is only a euphemism.

Thus the previously cited verse is to be understood according to the Syro-Aramaic reading as proposed at the outset.

The related Verse 58, as correctly translated by Paret (449), [“They are (so radiantly beautiful), as if they were hyacinths and corals. / Sie sind (so strahlend schön), wie wenn sie aus Hyazinth und Korallen wären.”], accordingly refers not to the \textit{ḥūrs}, but to the \textit{grapes} and the other \textit{fruits} of Paradise.

\textit{Sura 55:70, 72, 74}

فيهن خيرات حسان / حور مقصورات في الخيام
لم يطمثهن إنس قبلهم ولا جان

(Bell II 552): 70. “In them are (damsels) good and beautiful. 72. Wide-eyed, restrained in the tents. 74. Whom deflowered before them has neither man nor jinn.”

34. “(They will have) high-climbing (wine) bowers, 35. these we have had grow tall, 36. and made into first fruits. 37. chilled and juicy.”

_Sura 78:33_

This verse offers us a kind of _second selection_ on the subject _ḥūrī_ in the Koran. Verses 31-34 may be cited in this connection:

أَن لِلمتقين مَفَازَةً / حدائق واعنباء
وِكَوَاعِبُ أترباء / وكاسا دهاقا

(Bell II 630): 31. “Verily, for the pious is a place of felicity, 32. Orchards and vineyards, 33. And full-breasted (ones) of equal age, 34. And a cup overflowing, …“


Verses 32 and 34 show that the pious will have _gardens_ and _wine bowers_ as well as _brimming wine cups_. In this context one has to wonder how the houris (who are not named) suddenly appear with swelling bosom (Paret) or as “full-breasted” (Bell). Here the misinterpreted expression _كَوَاعِبُ (kawā‘ib)_ is genuinely Arabic. In _Tabarî_ (XXX 18) it is explained by mutual agreement as “buxom women.” The _Lisān_ (I 719a) explains the verb _كَعَبُ_ as follows: _كَعَبُ_ (ka‘ab means, _in speaking of a vessel or whatever: to fill it_). In Arabic one seems to have transferred this meaning to women’s breasts. The meanwhile generally accepted notion of the _ḥūrīs_ appears to have so fired the imagina-
tion of the commentators that this property has now also been ascribed to the “young, pretty” and “passionately loving” virgins of Paradise.

Yet this interpretation, which is unworthy of the Koran, is driven *ad absurdum* by the Koranic context itself. To the extent that the اترا (attrāba, or atrāba) following كوعب (kawā'ib) was explained as “juicy” (fruits), it can already no longer be a question of “full-breasted (ones) of equal age.” Only “fruits” can be meant by this expression, if need be, such fruits considered as “full vessels.” This understanding is suggested namely by other Koran passages, for example, in Sura 43:71, where there is talk of *golden platters and goblets*, and in Sura 76:15, of *silver vessels and chalices*. To be sure, the connection with *goblet, chalice or cup* is also present in this context, but nothing is said about bowls. Thus it is here more reasonable to assume that the two consecutive adjectives refer to grapes (or other fruits).

Therefore the expression كوعب (kawā'ib), misinterpreted as “swelling breasts,” should also now be understood in Arabic in the context of the verses 78:31-34 cited above as follows:

31. “The pious (will) (in days to come) (have) a place of felicity:338 32. Gardens and grapes, 33. and (indeed) lush, succulent (fruits), 34. and a *brimming-full* 339 (wine) cup.”

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338 Arabic ماض (mafaz) at first suggests a loan translation from a nominal form of the Syro-Aramaic root ṣ̣̄n (nṣḥ) (Thes. II 2437: [1] to shine, to beam; [2] to flourish, to become famous; [3] to win, to triumph). For the nominal form ماض (maṣṣhāna), Maṇa (461b) gives in the case of the causative stems ماض (nṣḥ) and ماض (nṣḥ) the following Arabic equivalents, among others: (3) ماض (mağada, as'ada) (to glorify, to delight); (4) ماض (naṣara, zaflāra) (to bestow victory on, to help to triumph). The Koran renders the latter meaning with the synonymous noun ماط (mafa), but what it means by that in this context is the former (happiness, splendor). As a nomen loci it thus seems justified to render ماض (mafa) following the Syro-Aramaic semantics as a “place of bliss or of splendor.” Although Bell captures the proper meaning with his translation (place of felicity), as opposed to the original Arabic meaning of ماط (mafa) (to be victorious), he does not give his reasons for doing so. Analogously, the other derivations of ماط (mafa) (foz / fawz / فوز, فئزون / راز) occur-
16. THE BOYS OF PARADISE

Now that the dream is gone of the hûrûs or virgins of Paradise, some may seek consolation in the conception of the remaining boys of Paradise, because there is allegedly also talk of such in the Koran. For this we need to look individually at the three verses in which they are named, that is, Sura 76:19, 56:17 and 52:24.

_Sura 76:19_

ويطوف عليهم ولدن مخلدون إذا رأيتهم حسبتهم لولوا منثورا

(Bell II 624): 19. “Round amongst them go boys of perpetual youth, whom when one sees, he thinks them pearls unstrung.”

(Paret 493): 19: “Ewig junge Knaben (wildânun muḥalladānā) machen unter ihnen die Runde. Wenn du sie siehst, meinst du, sie seien ausgestreute [Note: Oder: ungefaßte (?)mantūr] Perlen (so vollkommen an Gestalt sind sie).”

(Blachère 629): 19 “Parmi eux circuleront des épèbes immortels tels qu'à les voir tu les croiras perles détachées.”

Two expressions are crucial for the proper understanding of this verse: (a) the noun ولدن (wildân), and (b) the participial adjective مخلدون (muḥalladūn) (both in plural).

Only Paret draws attention to the dubious meaning of these parenthetical expressions. In so doing he has rightly put in question the existence of “boys of perpetual youth” in Paradise, whereby the Koran, moreover, would deviate in a further point from the conception of Paradise in the Scripture. That this, though, is in fact not the case, the following philological analysis will attempt to prove.

First of all it was established from a purely formal point of view that the participial form مخلدون (muḥalladūn) only occurs twice in the Koran and, indeed, precisely in connection with these “eternal boys,” whereas the forms خالدون (hālidūn) and خالدين (hālidīn) occur 25 and 45 times,
respectively, in the same meaning of "eternally living." This is no accident. If the Koran conspicuously makes this distinction, there must be a reason for it.

The next suspicious element is the circumstance that in this verse as well as in Verse 52:24 the Koran compares these boys to "pearls." This causes one to sit up and take notice since the Koran, after all, at other times compares "white grapes" to "pearls," as the analysis of the ḥūris has shown.

We would thus have two important clues to help us solve the riddle. But here, if one considers the meaning of the central expression upon which everything depends, the task is not that easy. In other words, how can one make "boys" into "grapes"? Specifically, the word ولدُن (wil-dān) has not been misread; it is genuinely Arabic and as such rules out other interpretations.

Yet here, too, the Syro-Aramaic proves helpful. Under the etymologically corresponding רְבָּא (yalda) (child; that which has been born) the Thes. (1 1594) in fact lists for the expression רְבָּא יִלְדָּא (yalda da-ḡbettā) the following references from the New Testament: Mt. 26:29, Mk. 14:25, and Lk. 22:18. These three passages refer to the Last Supper at which Christ took leave of his disciples. In this context it is said that after Christ had blessed the bread and distributed it among his disciples, he raised the chalice, gave thanks and passed it to his disciples, saying (according to the Pšitā from Mt. 26:28): "This is my blood (that) of the new testament, which is shed for many for the forgiveness of sins. But I say unto you (now follows the Syro-Aramaic citation from Mt. 26:29):

דָּלָא עוֹלִיא בָּא יָלָדָא יִלְדָּא וְכָלִי חָלֶק וּפָרָשָה מִלִּין (d-lā oleh men ḥāša men ḥāna yalda da-ḡbettā ’dammā l-yawmā g-beh estii[ḥi] ’akon ḥattā b-malkûth d-ab[ṭj]).

"I will not drink henceforth from this "child" of the vine, since I will drink it new with you in my Father’s kingdom."

The Christian symbolism of the wine of Paradise can probably be traced to these well-known words from the Last Supper. Also based on this are the Christian notions of Ephraem the Syrian concerning the grapevines
of Paradise. For in the bliss of Paradise one is freed from earthly efforts. Here one need not trouble oneself about food and drink: the fruits and beverages themselves offer to the righteous.

This is why the active verb بُطْرُفُ (yatūf') is accordingly applied to the fruits and beverages of Paradise. This therefore does not imply that the task should be assigned to "boys of eternal youth." The expression "boy," moreover, has been falsely derived from the secondary meaning of the Koranic ولد (wildān). Primarily the root means ولد (walad) "to give birth to, to produce." In Arabic, the now familiar secondary meaning "boy, lad" has developed from the noun ولد (walad), a meaning, though, that the Syro-Aramaic ولد (yalda) does not have.

For the Koranic expression ولد (wildān) this is already reason enough not to adopt the Arabic secondary meaning "boy," or even less "young man," for that matter.

The meaning of the participial adjective مخلدون (muqalladūn), which Paret renders as "eternally" (young), could be applied without any problem to the fruits of Paradise to the extent that one can assume that these would be just as eternal as Paradise itself. However, we have established that this passive participle (of the second stem), which occurs only twice in the Koran, does not without reason stand out in opposition to the active participle (of the first stem), which occurs 70 times. Under this special form one should therefore expect to find a special meaning.

The following are some of the marks of quality attributed to the fruits of Paradise in the Koran: They are first fruits, to the extent that they are choice, pure, white; like jewels they are, among other things, compared to pearls; they are furthermore lush and juicy.

However, an equally essential characteristic has been previously overlooked in the Koran. That these fruits and beverages are iced can be at least indirectly inferred from the two-fold occurrence of the Arabic adjective بارد (bārid) (cold, cool) (Sura 56:44, 78:24). There, though, it is said of the Damned in Hell that they will receive nothing cool, but only hot things (to eat or to drink). With regard to Paradise itself, however, the expression بارد (bārid) is never used.

The reason for this is that the corresponding expressions are Syro-Aramaic. One of them has already been identified (cf. 256 above) with
arrāyē “cold, iced” (fruits or beverages) (in Sura 56:36 misread as uruba). A second synonym can be found in the misread spelling currently under discussion, مخلدون. That is to say, here the upper dot of the خ/h has been falsely placed. Namely, with the lower point ج/g, it yields the likewise Arabic but meaningful reading مخدلون (muḡalladūn), “iced” (fruits).

Now, inasmuch as the “iced fruits” that “pass” themselves “around” to the righteous are compared with pearls, it can be inferred that what is meant by these fruits are white grapes. As opposed to the “enclosed pearls” (still in the shell) (Sura 37:49; 52:24; 56:23), it is likely that what is meant by the participial adjective employed here منثورا (manjū-ra”) is instead pearls that are “scattered” (or “unmounted”) (Paret), loose, rather than connected to each other in a chain, and hence “dispersed” pearls.

The hitherto misread and as “boys of eternal youth” misunderstood ولد مخلدون (wildān muḡalladūn) is therefore in the context of Sura 76:19 to be understood as follows according to the Syro-Aramaic reading:

“Iced fruits (grapes) pass around among them; to see them, you would think they were (loose) dispersed pearls.”

The verses that now follow should also be understood accordingly.

342 The Thes. (I 724) cites under غلاد (ghilad) glacies precisely these two expressions as synonyms: راپا غلاد (‘aryā wa-ghilad) (cold, icy cold), غلاد (b-yūm arrāyā wa-ghilāyā) (on a cold and icy day = on a freezing cold day).

343 With reference to the Syrian lexicographers, the Thes. (I 2486) cites under aff. نات (nattā), besides the borrowed Arabic word نثر (nattā)n (to cause fruits to fall individually by shaking a tree), the meaning قطف (qatfān) (to pick). In current Arabic usage in the Near East the nominal form is نثر (natt/natā) “fallen fruit, windfall.” Applying the meaning of “pick” to لولوا منثورا (lu’lu’man mantūrā), say, in the sense of (freshly) harvested pearls, would appear, however, to be a bit too daring, since there is no evidence of such a use.
Sura 56: 17-19

(Translators 1754): 17. While round them circle boys of perpetual youth, 18. With goblets and jugs, and a cup of flowing (wine), 19. From which they suffer neither headache nor intoxication.


(Blachère 572): 17 “Parmi eux circuleront des éphèbes immortels, 18 avec des cratères, des aiguères et des coupes d’un limpide breuvage 19 dont ils ne seront ni entêtés ni envirés.”

It is not the “boys of eternal youth” that circle “with tankards, jugs, and cups,” but rather:

17. “Ice-cold (grape) juices circle among them 18. in goblets, pitchers and a cup from a spring 19. from which they neither get headaches nor tire.

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344 In Arabic the preposition بـ / bi means both with and in because the Koran does not always distinguish between بـ / bi and في / fī and the homonymous Syro-Aramaic preposition א / b can have both meanings.

345 Here the Syro-Aramaic מתרפף (etrapph) is meant (Thes. II 3961): remisir egit, segnis fuit (to tire, to become listless). The Koranic lettering has been misread. Instead of لا يئزرون (la yunzarun) it should read يئزرون (yuṭyarun) This Syro-Aramaic root has nothing to do with the Arabic نازف (nazaf) (to bleed).
17. The Analysis of Individual Suras

While the preceding examples have shown that individual misread or misinterpreted expressions have affected the understanding not only of a given word, but also of entire sentences and their interconnected contents, this applies to an even greater extent for entire Suras that have previously been so misread that, as a result, they have been given a fundamentally different sense. This may be illustrated on two succinct examples.

Sura 108
الكوير / “al-Kawthar”

The following interpretation of the Arabic Koran exegesis of this short Sura as presented in this article from the Encyclopaedia of Islam (vol. 2, Leiden, Leipzig, 1927) may serve as an introduction.

“KAWTHAR, a word used in Sūra 108:1 after which this Sūra is called Sūrat al-Kawthar. Kawthar is a faw’al form from kathara, of which other examples occur in Arabic (e.g. nawfāl; further examples in Brockelmann, Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik, I 344). The word, which also occurs in the old poetry (e.g. the examples in Ibn Hišām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 261, and Nöldeke-Schwally, Geschichte des Qorāns, I 92), means “abundance” and a whole series of Muslim authorities therefore explain al-Kawthar in Sūra 108:1 as al-Khār al-kathīr (see Ibn Hišām, op. cit.; al-Ṭabarī, Taṭsīr, XXX 180). But this quite correct explanation has not been able to prevail in the Taṭsīr. It has been thrust into the background by traditions according to which the Prophet himself explained Kawthar to be a river in Paradise (see already Ibn Hišām, p. 261 below, and notably al-Ṭabarī, Taṭsīr, XXX 179), or Muḥammad says that it was a pool intended for him personally and shown to him on his ascension to Paradise (see al-Ṭabarī, Taṭsīr, XXX 180), which latter view al-Ṭabarī considers the most authen-
tic. Even the earliest Sūras (77:41; 88:12 etc.) know of rivers that
flow through Paradise, but it is not till the Medīna period that they
are more minutely described, notably in, Sūra 47:15: “there are riv-
ers of water which does not smell foul: rivers of milk the taste
whereof does not change; and rivers of wine, a pleasure for those
that drink, and rivers of clarified honey.” These rivers correspond
to the rivers of oil, milk, wine and honey, which had already been
placed in Paradise by Jewish and Christian eschatology; the only
difference is that Muḥammad replaced oil by water; in Arabia pure
water was not to be taken for granted and besides it was necessary
to mix with the wine of Paradise (see Horovitz, Das koranische
Paradies, p. 9). When, after the Prophet’s death, eschatological ex-
planations of the “abundance” of Sūra 108:1 began to be made, al-
Kawthar was identified as one of the rivers of Paradise and when
we find in one of the versions quoted in al-Ṭabarī’s Tafsīr that “its
water is whiter than snow and sweeter than honey” or “and its wa-
ter is wine,” etc. we have obviously an echo of Sūra 47:15. But
they did not stop at simply transferring these Koranic descriptions
to the Kawthar but the imagination of later writers gave the river of
Paradise a bed of pearls and rubies and golden banks and all sorts
of similar embellishments. According to a later view (see Aḥwāl
al-Qiyāma, ed. Wolff, p. 107) all the rivers of Paradise flow into
the Hawd al-Kawthar which is also called Nahr Muhammed , be-
cause, as we have seen above, it is the Prophet’s own.“ (J.
Horovitz)

Before going into the philological analysis of this Sura, which has been
made into a legend in the Islamic tradition, it would be good first of all
to give the Koranic text and its understanding on the basis of the Arabic
exegesis with the traditional reading.

اننا أعطيناك الكوثر / فصل نريك وانحر / ان شانتئك هو الابتر

(innā aṣaynāka l-kawṭar / fā-ṣallī li-rabbika wa-nḥar /
inna šāni’aka huwa l-abbitar)
etymological correlatives of the Syro-Aramaic verbal root ָּ ה / ָּ ה (520a) (1. delevit, evvertit / to efface, to cancel, to exterminate) as follows: Hebrew לְתַל (ָּ) velavit (to veil), Arabic غطى ( ָּ ) textit (to cover), Accadian ּ ּ ּ ּ ּ obscurum esse (to be obscure). These etymological correlations make clear that the Arabic verb أعطى / ָּ , in the sense of “to give”, is not genuine Arabic, but a secondary derivation from the Syro-Aramaic verbal root ָּ ( ָּ ) > Arabic أعطى ( ָּ ) > IVth stem *أُتِّيُ ( ָּ ) ( ָּ ) ( ָּ ) ָּ > Arabic أعطى ( ָּ ).

The last sceptics may be convinced by the following evidence quoted in A. Jeffery, Materials for the History of the Text of the Qurʾān, 146 (codex of Ubai b. Kaʿb), Sura 20:36, where the canonical reading أعطيت ( ָּ ָּ ָּ ) (in the context – literally: “you are given” your request = your request is granted) is transmitted in this old codex as أعطيت ( ָּ ָּ ָּ ). Hence: أعطيت ( ָּ ָּ ָּ ) = أعطيت ( ָּ ָּ ָּ ).

357 This is not the unique secondary Arabic formation from a Syro-Aramaic verbal root. The Koran offers us two further secondary derivations from the Syro-Aramaic verbal root ָּ / ָּ: 1. From the IInd intensive stem ָּ / ָּ (to bring) (by secondary sonorization of the ָּ > ָּ) > Arabic أدأ / אֲדָ (in the Koran in the meaning “to bring, to give back” in the following passages: Suras 2:283; 3:75 [2x]; 4:58; in the vernacular Egyptian Arabic أدآ / אֲדָ means means = أعطيت [give me]); 2. From the most used Syro-Aramaic Afʾel stem ָּ / ָּ in the sense of “to bring”, the Koran forms by monophthongization of the diphthong ָּ > ָּ the IVth Arabic stem أدأ / אֲדָ (formally equal to the IIIrd stem), as it is attested in numerous passages with the same meaning. A further secondary derivation is to be found in the today’s spoken Arabic of Irak, where for example the imperative form أدأ / אֲדָ (give me) shows its derivation from the Syro-Aramaic intensive stem ָּ / ָּ (imperative أدא / אֲדָ-נ[ו] ) after the dissolution of the gemination of the medial radical by insertion of a preceding ָּ / ָּ , as it can be observed in a number of Arabic verbs borrowed from the Eastern (Mesopotamian) vernacular Aramaic, as it is relatively frequent e.g. in Mandaic (cf. Th. Nöldeke, MG, § 68).

This phenomenon can help to clarify the etymology of the Hebrew (and Old Aramaic) verbal root ָּ / ָּ (to give) as a secondary formation from Eastern Aramaic with a secondary first and third radical from the second intensive stem אֲדָ / אֲדָ + the enclitic object suffix of the first person singular –n(ו) or plural –n = * אֲדָ or * אֲדָ / אֲדָו, thereby accent-shifting on the last syllable and consequently dropping of the unaccented initial radical ָּ / ָּ,
From the preceding discussion the following reading and understanding has now resulted for Sura 108 according to the Syro-Aramaic reading:

(\textit{inna a\textsuperscript{yy}n\textsuperscript{u}k\textsuperscript{u} l-kaw\textsuperscript{a}t\textsuperscript{a} or al-kutt\textsuperscript{u}r /} f\textsuperscript{a}-sall\textsuperscript{u}r li-rabbik wa-ngar /} in s\textsuperscript{a}n\textsuperscript{u}k\textsuperscript{u} huwa l-ab\textsuperscript{a}t\textsuperscript{a}r)

1. “We have given you the (virtue of) constancy;
2. so pray to your Lord and persevere (in prayer);
3. your adversary (the devil) is (then) the loser.”

Christian Epistolary Literature in the Koran

This brief Sura is based on the Christian Syriac liturgy. From it arises a clear reminiscence of the well-known passage, also used in the compline of the Roman Catholic canonical hours of prayer, from the First Epistle General of Peter, Chapter 5, Verses 8-9 (according to the \textit{P\textsuperscript{S\textsuperscript{i}t\textsuperscript{t\textsuperscript{a}}}t\textsuperscript{a}}):

(a)nt\textsuperscript{n} > \textsuperscript{\textit{n}}\textsuperscript{\textit{n}} / nai\textsuperscript{n} > nt\textsuperscript{n} (hence no spirantization of the originally geminated \textsuperscript{\textit{n}} / t after the vocalized secondary \textsuperscript{\textit{l}} / n).

The end- \textsuperscript{\textit{l}} / l in the parallel Syriac variant \textsuperscript{\textit{D}} / n-t-l is the enclitic preposition \textsuperscript{\textit{D}} / l marking the dative (or indirect object), by analogy with the verb \textsuperscript{\textit{y}} / ya(h)b-l- (to give “to” someone). This formation has been nearly recognized by Stade (according to Th. Nöldeke, \textit{MG} 52, note 6: in \textit{Lit. Centralbl. 1873 Nr. 45, p. 1418}), who, however, sees in this end-\textit{l} (as well as Nöldeke) an assimilation of the end-\textit{n} of the previous form, that Nöldeke regards as a former original one. But in reality, both variants are parallel secondary formations depending on the use of the original verb: a) \textit{att\textsuperscript{a}} as ruling the accusative (or direct object), b) \textit{att\textsuperscript{a}} as ruling the dative by means of the preposition  \textsuperscript{\textit{D}} / l.

While C. Brockelmann does not quote this irregular form in his \textit{Lexicon Syriacum}, \textit{Mann\textsuperscript{a}} and the \textit{Thesaurus} adduce it in alphabetical order under  \textsuperscript{\textit{D}} / n. 
\textit{Mann\textsuperscript{a}} (470b) explains the fictitious verbal root *\textsuperscript{\textit{D}} / ntal as (\textsuperscript{\textit{m\textsuperscript{a}\textit{t\textsuperscript{a}}}t\textsuperscript{a}} / mun\textsuperscript{a}t\textsuperscript{a}) (died out); the \textit{Thees.} (II 2480) explains it as \textit{verbum defectivum} and compares it to Hebrew \textsuperscript{\textit{n}} / na\textit{nt} an and Eastern Aramaic: \textsuperscript{\textit{n}} / nt\textsuperscript{n} beside \textsuperscript{\textit{D}} / ntal (without further etymological explanation). In his \textit{Syrische Grammatik [Syriac Grammar]}, p. 128, Th. Nöldeke refers only to \textsuperscript{\textit{D}} / n-t-n as root of the Syro-Aramaic infinitive \textsuperscript{\textit{D}} / mettal, without further explanation.

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8 “Wake up (Brothers) and be vigilant, because your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour: 9 Whom resist steadfast in the faith.”

From this first evidence of Christian epistolary literature in the Koran it now becomes clear that it has previously been a mistake to connect the text of Sura 108 with any of the enemies of the Prophet Muḥammad, not to mention with the expressions the Koran has been accused of using in this regard, expressions which are unworthy of it. This text is without a doubt pre-Koranic. As such it is a part of that matrix out of which the Koran was originally constituted as a Christian liturgical book (Qurayš-ṣanā'), and which as a whole has been designated in Western Koran studies as the “first Meccan period.”358 The address in the second person in this as in other Suras is moreover not necessarily directed at the Prophet himself. Rather, as is customary in liturgical books, each believer is addressed in the second person.

As in the Roman Catholic compline, one can easily imagine these three verses as an introduction to an earlier Syro-Aramaic hour of prayer. Bell’s suspicion that it is a fragment from Sura 74 cannot be ruled out, since this Sura as well as Sura 73 with their call to bedtime prayer, i.e. to the vigils, read in part like a monastic rule.359 Whence there too the hitherto unrecognized Syro-Aramaisms, the explanation of which is being reserved for a future work.

Sura 96

A second prime example of a largely misunderstood text is Sura 96. In the Islamic tradition this is held to be the beginning of the prophetic revelation. Serving as the title is a keyword selected from the text, العلق

358 Cf. Nöldeke-Schwally, GdQ 1 74-117.
359 Cf. Tor Andræ, Der Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum [Christianity and the Origin of Islam] (Uppsala, 1926) 139: “The eschatological piety of the Koran is thus very closely related to the religious viewpoint predominant in the Syrian churches before and at the time of Muḥammed. This Syrian piety is actually a monastic religion… .”
(al-‘alaq), which until now has been falsely translated by “Clotted Blood” (Bell), “Der Embryo” (Paret), and “L’Adhérence” (Blachère). For purposes of comparison the following rendering of Paret’s translation (513 f.) ought to be sufficient.

Sura 96:1-19
العلق / “al-‘Alaq”

1: “Recite in the name of your Lord who has created, 2: has created man out of an embryo! 3: Recite! Your Lord is noble like nobody in the world [Note: literally, the noblest (one) (al-akramu)], 4: (He) who [Note: (Or) Your Lord, noble like nobody in the world, is the one who] taught the use of the calamus-pen [Or who taught by means of the calamus-pen], 5: taught man what (beforehand) he did not know.

6: No! Man is truly rebellious (yatgā), 7: (for) that he considers himself his own master (an ra‘āhu stagnā). 8: (Yet) to your Lord all things return (some day) [literally: To your Lord is the return].

9: What do you think, indeed, of him who 10: forbids a slave [Or: a servant (of God)] when he is saying his prayers (sallā)? 11: What do you think if he (i.e., the one?) is rightly guided 12: or commands one to be God-fearing? 13: What do you think if he (i.e., the other?) declares (the truth of the divine message) to be a lie and turns away (from it)? (That the latter is in the wrong should be clear.) 14: (For) Does he not know that God sees (what he does?) 15: No! If he does not stop (doing what he is doing) we will surely seize (him on Judgment Day) by the forelock, 16: a lying, sinful forelock. 17: May he then call his clique (nādh! 18: We shall (for our part) call the henchmen (of Hell) (? az-zabāniya). 19: No! Prostrate yourself (rather in worship) and approach (your Lord in humility)!”

The discussion of the underlined expressions will first of all be carried out verse by verse.

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the *leech* named after this property, also explain the following with this *nomen agentis* “clinger”:

(aw ṭūnā w-layšā d-dāḥqēn b-ūdā w-ʿasqēn l-metštūn)

The expression “clinger” designates either a “leech” “or the *clay* or *dough* that sticks to one’s hand and is difficult to wash off.”

With that, the expression علقم (*ʿalaq*) would be explained, since the property “sticky” is indeed used by the Koran in connection with “clay,” in one instance, in Sura 37:11 “we have created you out of *sticky* *clay*.” Adapted to the rhyme, the Koran is here using the synonymous Syro-Aramaic expression familiar to it. With من علقم من طين عالق = لازب (out of something sticky = sticky clay).

Verse 3: For the Arabic elative (absolute superlative) referring to God, الارم (*al-akram*), the meaning also common in modern Arabic, “honorable, admirable,” is actually adequate, especially since it is here precisely a question of the worship of God in the church service.

Verse 4: Because God has taught man بالفَضَّل (*bi-l-qalam*) “with the calamus reed-pen,” surely the most plausible explanation is the knowledge revealed through the scripture.

365 As a Syro-Aramaic substratum *al-Munṭiḏ fī l-luqā wa-l-ʾalam*, Beirut 1987, 526b, has recorded the expression العلقم (*ʿalaq*) in the meaning الارم الذي يعلق باليد (at-ṭūn al-laqf yaʿlaq bi-l-yad) (the clay that sticks to one’s hand). This meaning is missing in the *Lisān*.

366 Even though the meaning of the Arabic لازب (*lāzib*) “sticky, clinging” is actually clear, Paret (368) translates “of *pliant* [literally, consistent] clay,” [“aus geschmeidigem (W: konsistentem) Lehmu”], Blachère (475) “of solidified clay,” [“d’argile solidifiée”]; and Bell (II, 443), approximately, “of clay cohering.”
Verse 6: There begins at this point in the Sura, with كلا (kalla), 367 which has been misread in Arabic and misunderstood abruptly in the context as “No!”, a series of three adverbs, all of which mean the Syro-Aramaic حلة (kullâ) and which are, depending on the context, to be understood positively in the sense of “everything,” but negatively in the meaning of “not at all.” In this verse the كلا (Syro-Aramaic kullâ in the sense of Arabic كليا “kulliya”) belongs with the preceding م لا يعلم (mâ lam ya’lam), because in the Koran the sentence does not necessarily end with the rhyme. Hence this كلا is to be drawn into Verse 5, so that this verse will then be: “he taught man what he did not know at all.” 368

Secondly, Paret translates the verb طغي (tagâ) with “aufsässig sein [to be rebellious]” (Blachère: “L’homme ... est rebelle”; Bell: “man acts presumptuously”). Except for the secondary غ / ُغ there is, in itself, nothing Arabic about this verbal root.

Excursus

On the Etymology of the Verbal Root طغي (tagâ)

This verb is unusual in any Arabic dialect. Its use in modern Arabic is due exclusively to this misread Koranic word. The etymological Arabic equivalent is in fact the verbal root ضاع / dâ’a (generated by sonorization of the Syro-Aramaic emphatic ض / d with simultaneous sound-shifting). The Arabic غ / ‘ayn in ضاع / dâ’a makes clear that the diacritical point in طغي / tagâ has not any justification and that the original spelling طغي / ta’â renders truly the Syro-Aramaic verbal rootضاع / dâ’a.

The etymology is covered by the original meaning of both verbal roots (cf. C. Brockelmann, Lexicon Syriacum 282a, ضاع / dâ’a l. erravit [to go astray]) = Arabic ضاع / dâ’a (to get lost). According to the classical correspondence table of the Semitic sounds in C. Brockelmann’s

367 Paret begins the sentence with “Neein!”; Blachère sees in it a warning: “Prenez garde!”. Like Paret, Bell understands “Nay.”
368 The same sense has the Syro-Aramaic adverbial expression لا - لم / la-gmâr (Mamâ 112b: إبدا. قدّ. بنة: abadan, qatt, batta; C. Brockelmann, Lexicon Syriacum 121b: absolute, omnino [absolutely, completely, ever/never]).
Syrische Grammatik [Syriac Grammar] (p.15), the Arabic ض /đ can only correspond with a Syriac ظ /ṣyn. A classical example is Syriac ئارض /ard (earth). This is the classical rule. But that in the multiplicity of the Arabic (or common Aramaic) dialects a Syro-Aramaic emphatic  ⟩ can become occasionally an Arabic  /d by sonorization, this phenomenon has hitherto not been considered in the Semitic philology. A first example we had with Syro-Aramaic ئΕΔ (Eastern Aramaic trap) > Arabic ضرب (daraba [to strike, to hit]), from which there are three variants that illustrate the transition from Syro-Aramaic ئ /t into the Arabic ض /đ: a) طرف (tarafa < Western Syro-Aramaic ئ /traφ = traφ) (to hit, to touch the eye with something) (Lisān IX 213b, 11f.); b) طرب (tariba < Eastern Syro-Aramaic ئ /trap – with sonorization of the p > b) (to be touched emotionally = to be moved, to be delighted); c) finally with sonorization of the emphatic ط /t > ض /đ ضرب (daraba) (to strike).

The Koran offers a further example of a sonorized Syro-Aramaic emphatic ئ /t with the secondary Arabic verbal root ضرّ (darra) (to harm, damage) < Syro-Aramaic ئٌ (tra) (to strike, to push – 7 further variants in C. Brockelmann), that C. Brockelmann, Lexicon Syriacum 287a, compares with the actually from Syro-Aramaic truly borrowed Arabic Verb طرأ (tara’a), the tertiae hamza of which is nothing but a fictitious pronunciation imagined by the Arab philologists. Not only the apparent restriction of this verb to the first stem and its semantics field to one general meaning (to break in, overtake, befall) shows that it is borrowed, but also the fact that the Arab lexicographers did not observe that its VIIth stem إضطرّ (ittarra/itturra) (to be forced, compelled), according to its original meaning, does not fall under the root ضرّ (darra) (to damage), but under طرأ (tara’a = tarā), according to the meaning of Syro-Aramaic ئٌ (tra) (to push away, to repel) and its reflexive stem ئٌ (ettra). That the secondary Arabic form ضرّ (darra) is derived from the Syro-Aramaic ئٌ (tra), shows C. Brockelmann (op. cit.) by the same specific meaning quoted under 6.: offendit (to harm).

The second element that shows the perplexity of the Arab Koran readers is the variable reading of the alternative writing of the nominal form of the verbal root ضرّ (darra), depending on its spelling with or
cept some onomatopoetic verbs in Arabic, as /\textit{ta'\textquoteright\textquoteright a} (to stammer), /\textit{ta\textquoteright\textquoteright a} (to bow one's head) and the glottal stop in spoken Arabic in /\textit{l'}/ la\textquotesingle, la\textquoteleft = lā (no), perhaps also in the case of a softened ع /\textit{'ayn as in بدأ/ bada\textquoteright a < بدغ < بدغ < methatesis of Syro-Aramaic  
حذمة/ \textit{bad} (to create),\footnote{This sense is attested in the Koran in Sura 2:117 and 6:101 /badr as-samāwāt wa-l-arḍ = Syro-Aramaic حَمَّة حَمَّة = Creator of the heaven and the earth. The secondary Arabic verb بدأ/ bada\textquoteright a, with the secondary common meaning “to begin”, has in the Koran partially the original meaning of “to create”, as it arises e.g. from Sura 7:29 /kāmā badākūm or bada\textquoteleft akum ta\textquoteright tudūn (As He created you, you will turn again) (Bell I 139 translates: “As He began you, ye will come again”).} it can be said that with regard to the Koranic orthography the Koran does not know a III' (tertia\textipa{e} hamza).

Much graver is however the addition of the by no means justified hamza after an end-alif, as far as such an \textit{alif} in Syro-Aramaic can designate at least three different categories:

a) The ending of a \textit{status emphaticus} masculine (be it a noun or an adjective), as e.g. شفاء (traditional reading:  
\textit{šīf̱a\textquoteright un} – Sura 10:57; 16:69; 17:82; 41:44) \textlt; Syro-Aramaic  
\textit{šēpyā} or šp̱yā (clearness, purity); the same Syro-Aramaic form  
\textit{hēpyā} or ẖp̱yā = Arabic هدى /hudan or هداية / hidāya (leading, guidance) shows how arbitrary the traditional different reading of the alternative spelling of these both words in Sura 41:44 as “hudan wa-šīf̱a\textquoteleft an” is, since both words, according to the same Syro-Aramaic origin, are to read likewise as “hudā wa-šifā” (after dropping of the unaccented Syro-Aramaic y before the emphatic end-ā).

The superfluous end-hamza can also distort a genuine Arabic adverb, as in Sura 12:16, where it is said of Joseph’s brothers:  
وجاء اياهم عشاء ي يكون (Bell I 219: \textit{They came to their father in the evening, weeping}), whereas the adverb “in the evening” occurring four times in the Koran (Suras 19:11,62; 30:18; 40:46) as عشيا (\textit{ašīyān}) and not عشاء (\textit{išā\textquoteleft an}), should had call the attention of the Arab readers to the fact, that the latter original spelling, without the
end-hamza, was to read غشًا يبكون (giššan yabkūn) "fallaciously weeping".

b) All cases of the Arabic feminine elative with an end-"alif" reflect truly the ending of the Syro-Aramaic *status absolutus* feminine with an end-ā and are consequently to read without the superfluous end-hamza, as, e.g., صفراء (yellow) in Sura 2:69, that is to read adequately safrāš (as in spoken Arabic) and not صفراء (traditional reading: safrāʾu). The early Arab grammarians were obviously aware of this morphology, in so far as they declared such an ending as ممنوع من الصرف / mammūʾ min as-ṣarf (banned as to the inflection = indeclinable). Later grammarians may have interpreted this rule as partially declinable (rendered in the Western Arabic grammars by the term diptotic) and added to this purpose the fictitious end-hamza. This concerns as well the following plural endings.

c) The plural ending, corresponding to the Arabic plurals of the types: أفعال / fuʿalaʾ and أفعال / afūlaʾ, are to value same wise. All these unjustified additions are an invention of the Arab philologists subsequent to the creation of the classical Arabic grammar in the second half of the eighth century and later. As far as such forms occur in the Arabic poetry, this linguistic-historical criterion would provide a terminus post quem (= a quo) as to the origin of the corresponding poetical works. Further morphological formations of the classical Arabic grammar, borrowed from Syro-Aramaic, will be demonstrated with some examples from the early Arabic poetry in a forthcoming study.

*Continuation of Sura 96:6*

Since it became now clear that طغي (fāḡā = ṭaʾā) (with all other Koranic derivations) is a borrowing from the Syro-Aramaic يله (fāaʾ), its meaning can consequently be found among the equivalent semantics field appropriate to this context. It follows from the context that the meaning to be retained is the one cited in Mannā (289b f.) under (ناسی) (6)
(to forget). Accordingly, this verse does not say “man is rebellious,” but “man forgets.”

Verse 6: First of all, the result of the above misunderstood ليطغى (la-yatga) was that the particle following it, إن, was misread as ذا (that) instead of اين (when). The personal suffix for the verb رى (ra'-hu – properly: رى-hu) has been correctly understood reflexively from the context. This usage happens by chance, of course, not to be Arabic, but Syro-Aramaic.

Secondly, however, in the case of the next verb استغنى (istağnah), it is not “considers himself his own master” that is correct, but rather the alternative that Bell proposes (II 667) in note 4: “he has become rich.”

The verses 6-7 are accordingly:

“In truth, man forgets when he sees that he has become rich.”

Verse 7: In the first place, it should now be clear that this understanding yields a conjunction أن (anna) (that) introducing a dependent clause. The hitherto misunderstood context, however, has caused the syntactical unity of this sentence construction to be so torn apart that one made this dependent clause into an independent main clause introduced by the intensifying particle إن (inna).

Secondly, from this misunderstanding the need arose to interpret the Arabic verbal noun الرجى (ar-rag'â – rather ar-rag'â) in no other way than the general sense of “return to your Lord.” If one considers the new understanding, however, then this “return,” referring to the “man who has become rich,” is to be understood as the “return” or “repatriation” of this circumstance unto God, which man “forgets” to the extent that he, in accordance with a familiar human experience, no longer thinks

370 Cf. Th. Nöldeke, Syrische Grammatik [Syriac Grammar] § 223: “The personal pronouns must also express the reflexive wherever this function is not already performed by the verbal form... That is, very often one uses يدنا (nafša) “soul,” and less frequently مينه (qiṣna) “person” with the personal suffixes for the exact expression of the reflexive relationship...” In Arabic the only way to express the reflexive is by means of the equivalent expressions نفس (nafs) and حال (ḥāl). Accordingly, إن ر آه (in ra'-hu – properly: râ-hu) in Arabic should have properly been إن رآي نفسه (in ra'ā nafsahu).
Syro-Aramaic particle אַל / aw occurs. An example of this is provided by Sura 3:128:

ليس لك من الامر شيء او يترب عليهم أو يعذبهم فانهم ظلمون

Paret (55) renders this verse as follows:

"— it is not for you (to decide) the matter — or to turn again to them (mercifully) or (else) to punish them. They are (indeed) wrongdoers."

The Lisân (XIV 55a) explains the particle أو / aw here in the sense of "until he takes pity on them" or "unless God takes pity on them" (حتى) يترب عليهم وإلا أن يترب عليهم. However, according to the Syro-Aramaic understanding of the conjunction אַל / aw the verse says:

"It should be a matter of indifference to you whether (God) takes pity on them or dooms them to death (by fire): they are (in any case) wrongdoers."

(b) On the Usage of the Particle أ / a in the Sense of إن / in (if)

The list that the Thes. (I 48) supplies, by way of the East Syrian lexicographers, on the usage of the Syro-Aramaic conjunction אַל (aw) is interesting in this regard. Under the eight occasionally occurring functions Bar Bahlul gives the meaning כנ (כנת) (if). This in turn coincides with the explanation provided by Kisaṭ (953-1002), cited in the Lisân (XIV 55a), that أو (aw) may also occur conditionally (قال الكسائي وحده: وتكون ) شرطا.

The Solution of Verses 9 to 14

On the basis of this excursus, the following new interpretation emerges for these verses:

9-10. The first إني رأيت is to be understood in the sense of إني رأيت (in ra‘ayt) (if you see). Accordingly, the double verse runs:
(laṭam\textsuperscript{a}) and ضرب (darab\textsuperscript{a}) (to strike). On the other hand, the explanation that follows, وسع بناصيته: جدب وأخذ وقبض ("to seize" by the "forelock"), is based on the false understanding of "forelock." What is meant by "to strike," however, is "to punish" in a figurative sense (in modern Arabic usage, as well). It is likely that here as an exception the final ن /-n stands, in place of the final ن /-a, to mark the energicus, which requires the pronunciation as with nunation. A parallel to this is provided by Sura 12.32 (وليكونا / wa-l-yakūna\textsuperscript{a}).\textsuperscript{374}

It is astounding that, of our Koran translators, not one has objected to the expression "forelock" (Paret "Schopf," Blachère "toupet"). Yet, what is meant here by the spelling ناصية (except for the secondarily inserted / ə/) is Syro-Aramaic دمحم (nāṣāwā). For this, the Thes. (II 2435) first gives the meaning: contentiosus, rixosus (contentious, quarrelsome) (said of a woman, as in Prov. 21:9,19; 25:24). From the Syrian lexicographers it then cites, in addition to further Syro-Aramaic synonyms, the following Arabic renderings: مقاوم . مخاصص (opponent, adversary).

But more amazing than this is the discovery that, over and over again, even the Lisān (XV 327) explains the root نصا (nāṣa), documented in earlier Arabic, as a denominative of ناصية (nāṣiya), presumably misunderstood in Arabic as "forelock, shock of hair," even though the ḥadīṯ of Āʾīśa that it cites actually makes the Syro-Aramaic meaning clear. Namely, therein Āʾīśa is recorded as saying: لم تكن واحدة من نساء النبي تناتزيين غيرة زينب (none of the wives of the Prophet quarreled with me except for Zaynab). Although the Lisān then explains this as: أي تنازعني ونباريني (i.e. "she quarreled with me, she opposed me"), it traces this explanation back to the circumstance that in doing so the two women, so to speak, "got into each other’s hair" (وهو أن يأخذ كل واحد (من المتنازعين بناصية الآخر), or more exactly, "seized each other by the scruff of the neck." It can be seen from this how little the later Arabic philologists have understood the earlier Syriacisms and Aramaisms.

The following understanding therefore results for Verse 15:

“If he does not stop, we will (severely) punish the adversary.”

In the same way as for ناصية (nāsiya, but actually nāssāya), the apparent feminine ending for كتبة (kāhiba, actually kaddābā) and خاطية (ḥāṭīa, actually ḥattāyā) is nothing other than the phonetic rendering of the Syro-Aramaic emphatic ending. Therefore, Verse 16, modeled on Verse 15, is to be understood as follows:

“The denying, sinful adversary.”

17. The expression ناديه (nādiyahu), which occurs here, must be redefined. The “clique,” as Paret translates the expression in the modern Arabic sense of “club, association,” (Bell: “council”; Blachère: “clan”), is out of the question. Inasmuch as the facultative medial ١/اًل/ین in ناديه, according to the Eastern Syro-Aramean orthographical tradition, can occasionally designate a short a, the spelling yields the Syro-Aramaic ماء (nādyeh or naddāyeh). As a nomen agentis this form leads us to the intensive stem ماء (naddā), whose primary meaning the Thes. (II 2291) gives as “commovit, concussit, terrefecit” (to agitate, to shake, to scare off). Applied to the idols that are probably meant here, this would result in the meaning “of the one who arouses fear” (i.e. whom one fears as a god). The Thes., however, then refers to a further form: “Partic. ماء” (m-naddē) vide infra.” The expression that is found further down (2292) ماء جواب (škātā wa-m-nad-dayā) ([something or someone] disgusting and repulsive) brings us closer to the sense we are seeking. The Arabic meanings that are cited by مان (431b) under ماء (ancy) are informative: (١) ابغض (to hate, to detest), (٢) مقت (to reject, to disown), (٣) نبذ (to make dirty, to besmirch), (٤) يزك حصر (to scare away, to frighten). All these meanings lead namely to the “unclean spirit” or “idols” designated with synonymous expressions in Syro-Aramaic (cf., e.g., Thes. I 1490, under ماء “impurus, immundus”; ἀκάθαρτος of daemonibus, Matt. 10:1,...; further under ماء / ماء : pollutio, res quae pollut = idolum, Exod. 8:26, Deut. 7:26, Jer. 32:34; de idolatriis, Deut. 20:18...; in connection with this, the following expression [1491], documented in the Koran
with أنداد [andād]. أَتْهَرَاهَا [nafīdū] [impurity] also becomes a designation for أَتَكَرَّهَا [ptarkrē] [idols], etc.).

Thus, with the tertium comparationis discovered via Syro-Aramaic, Verse 17 is to be understood as follows:

“May he then call upon his idols [literally: impure ones]!”

18. The expression الزبانية (until now pronounced az-zabāniya) is still considered a puzzle. The misreading of the preceding verbal form in the first person plural سِدَع (sa-nād‘u) is of course responsible for one’s seeing in this incomprehensible expression in Arabic the “henchmen” (of hell) that God will allegedly call in. However, if we transcribe the original spelling (without the secondary ُ / ً) into Syro-Aramaic, the result is the reading أَزْبَنُ (zabnāyā). As the adjective from أَزْبَن (zabnā) (time), this simply gives us, according to the Thes. (I 1079) under أَزْبَن (zabnāyā), the meaning: temporalis, temporarius, haud aeternus (temporal, transitory, not eternal). This designation is a perfect match for the (transitory) “idols” of the (God-) denying adversary. It is to this extent only logical that the verbal form سِدَع is to be read in the third person (sa-yad‘u). This results in the following understanding for Verse 18: “... he will (only) call upon a transitory (god)!“

375 The translation of the Koranic plural أَنْدَاد (andād) by (gods) “of his own kind,” as our Koran translators render it, trusting in the Arabic commentators (e.g. Paret at Sura 2:22), is therefore false.

376 In Jeffery, Foreign Vocabulary 148: “The guardians of Hell.”

377 This would be justified as an appellative by the word determined by the Arabic article قَالَ / al. The Koran, however, does not always orient itself according to the Arabic norm, and so it often happens that the Koran also leaves out an article required by Arabic, as in Sura 95:5, where what is seen in Arabic as an indeterminate (and therefore as a false) genitive of the status constructus is considered as determinate (and as correct) in Syro-Aramaic. Variations in both directions are to be observed in the Koran, so that criteria of Arabic as well as of Syro-Aramaic grammar must be taken into account depending on the context. Cf. for example the variants in the old codices edited by Arthur Jeffery, Materials for the History of the Text of the Qur’an, Leiden 1937, p. 178 (Codex of Ubai b. Ka'b), Sura 95:5, where سَفْلَين (sāfīlīn) is transmitted with the article قَالَ / al السَّفْلَين : “as ‘Ibn Mas‘ūd.” The
19. Although the third and last can be read in Arabic as *kalla* (*no*) in connection with, and as intensifying, the negative imperative that follows it, in Syro-Aramaic (*kulla*) it has the meaning of “*(not) at all.*”

In addition to the actual Syro-Aramaic meaning of “*to bow*” (as an external sign of respect), one should also assume for the Arabic borrowed verb *ṣaqad* (سَقَدُ / *ṣeq̣ḍ*) the metaphorical meaning of “*to worship God*” (*Thes.* II 2522, “metaph. adoravit Deum”).

The Arabic borrowed verb *iqtarab* (ِاقترُب) has in this context a quite particular content that the general Arabic meaning “*approach*” (without object or reference) is not able to provide. As a translation of Syro-Aramaic *etqarrab* (*etqarrab*) the *Thes.* (II 3724) gives us (in particular as a reflexive or intransitive verb) the specific meaning that fits here, as follows: “spec. *celebrata est liturgia* (to celebrate the liturgy); it. *Eucharistiam accepit* (to receive the Eucharist). The latter meaning is logically to be assumed provided that one as a believer takes part in the *celebration of the Eucharist.* The term points in any case without a doubt to the participation in the “*sacrifice of the mass,*” in the “*celebration of the Eucharist*” or in the “*communion liturgy.*”

Those that this unambiguous explanation shocks are invited to refer to the Arabic dissertation mentioned in the Foreword (ix, note 4) (part I, chapter 4, “Religious Customs and Rites Among Christian Arabs Before Islam,” 89).

In sum, the result of this philological discussion is the following reading and understanding for Sura 96 according to the Syro-Aramaic reading:

العلق

( *al-ʿalaq* ) The Clay (Literally: the “sticking”)

اقرأ باسم ربك الذي خلق

(*iqraʾ b-ismi rabbik “l-ladī ḥalaq*)

1. *Call* the name of your lord who has created,

خلق الإنسان من علق

(*ḥalaq “l-insān “mīn ʿalaq*)

Same occurs in the following Sura 96:16: “He read the nasīya al-kāhiba al-ḥātī’a). So Abū Ḫāṣīn.”
2. (who) has created man from *sticky* (clay);

اقرأ وربك الأكرم

(*iqrā wa-rabbak* "l-akram"

3. *call* (indeed)*378* your *most admirable* Lord,

الذى علم بالقلم

(*al-lāḏī *allam* "bi-l-qalam"

4. who has taught by the reed pen (i.e., the *scripture*),

علم الإنسان ما لم يعلم كلا

(*allam* "l-insān* mā lam ya’lam kullā"

5. has taught man what he did *not* know *at all*.

أن الإنسان ليطعى

(*in or ēn : al-insān* "la-yat’ā"

6. Verily, man *forgets*,

إن راه استغنى

(*in or ēn *ri-hu stağnā"

7. *when* he sees that he has *become rich*.

أن إلى ربك الرجعى

(*ann* "ilā rabbik* r-raq’ā"

8. *that* (this) is *to be returned* to your Lord.

أريت الذي ينهى

(*a-rayt* "l-lāḏī yanhā"

9. *If* you *see* one who (wants) to stop*379*

عبد إذا صلى

(*`abd* "idī šallā"

10. a worshipper (of God) (from praying) when he is praying,

أريت أن كان على الهدى

(*a-rayt* "an kān* `alā l-hudā"

11. do you think (perhaps) *that* he is on the right path,

أو أمر بالتقوى

(*aw amar* "bi-t-taqwā"

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378 Namely, in Arabic the conjunction *wa* also has an *explicative* function, including that of a more detailed explanation.

379 Syro-Aramaic *مهلة* (*kār*) is the supposed lexical equivalent for Arabic نهى (*nahā*). For this, *Marrā* (337b) cites in Arabic, besides نهى (*nahā, naftā*) (*to forbid*), also صدَّ (*saddā*, "āq") (*to hinder, to hold back*).
(wa-sğud wa-qtarib)

19. You ought not to heed him at all, perform (instead) (your) divine service\(^{382}\)
and take part in the liturgy of Eucharist.

According to this understanding, Sura 96 proves to be a unified composition having as its overall content a call to take part in the divine service. As such it has the character of a ḥātuṣṣī (<προοίμιον / proemium) introducing the Christian Syriac liturgy, which was replaced in the later Islamic tradition by the ḥāṭhā (<Syro-Aramaic ḥāṭhē / ptāḥā) (introductory prayer). That this liturgy is Communion is indicated by the final Syro-Aramaic term. An important task in the history of religion would be to find out which pre-Islamic Christian Syrian (or possibly Judaeo-Christian) community this was.

Now, if the Arabic tradition considers this to be the oldest Sura, one must concede that it is right to the extent that this Sura is, in any case, part of that nucleus of the Koran, the Christian Syrian origins of which cannot be ignored. Whether this is also the first that was revealed to the Prophet is probably based on a later legend grown out of the misinterpretation of the opening verse. Arguing in favor of its being very probably pre-Koranic, i.e., much more pre-Islamic, is its language, hitherto perceived as mysterious and puzzling. For it is precisely this language with its unadulterated expressions that reveals to us its venerable origins.

One such expression is the Arabic اقترب (iqtarab\(^a\)) borrowed from the Syro-Aramaic verb اقترح (etqarrab). As a technical term of the Christian Syrian liturgy it gives us a valuable, hitherto unexpected insight into the origins, not only of the oldest parts of the Koran in terms of the history of religion. For only this expression opens our eyes to a parallel occurring in what is held to be the last Sura revealed, Sura 5 (The Table), a parallel whose actual importance in terms of the history of religion has in a similar way been ignored until now. Between this term and the "table" that Jesus, the son of Mary, requests of God in Sura

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\(^{382}\) Literally: Bow (instead) (to honor God). As a terminus technicus, سجد (sağad\(^a\)) here means "to hold divine service."
“that it may become ours as liturgy.” for the first and the last of us,” and which, in Verse 115, God sends down from heaven, threatening any who would deny it (فمن يكفر (fa-man yakfur)) with the severest of all punishments (هناك أعداء لا أعدبه (him I shall punish in such a way as I shall punish no man), there exists a connection insofar as both clearly allude to the liturgy of Communion, whose importance was misjudged in later Islam and has since been totally forgotten. This central item in the Christian components of the Koran is, in any case, of eminent importance in terms of the history of religion.

If any should doubt, however, the importance of the Christian Syriac liturgical term (iqtarab (اقترب)) (to take part in the liturgy of Communion, to receive the Eucharist), they may refer to the Arabic dissertation mentioned in the Foreword (p. iii, note 4) where the author (89), in the fourth chapter of the first part of her work, “Religious Customs and Rites of Christian Arabs Before Islam,” refers to the Arabic compilation (al-Ağāni) (vol. II 107) of Abū I-Farağ al-İsfāhānī (d. 356 H./967 A.D.), who reports of عدي بن زيد (Adī ibn Zayd) (d. circa 590 A.D.) and هند بنت النعمان (Hind bint an-Nu'mān) (d. after 602 A.D.) how they went on Maundy Thursday into the church of al-Ḥira (located southwest of the Euphrates in modern-day Iraq) ليعبروا "(li-vataqarrabā) "to take part in the celebration of the Eucharist" (or to receive the Eucharist).

In the corresponding passage in the كتاب الأغاني (Kitāb al-ağāni) (Book of Songs) Abū I-Farağ al-İsfāhānī (d. 967) cites the traditional

383 The true meaning of the term عيد (ʿīd), which occurs as a hapax legomenon in the Koran, has until now been overlooked. Brockelmann, Lexicon Syriacum (515b), explains the derivation of Arabic عيد (ʿīd) in the meaning “feast” as the phonetic rendering of the common Aramaic pronunciation of ʿīdā (ʿīdā > ʿīdā). As a faithful rendering of the Syro-Aramaic ʿīdā (ʿīdā), however, the Koranic term has accordingly, in addition to the original meaning of “practice, custom,” the meaning of “liturgy,” which is clear here from the Koranic context. Cf. also the Thes. II 2827: Valet etiam ʿīdā (ʿīdā) ritus, caeremonia (rite, ceremony).

account of the pre-Islamic Christian Arab poet ‘Adī ibn Zayd living in al-Ḥira according to which he had gone on Maundy Thursday into the church of al-Ḥira لِيَتَقَرَّبُ (li-yataqarrab) “to take part in the celebration of the Eucharist” (or to receive the Eucharist) On this occasion, he wanted to see Hind, the daughter of the last of the Laḥmids’ kings of al-Ḥira, النعَمَان / an-Nuʿmān III (580-602), who had gone to the aforementioned church تَتَقَرَّبُ (tata-qarrab) “to take part in the celebration of the Eucharist.”

Thus, this liturgical term is already historically documented in the 6th century even from the Arab side as a Syro-Aramaic ecclesiastical term of the Christian Arabs of Syria and Mesopotamia.

385 This term is still used among the Arabic speaking Christians of the Near and Middle East.
18. RÉSUMÉ

The importance of the Koran in terms of the history of religion and cultural history is a generally acknowledged fact. Although its role as a mediator between a more than thousand-year Aramean civilization and the Arabic culture it ushered in has been recognized, the Aramaic language’s share in the process has not been sufficiently appreciated. That is why opinions have differed ever since on the interpretation of its contents and of its mysterious language. This is first of all due to the interwoven composition of the Koran text, but secondly to the linguistic approach of the Arabic Koran exegesis, which from the beginning can

386 The findings made in the meantime as to the Relics of Syro-Aramaic letters in Early Koran Codices in Hijāzī and Kūfi Style, mentioned above and partially shown in this study, provide a further concrete evidence for the existence of a proto-Koran written in Garshuni / Karshuni (i.e. Arabic with Syriac letters) corroborating the intimate connection between the Koran and the Syro-Aramaic culture. This may confirm the assumption expressed by Yehuda D. Nevo and Judith Koren in their collective work: Crossroads to Islam. The Origin of the Arab Religion and the Arab State, Amherst, New York (Prometheus Books), 2003, p. 328, especially note 2:

“We cannot tell if the resulting Arabic texts were actual translations of the original Syriac ones; more probably they were formulations in Arabic of Judaean-Christian ideas known from Syriac texts.”

That with al-ingil (the Gospel), mentioned in the Koran, the Syriac Diatessaron (the so-called Gospels Harmony, a chronological disposition of the four Gospels arranged by the Syrian Tatianos, presumably in the second half of the second century) is meant, Jan M.F. van Reeth says in his essay “Le Coran et ses scribes [The Koran and its Scribes]” in: Acta Orientalia Belgica (published by the Belgian Society of Oriental Studies, ed. by C. Cannuyer, A. Schoors, R. Lebrun), vol. XIX, Les scribes et la transmission du savoir [The Scribes and the Transmission of Knowledge], ed. by C. Cannuyer, Bruxelles, 2006, (p. 67-81), p. 73, 21 ff.:

“Ce constat s’ajoute à la théorie de Luxenbruck tout en la renforçant: le livre sacré que lisait la communauté de Muḥammad, était un livre en syriaque [This conclusion is to be added to the theory of Luxenbruck, reinforcing it: the holy book that was read by the community, of which Muḥammad was a member, was a Syriac book].”

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be characterized as unsuccessful. It was this that was finally decisive in steering the interpretation of the Koran in a direction that was not intended by the Koran at all.

I. The Language of the Koran

The Arabic philologists themselves realized that the language that the Koran calls *Arabic* for the first time differs essentially from the later Classical Arabic language, the ʿArabīya. Contrary to the earlier assumption of a dialect of Arabic spoken in Mecca, the present study has shown that, insofar as the Arabic tradition has identified the language of the Koran with that of the Qurayš, the inhabitants of Mecca, this language must instead have been an Aramaic-Arabic hybrid language. It is not just the findings of this study that have led to this insight. Namely, in the framework of this study an examination of a series of *hadith* (sayings of the Prophet) has identified Aramaisms that had either been misinterpreted or were inexplicable from the point of view of Arabic.

This would lead one to assume that Mecca was originally an Aramean settlement. Confirmation of this would come from the name *Mecca* (*Macca*) itself, which one has not been able to explain etymologically on the basis of Arabic. But if we take the Syro-Aramaic root ܐܡܟ (māk, actually makk) (*lower, to be low*) as a basis, we get the adjective ܡܟܟ (mākkā) (*masc.*), ܡܟܟ (mākkā) (*fem.*), with the meaning of “(the) *lower* (one).” Topographically, this adjective would designate a place located in a *low-lying area* or in a *valley*, which indeed is also the case for Mecca. As opposed to this ܪܡ (rāmā) (*masc.*), ܪܡ (rāmtā) (*fem.*) “(the) *high* (one)” *(the upper one)* designates a place located on a *rise, a hill or a mountain*.387

However, because the *Thes.* (II 2099 ff.) usually gives the figurative sense for this root, this should also be taken into consideration. For instance, among other things the *Thesaurus* (2100) cites the expression ܕ�������� (dōkkyā mākkā) with the explanation: *agri minoris*

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387 Thus, for example, the city located near the Syrian border in modern-day Jordan, ܐܪ-ܪܡ (ar-Raṁtā) = Syro-Aramaic ܪܡ (rāmtā).
pretii (low-quality farmland). This meaning would find confirmation in Sura 14:37; there namely Abraham says:

ربنا أني أسكنت من ذريتي بواد غير ذي زرع عند بيتك المحرم

“Lord, I have settled (some) of my offspring in a barren valley near your holy house.”

Thus both Syro-Aramaic meanings would fit Mecca and would at the same time suggest that it was an early Aramaean settlement.388 The

388 As for بكة (allegedly: Bakka) in Sura 3: 96, although until now this has been taken to be a second name for Mecca, in reality it is here a question of a misread verbal form. The verse from Sura 3: 96 runs:

أن أول بيت وضع للناس للذي بكة مباركا وهدى للعلمين

This has been understood by our Koran translators as follows:

(Bell I 54): 90. “The first house founded for the people was that at Bakka [i.e. Mecca], a blessed (house) and a guidance to the worlds.”

(Paret 52): „Das erste (Gottes)haus, das den Menschen aufgestellt worden ist, ist dasjenige in Bakka [Note: D.h. Mecca], (aufgestellt) zum Segen und zur Rechtleitung für die Menschen in aller Welt (al-ʾalamān).“

(Blachère, 88): 90/96 En vérité, le premier temple qui ait été fondé, pour les Hommes, est certes celui situé à Bakka [Note 90: Autre forme de Makka = la Mekke], [temple] bénir et Direction pour le monde (ʾalāmin).

Thus, our Koran translators are following, without hesitation, the interpretation given in Tabari (IV 9 f.), according to which this word, inexplicable from the point of view of Arabic, has therefore to be (applying the tried and true method) a second name for Mecca. As justification, Tabari etymologically derives this word from the (no longer commonly used) Arabic verbal root بَكَأ (bakā) (to press, to push) and applies this to the district of the Kaʾba around which the pilgrims “pressed” in circling it. The name Bakka would thus designate the shrine, whereas Makka would designate the surrounding houses, i.e., the city itself, and not, as others believed, the other way around.

In the case of the misread spelling بكة (supposedly bi-Bakka = “in Bakka”), it is in fact a question of the Syro-Aramaic verbal root تَكَأ (tākā) in the paʿel form, تَيَشَ (tayyāš), whose meaning مانى (Mannā) (832b) renders in Arabic under (4) as حد (ḥaddadā) (to surround), سبج (sayyāğ) (to enclose), أحاط (alāṭa) (to surround with a wall). The Theis. (II 4406f.) refers, among other things, to Deuteronomy 12:8, where it is said that in building a house its roof should be surrounded by a balustrade وتَجُ (tyajā). The only word preserved from this root in Arabic is the substantive دكة (tikka) (dialectally / dikka / ḏakke) (a cloth
of contributing substantially to the understanding and clarification of the language of the Koran than the systematic reference to the so-called *Old Arabic poetry*, which has in many cases driven the exegesis further off the track than before such reference.

Other inferences could also be drawn concerning the origin of the language of the Koran, but it would be premature to do so on the basis of these individual findings since theses based on such grounds could prove to be fallacious. Only a comprehensive philological explanation of the text of the Koran would provide an objective foundation for further conclusions.

II. The Oral Tradition

The unsuspected extent of the misreading that has come to light in connection with numerous Koran passages raises the question of the authenticity of the previously alleged oral Arabic tradition. In view of this, the thesis advocated so far in this regard can no longer be upheld. On the contrary, this necessitates the assumption from the beginning of a text transmitted in writing. The early Koran manuscripts still extant today in defective Arabic script make it clear even to a non-specialist that without a reliable oral tradition such a text would not have been easy to decipher even for a learned Arab. It is therefore understandable that the later Arab exegetes and philologists who had endeavored for generations to achieve a reasonably coherent reading of the Koran text were not up to the task inasmuch as they took as their starting point an understanding of language based on a written Arabic that was first standardized around the second half of the 8th century. This makes the numerous misreadings and misinterpretations of the Koran text comprehensible.

This determination, however, will have more impact on Koran studies than on Islamic studies. The task of Islamic studies will continue to be the concern with Islam as it has developed historically. For Koran studies, however, the task set is another. For it can now already be stated that the Koran exegesis in East and West has started out from historically false assumptions. This is evidenced not least by the Western Koran translations whose authors, though they always endeavored anew to
shed some light on the obscurities of the language of the Koran, could 
not conjure more out of it than the Arabic language as such was able to 
give.

III. Arabic Philology

This refers, above all, to the Persian Sībawayh (d. circa 796) as the 
founder of the grammar of the Arabic written language still valid today 
for standard modern Arabic. The Arabic philologists call their written 
language al-ʿArabiyya. In Western Arabistics it is designated as Classical 
Arabic. Essentially, this claim is traced back to the literary language’s 
preservation of three case endings from the hypothesized proto-Semitic, 
but also to the other sounds lost in colloquial Arabic, apart from particu-
lar syntactic structures.

In the course of their work, the Arab philologists based their reflec-
tions on the one hand on the Koran, as the first written monument, and 
on the other hand on the so-called Old Arabic poetry. Insofar as the lat-
ter, however, was not fixed in writing, one relied on the accepted oral 
tradition of the Arabian nomads, who, in particular, it was presumed, 
had preserved the so-called hamza, the stop in a medial or final position, 
from prehistoric times. But because a reliable oral Arabic tradition was 
likewise assumed for the Koran as well, the defective script of which – 
extcept for the original matres lectionis ġ and ḫ – had no vowel signs at 
all, once it was fixed according to the model of the so-called Old Arabic 
poetry, the course for the future was set. For the correct understanding 
of the Koran text, this circumstance was of crucial and, at the same time, 
of fateful historical significance.

For whereas one knew until now that the hamza and partly the alif 
had been inserted later on into the text of the Koran as a mater lectionis 
for long ʿ and the other vowel signs, one was nevertheless convinced 
that this had occurred on the basis of a reliable oral tradition. Beginning 
from the assumption of the downright phenomenal memory of the Arabs, 
who supposedly had orally preserved an impressive quantity of poetical 
works, one assumed as a matter of course that this was also the case for
the Koran, not only because it was the first, but even more so because it was the *holy Scripture* of the Arabs.

However, to this day nobody has dared to take seriously into consideration the occasionally expressed suspicion\(^{389}\) that the Koran text was *misread* and *distorted* not only by the introduction of the vowel signs, but especially by the subsequently inserted *diacritical points* that first established the *original consonant script*.

*IV. The Historical Error*

The findings of this first study, however, force one to conclude that the previous thesis of a reliable oral transmission of the text of the Koran stemmed from a mere legend.

According to the examples presented here, if the Arab philologists and commentators have even misread genuinely Arabic expressions, the only possible conclusion regarding the oral transmission of the Koran is obvious. If such a tradition existed at all, it must be assumed that it was interrupted fairly early on. In any case, the least conclusion that one can draw from this is that it has considerable gaps.

*V. The New Reading of the Koran*

If the above philologically underpinned analysis has demonstrated that on the basis of both philological and objective criteria the Koran text has

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\(^{389}\) Karl Vollers, for instance, in the conclusions of his work *Volkssprache und Schriftsprache im alten Arabien [Vernacular Language and Written Language in Ancient Arabia]* (184), voiced the opinion that “the way in which the Koranic language, which is based on imitation, is praised by posterity as genuine *‘Arabiya* should be labeled by the historian as *counterfeiting.*” To correct a Koran text that has been misread in numerous passages, a critical edition of the oldest Koran manuscripts, as advocated, for example, by R. Blachère (*Introduction au Coran* 196) and from which he expects insights into the origins of the Arabic language, is certainly desirable. Yet, read properly, the basic form of the canonical Cairo edition of the Koran is already sufficient in itself to enable one to make far-reaching conclusions regarding this.
been misread and misinterpreted to a degree hitherto considered unimaginable, then the inevitable consequence is the need for a fundamentally new reading of the Koran. The findings of the present study have created the prerequisites for such a reading.

From this results an essential finding of this study, according to which the hitherto scarcely perceived importance of Syro-Aramaic lexicography has turned out to be crucial not only in providing evidence of actual Aramaisms (or Syriacisms) but also and especially in the determination of even the Arabic vocabulary of the Koran. To this extent it may not be too audacious to hope that with the method on which this work has been based the way has now been cleared for the creation of a new glossary of the Koran.
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s. also:
Robert Marzari
Arabic in Chains
Structural Problems and Artificial Barriers.
ISBN 978-3-89930-119-9

“What distinguishes Marzari’s work is his ability to explain complicated matters in clear and even entertaining language. Linguists often cut a poor figure here, given their propensity to gallop non-stop through the brushwood of grammar. Not so Marzari. He illustrates the potentials and limits of a language that over 300 million Muslims in the Middle East call their mother tongue, aside from the many others elsewhere in Africa as well as in Asia, who recite Arabic as the language of the Qur’an.” Wolfgang G. Schwanitz / Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin

Abit Yasar Kocak
Handbook of Arabic Dictionaries

This book is a brief guide to Arabic dictionaries. It aims on assisting learners of Arabic to cope with the difficulties that encounter with the various dictionary movements over centuries: Madrasah al-Taklībāt, a school established by al-Khalil; Madrasah al-Kāfiyyah, a school born out of the expansion of the poetry under the dominance of the “sā‘ī” (rhymed prose); and Al-Madrasah al-Abdjadiyyah.

Amr Hamzawy (ed.)
Civil Society in the Middle East
ISBN 978-3-89930-027-7

The internal Arab, Iranian and Israeli debates on civil society in the 1980s and 1990s have only partly found their way into Western studies on the issue. An analysis of the discursive structures of the local debates, which represents the major objective of the current edited volume, may help shifting the nexus of the academic discussion to Middle Eastern perceptions and actors. Amr Hamzawy analyses the Arab sociological and political discussion on civil society, depending on the intellectual literature of the last ten years. Asghar Schirazi distinguishes in his contribution between three central intellectual currents in Iran: Islamist, leftist, and liberal, each of which can be further subdivided. The article of Angelika Timm explores the historical development of the Israeli civil society and addresses some important spheres of civil activities.

www.schiler.de
Annegret Nippa / Peter Herbstreuth (ed.)
Along the Gulf
From Basra to Muscat – Photographs by Hermann Burchardt.
ISBN: 978-389930-070-3 / bilingual German-English

The book explores the Arabian Gulf around 1900 through the eyes of Hermann Burchardt, a man without a political mission and no economical interests, merely intended “to take up a picture”. Hermann Burchardt is the answer to various turn-of-the-century exoticisms, sobering people’s fantasies about the Orient. He saw the truth of photography in a sequential alignment of various perspectives as opposed to the single image. His mirroring aimed to create a tension as regards interpretation, appearing as curious as reality itself.

Ali Hassan Jama
Who cares about Somalia?
Hassan’s Ordeal - Reflections on a Nation’s Future
ISBN 978-3-89930-075-8

This book is about a Somali civil war and the fall of the Siad Barre regime. It is about how people living there at the time did really suffer from it as a result. Although it principally relates to a family, the book tells an applicable story of flight, provisional shelter and finally exile. It is also about the political history of Somalia and about Somali ethnicity in general; and the book discusses the future of the Nation and how international and regional powers are involved in playing their sometimes influential roles in its intricate and complicated political path. For Somalis, international observers, historians and scholars alike one hopes these few lines shall offer some ideas to ponder and some more food for thought.

www.schiler.de
Christoph Luxenberg, a scholar of ancient Semitic languages in Germany, argues that the Koran has been misread and mistranslated for centuries. His work, based on the earliest copies of the Koran, maintains that parts of Islam’s holy book are derived from pre-existing Christian Aramaic texts that were misinterpreted by later Islamic scholars who prepared the editions of the Koran commonly read today. ... Luxenberg’s radical theory is that many of the text’s difficulties can be clarified when it is seen as closely related to Aramaic, the language group of most Middle Eastern Jews and Christians at the time. The New York Times

Scholars of the first rank will now be forced to question the assumption that, from a philological perspective, the Islamic tradition is mostly reliable, as though it were immune to the human error that pervades the transmission of every written artifact. Hugoye – Journal of Syriac Studies

In the West, questioning the literal veracity of the Bible was a crucial step in breaking the church’s grip on power – and in developing a modern, secular society. That experience, as much as the questioning itself, is no doubt what concerns conservative Muslims as they struggle over the meaning and influence of Islam in the 21st century. But if Luxenberg’s work is any indication, the questioning is just getting underway. Newsweek International

This naturally leads to the most fascinating book ever written on the language of the Koran, and if proved to be correct in its main thesis, probably the most important book ever written on the Koran. The Guardian