

ANGELS IN ISLAM

**A Commentary with Selected Translations of
Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-
malā'ik* (*The Arrangement of the Traditions
about Angels*)**

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A loose-leaf from a MS of al-Qazwīnī's, *ʿAjā'ib fī makhlūqāt* (British Library)
Source: Du Ry, Carel J., *Art of Islam* (New York: Abrams, 1971), p. 188

0.1 Abstract

This thesis presents a commentary with selected translations of Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* (*The Arrangement of the Traditions about Angels*). The work is a collection of around 750 *ḥadīth* about angels, followed by a postscript (*khātima*) that discusses theological questions regarding their status in Islam.

The first section of this thesis looks at the state of the study of angels in Islam, which has tended to focus on specific issues or narratives. However, there has been little study of the angels in Islamic tradition outside studies of angels in the Qur'an and eschatological literature. This thesis hopes to present some of this more general material about angels.

The following two sections of the thesis present an analysis of the whole work. The first of these two sections looks at the origin of Muslim beliefs about angels, focusing on angelic nomenclature and angelic iconography. The second attempts to understand the message of al-Suyūṭī's collection and the work's purpose, through a consideration of the roles of angels in everyday life and ritual. The translation and annotated commentary that follow focus on angels mentioned in the Qur'an itself: Gabriel, Michael, Isrāfīl, the Angel of Death, the Bearers of the Throne, the Spirit, Ridwān, Mālik, the Guardians of Heaven and Hell, al-Sijill, Hārūt, Mārūt and the Sakīna.

The aim of the thesis is to open up the study of the angelic world of the *ḥadīth*, beyond the eschatological material and to show the vitality of Muslim beliefs about angels in Islamic tradition.

0.2 Declaration

I declare that I, Stephen Russell Burge, have written this thesis and that the work is my own. The thesis has been submitted to the University of Edinburgh for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy and it has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

S. R. Burge

0.3 Acknowledgements

There are a number of people who have helped me enormously during my doctoral studies and whom I wish to thank.

I am very grateful for the financial support of the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC), who have provided me with a Doctoral Studentship throughout my studies, which covered my fees, maintenance and a grant for a research trip. I would not have been able to complete this work without their generous financial support.

Firstly, I would like to thank Prof. Julia Bray, now of the Université de Paris VIII, for introducing me to al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik*. She also encouraged me greatly in my undergraduate studies at the University of St. Andrews.

A number of colleagues and staff in the Department of Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies have provided me with helpful comments on my work, but I would like to mention especially Dr. Ayman Shihadeh, Jokha Al-Ḥarthī and Samy Ayoub for their comments on my Arabic; Songul Mecit for helping me with my German; Margaret Graves for introducing me to Islamic Art and especially Saeko Yazaki and Alex Mallett who have both been a joy to work with and to know.

Special thanks go to my parents who have been extremely encouraging and supportive throughout my studies. My interest in Arabic and Islam began when we lived in Khartoum in the mid 1980s, but I doubt that they ever anticipated one of their children would be writing a thesis as a result.

I would like, especially, to thank my supervisor, Prof. Carole Hillenbrand OBE, for all her encouragement since we first met in 2003. I hope that she has been as fascinated as I have been by Al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik* and the weird and wonderful world of Islamic angelology. She has not only supervised my work, but encouraged me to publish and to develop as an academic, a researcher, a tutor and an individual; for that I am eternally grateful.

Above all, I would like to thank my wife, Laurelin. Our family has doubled since I began my studies and she has been happy to look after two young children on her own, whilst I worked long hours. She has also been willing to listen to me talking about angels in Islam for more than most could stand and has commented on all of my ideas and random thoughts. I could not have completed this thesis without her constant and steadfast support. I also thank, although they do not yet understand, my two children, Christian and Peter, who show me constantly that play is just as important as work.

0.4 Transliteration System

Arabic

The transliteration used in this thesis is a modified version of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*:

Consonants	ʾ, b, t, th, j, ḥ, kh, d, dh, r, z, s, sh, ṣ, ḍ, ṭ, z, ʿ, gh, f, q, k, l, m, n,
Vowels	ā, a, ī, i, ū, u,
Diphthongs	ay, aw
Feminine Endings	-a / at (in <i>idaāfa</i>)
Nisba adjectives	iyy
Definite article	al- / ‘l- [‘sun’ letters have not been assimilated]
Enclitics:	bi-‘l-

Case endings are only marked when necessary.

Common English names (such as Michael, Gabriel and Adam) have not been transliterated.

ان الملائكة تبسط أجنحتها لطالب العلم

السيوطي
الحابائك في اخبار الملائك

for

Laurelin, Christian and Peter

with love

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Introduction: Angels in Islam

1. Angels in Islam: Classical Islam and Previous Scholarship

In an article published in *The Muslim World* in 1937, the American missionary Samuel M. Zwemer commented: ‘The angelology of Islam is very extensive and has been treated only partially by western scholars, although it holds such an important place in the belief of popular Islam...’¹ There still remains a large gap in the scholarly literature on the role of angels in Islam, with only two early monographs available on the subject.² Admittedly, there are a number of studies in areas that include the angels, but none devoted exclusively to them. This is quite surprising as angels are a fundamental part of Islamic belief, as Sachiko Murata notes: ‘The Islamic concepts of creation, revelation, prophecy, the events that occur in the world, worship, the spiritual life, death, resurrection, and the central position of man in the cosmos cannot be understood without reference to angels.’³ In fact, belief in angels is necessary in Islam and their rejection constitutes *kufr*.⁴ This strong stance on angels can be seen quite clearly in the Qur’ān, for example: ‘Whoever is an enemy to God and His angels and His messengers, Gabriel, and Michael – surely God is an enemy

¹ Zwemer, Samuel M., ‘The Worship of Adam by Angels (With Reference to Hebrews 1.6)’ *MW* 27 (1937) pp. 115 – 127, p. 115.

² Eickmann, Walther, *Die Angelologie und Dämonologie des Korans im Vergleich zu der Engel- und Geisterlehre der Heiligen Schrift* (New York & Leipzig: Verlag Paul Eger, 1908); Eichler, Paul Arno, *Die Dschinn, Teufel und Engel im Koran* (Leipzig: Klein, 1928). These are both focused on the Qur’ān rather than than *ḥadīth*; there is also a short, but fairly basic, article on Jewish, Christian and Islamic angelology: Bishop, Eric F. F., ‘Angelology in Judaism, Christianity and Islam’ *ATR* 46 (1964) pp. 142 – 154.

³ Murata, Sachiko, ‘The Angels’ in Seyyed Hossein Nasr (ed.), *Islamic Spirituality: Foundations* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987) pp. 324 – 344, p. 324.

⁴ Belief in angels features in many of the credal statements: cf. Al-Ash‘arī §1 & 24; al-Ṭahāwī §20 & 24; *al-Fiqh al-akbār* II §1; Al-Qayrawānī §28 and al-Nasafī §23; Watt, W. Montgomery, *Islamic Creeds* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994) pp. 41, 43, 52 – 54, 62, 72 & 83. In the contemporary world, disbelief in angels is still regarded as leading to *kufr*; for example, it was cited (fairly or unfairly) in the case of Naṣr Abū Zayd; see Najjar, Fauzi M., ‘Islamic Fundamentalism and the Intellectuals: The Case of Naṣr Ḥāmid Abū Zayd’ *BJMES* 27 (2000) pp. 177 – 200, p. 194.

to the unbelievers.⁵ Angels, then, are an integral part of the Islamic worldview and deserve attention.

Despite the lack of a single monograph exploring angels in Islamic thought, it would be inaccurate to suggest that there has been no scholarship on the subject. The roles of the angels in specific mythic events (such as the prostration of the angels to Adam) and their role in the eschatological works (including the *miʿrāj*) have been discussed, albeit not always in much depth. Angels encompass a range of different areas of study: Qurʾānic and *Ḥadīth* studies, accounts of the *miʿrāj* and Islamic eschatology, notions of popular religion and discussions in systematic theology (*kalām*) and philosophy. Although not the focus of one work, Islamic angels have often been featured in all of these areas of Islamic Studies.

1.1 The Study of Angels in Previous Scholarship

There has been no study on the development of Islamic angelology, but there have been a number of works on the origins of Muslim beliefs about angels. These have focused on two main areas: (i) the Jewish or Christian provenance of particular angels or narratives involving angels and (ii) the development of Islamic angelology and its relation to pre-Islamic religion, both usually relating to the study of the Qurʾān.

⁵ Q 2:97; Arberry, A. J., *The Koran Interpreted* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 12; cf. Q 2:161, 177, 285 and 4:136; see also Abdel Haleem, M. A. S., 'Qurʾan and Hadith' in Tim Winter (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Classical Islamic Theology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) pp. 19 – 32, p. 27 and Boubakeur, Hamza, *Traité moderne de théologie islamique* (Paris: Editions Maisonneuve & Larose, 1985) pp. 63 - 71.

That the Qur'ān is the principal source for Muslim beliefs about angels is undeniable, but a number of scholars have attempted to analyse and find the origins of specific Qur'ānic narratives. Sometimes the association of angels in Islam, such as Gabriel, with their Jewish or Christian antecedents are quite obvious and were also acknowledged in mediaeval Islamic sources.⁶ Western studies of the foreign vocabulary of the Qur'ān, particularly Arthur Jeffery's study of 1938,⁷ attempted to use these examples of non-Arabic vocabulary to locate the origins of Islam in a particular milieu.⁸ Similar source-critical methods were also used in the study of various Qur'ānic pericopes, originally as part of a broader polemic against Islam.⁹ More recently, the methodology has been used to understand the shared heritage of Jewish, Christian and Muslim stories, motifs and traditions more broadly.¹⁰ Steven

⁶ Cf. al-Zabīdī, Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Murtaḍā', *Tāj al-^carūs min jawāhīr al-qāmūs*. (Kuwait: Maṭba'at Hukuma al-Kuwayt, 1965 – 2001) vol. 28, pp. 45 – 4; see also Reichmuth, Stefan, 'Murtaḍa al-Zabīdī (D. 1791) in Biographical and Autobiographical Accounts. Glimpses of Islamic Scholarship in the 18th Century' *WdI* 39 (1999) pp. 64 – 102.

⁷ Jeffery, Arthur, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān* (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1938).

⁸ cf. Nöldeke, Theodor with Schwally, Friedrich, *Geschichte des Qorans* (Repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1962) pp. 6 – 20; Torrey, C. C., *The Jewish Foundation of Islam* (New York: Jewish Institute of Religion Press, 1933) and Bell, Richard, *The Origin of Islam in its Christian Environment* (London: Macmillan, 1926); prior to these, there were a number of more polemic studies, obvious examples include Geiger, Abraham, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen*. (Repr. Leipzig: M. W. Kaufmann, 1902); Tisdal, William St. Clair, *The Original Sources of the Qur'ān* (London: SPCK, 1905) and Speyer, Heinrich, *Die Biblische Erzählungen im Qoran* (Repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1988).

⁹ These polemic works often attributed 'sources' to the Qur'ān without much analysis. They often made connections between the Qur'ān and Jewish or Christian works simply on account of a similar theme. The establishment of parallels in source criticism was also popular in Old Testament Studies, where links were made between the Old Testament and Ancient Near Eastern texts. For a discussion of the problems of establishing parallels between two different texts, see Sandmel, Samuel, 'Parallelomania' *JBL* 81 (1962) pp. 1 – 13.

¹⁰ E.g. Newby, Gordon D., 'The Drowned Son: Midrash and Midrash Making in the Qur'an and *Tafsīr*' in William M. Brinner & Steven D. Ricks (eds.), *Studies in Islamic and Judaic Traditions* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986) vol. 1, pp. 19 – 32; Waldman, Marilyn Robinson, 'New Approaches to "Biblical" Materials in the Qur'ān' in Brinner & Ricks (eds.), *Studies in Islamic and Judaic Traditions*, vol. 1, pp. 47 – 64; Sachedina, Abdulaziz, 'Early Muslim Traditionists and their Familiarity with Jewish Sources' *Tafsīr*' in Brinner & Ricks (eds.), *Islamic and Judaic Traditions*, vol. 2, pp. 49 – 59; Halperin, David J., *The Faces of the Chariot: Early Jewish Responses to Ezekiel's Vision* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1988) pp. 467 – 476 and Wagtendonk, Kees, 'The Stories of David in al-Tha'labī's *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*' in Robert Mantran (ed.), *La signification du Bas Moyen Age dans l'histoire et la culture du monde musulman: Actes du 8^{eme} Congrès de l'Union*

Wasserstrom's work on the relationship between Islamic tradition and Jewish Pseudepigrapha is the best example of this type of approach in recent times.¹¹ These studies do not aim, as with the early polemicists, to establish a genetic link between the Qur'ān (as well as *ḥadīth*) and earlier Jewish works, but to explore the intricate relationships between Jews, Christians and Muslims in the early period of Islam.¹²

The secondary literature on narratives involving angels has tended to focus on the Qur'ān and its exegetical literature (including both *tafsīr* and *qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*). Taking the narrative of the angelic prostration to Adam as an example, it can be seen that some scholars look at the Qur'ānic accounts specifically,¹³ whilst others look at the narrative more broadly, but always with the Qur'ānic episode in mind.¹⁴ The earliest articles and studies on this Qur'ānic pericope attempt to find a 'source' for the story.¹⁵ William St. Clair Tisdall comments that the story: '...is doubtless

Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants, Aix-en-Provence, 1976 (Aix-en-Provence : Edisud, 1978) pp. 343 – 352.

¹¹ Wasserstrom, Steven M., *Between Muslim and Jew: The Problem of Symbiosis under Early Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995) and Wasserstrom, Steven M., 'Jewish Pseudepigrapha and Qīṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'' in Benjamin H. Hary, John L. Hayes and Fred Astern (eds.), *Judaism and Islam: Boundaries, Communication and Interactions: Essays in Honor of William M. Brinner* (Leiden: Brill, 2000) pp. 237 - 253.

¹² For example, Brannon Wheeler concludes in his study of Moses in *tafsīr* that early scholars actively used Jewish and Christian material: 'The Muslim exegetical use of the Torah, Gospel, and other non-Quranic sources does not appear to be a confused or haphazard "borrowing" of Jewish and Christian ideas.' Wheeler, Brannon M., *Moses in the Qur'an and Islamic Exegesis* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2002) p. 123.

¹³ Cf. Seligsohn, M., 'Adam' *EF*¹ vol. 1, p. 127; Zwemer, 'The Worship of Adam by Angels'; Pederson, J. 'Adam' *EF*² vol. 1, pp. 176 – 178; MacDonald, D. B., 'Malā'ika' 189; Husayn, Muhammad Kamil, 'Story of Adam' *MW* 54 (1964) pp. 4 – 13; Jung, Leo, 'Fallen Angels in Jewish, Christian and Mohammedan Literature' *JQR* 15 (1925) pp. 467 – 502; 16 (1926) pp. 45 -88; 171 – 205; 287 – 336; Schimmel, Annemarie, 'Creation and Judgement in the Koran and in Mystico-Poetical Interpretation' from Schimmel & Falatūri (eds.), *We Believe in One God* (London: Burns & Oates, 1979) pp. 148 – 180; Tottoli, Roberto 'Muslim Attitudes to Prostration (*sujūd*). 1. Arabs and Prostration at the beginning of Islam and in the Qur'an' *SI* 88 (1998) 5 – 34 and Mir, Mustansir, 'Adam in the Qur'an and Islamic Literature' *IC* 62 (1998) pp. 1 – 11.

¹⁴ Cf. Vadet, J.-C., 'La création et l'investiture de l'homme dans le sunnisme ou la légende d'Adam chez al-Kisā'ī' *SI* 42 (1975), pp. 5 – 38, pp. 27-28; Kister, M.J., 'Ādam: A study of some legends in *tafsīr* and *ḥadīth* literature' *IOS* 13 (1993) pp. 113 – 174; Chipman, Leigh N. B., 'Adam and the Angels: An Examination of Mythic Elements in Islamic Sources' *Arabica* 93 (2001) pp. 5 – 25; Chipman, Leigh N. B., 'Mythic Aspects of the Process of Adam's creation' *Arabica* 49 (2002) pp. 429 – 455 and Wasserstrom, 'Jewish Pseudepigrapha'.

¹⁵ Cf. Seligsohn, 'Adam' p. 127 and Pederson, 'Adam' p. 177.

borrowed from a misapprehension of Heb. i. 6...'¹⁶ More recent studies, however, have tended to treat the material interpretively. For example, M. J. Kister attempts to place the traditional *qiṣaṣ* literature about the prophets in the context of the Qur'ān, arguing that: 'The rich treasure of stories and traditions relating to Ādam, Ḥawwā' and their progeny is closely connected to the narrative verses of the Quran which deal with their creation, temptation, vicissitudes, and fate.'¹⁷ Likewise, Annemarie Schimmel is less interested in the sources of the narrative, but explores Muslim responses to the story in theology and mysticism.¹⁸ In Sufism, it is Iblīs that becomes an important subject; as Iblīs refused to bow down to something other than God, he comes to be seen, by some, as a kind of proto-Sufi and strict monotheist.¹⁹ Other commentaries have included a contextualisation of the narrative in its Arabian context,²⁰ thematic analyses and comparative approaches.²¹ However there is a tendency in all of these studies to discuss events and characters other than the angels; authors are interested in what the prostration says about Adam and humans more generally (or in the case of Sufism, Iblīs). There has, however, been relatively little work pursued on the role of angels in Islamic tradition more widely.²²

¹⁶ Tisdall, *Sources*, p. 196; cf. Speyer, *Erzählungen*, pp. 54 – 58 and Katsh, Abraham, *Judaism in Islam* (New York: New York University Press, 1954) pp. 32 – 33.

¹⁷ Kister, 'Ādam', p. 115.

¹⁸ Schimmel, 'Creation and Judgement' pp. 159 – 160.

¹⁹ The most notable example is al-Ḥallāj, Abū 'l-Mughīth al-Ḥusayn ibn Maṣṣūr, *Tawāsīn*; Massignon, Louis (tr. H. Mason), *The Passion of al-Hallāj: Mystic and Martyr – Vol. 3. The Teaching of Al-Hallāj* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982) pp. 282 – 326, especially pp. 306 – 316. See also Awn, Peter, *Satan's Tragedy and Redemption: Iblīs in Sufi Psychology* (Leiden: Brill, 1983) for a full discussion of this theme.

²⁰ Tottoli, 'Attitudes to Prostration'.

²¹ E.g. Mir, 'Adam in the Qur'ān' and Chipman, 'Mythic aspects'.

²² Islamic eschatology will be dealt with below.

The second focus of the secondary literature on the origins and development of angelology in Islam focuses on its relationship with pre-Islamic paganism.²³ The most notable studies have been by Joseph Chelhod, Jacques Waardenburg and Alford T. Welch.²⁴ These studies relate the development of Qur'ānic angelology to the decline of pre-Islamic paganism, with particular focus on the various verses of the Qur'ān that accuse the Meccans of angel and jinn worship.²⁵ There are a number of problems with this type of research. The idea that Arabian religion progressed from animism to monotheism, through various other stages (including polydaemonism, polytheism and panentheism) is based on the concept of religious evolutionism.²⁶ Religious evolutionism has been largely rejected by anthropologists of religion because of the results of anthropological research, as well as its strong imperialist overtones. Both Waardenburg and Welch approach Qur'ānic angelology on evolutionist lines, but their arguments frequently encounter problems. Welch, for example, bases his thesis on the chronological ordering of the verses of the Qur'ān and the historiographical and practical problems associated with this are well known.²⁷

²³ The Egyptologist Wallis Budge also suggests that Islamic angelology may be related to Egyptian polytheism; see Budge, Wallis E. A., *The Gods of the Egyptians* (repr. New York: Dover, 1969) vol. 1, p. 6.

²⁴ Chelhod, Joseph, *Les Structures du Sacré chez les Arabes* (Paris: G. P. Maisonneuve et Larose, 1965); Waardenburg, J., 'Changes of Belief in Spiritual Beings, Prophethood and the Rise of Islam' in Hans G. Kippenburg (ed.), *Struggles of Gods: Papers of the Groningen Work Group for the Study of the History of Religions* (Berlin: Mouton, 1984) pp. 259 - 290 and Welch, Alford T., 'Allah and Other Supernatural Beings: The Emergence of the Qur'anic doctrine of *tawhīd*' *JAAR* 47 (1979) pp. 733 - 758; see also Hawting, G. R., *The Idea of Idolatry and the Emergence of Islam: From Polemic to History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

²⁵ Cf. Q 34:40; 37:149 - 152; 43:19; 45:43 and 53:21.

²⁶ Evolutionist views consider societies to be '...in a process of evolution during which they became more complex and more rational and less simple and "primitive"; but some seemed to have got stuck at lower steps of the escalator.' Gellner, David N., 'Anthropological Approaches' in Peter Connolly and Ninian Smart (eds.), *Approaches to the Study of Religion* (London: Cassell, 1999) pp. 10 - 41, p. 10.

²⁷ Cf. 'It should be obvious from my summary of Nöldeke and Schwally's work that, plausible as their scheme may seem, it is based on very little hard-and-fast evidence. In fact, many of the surahs are

For those who argue from an evolutionist perspective, the Qur'ān uses angels in a larger polemic against polytheism, in which other deities become labelled 'angels' to prove that they have no power or authority. Their use in evolutionist arguments often leads to strange conclusions. For example, Welch states that: 'The angels become little more than symbols and extensions of divine power...'²⁸ Why is this surprising? This is exactly what angels are and what they are supposed to be. Welch believes that the Battle of Badr (or the changing of the *qibla*) marked a moment in which the angels moved from being conceived as humans to taking invisible forms.²⁹ Again, this is a misunderstanding of the angelology and the result of an attempt to place Qur'ānic angelology in a developmental scheme. A brief survey of Judeo-Christian literature shows that angels are often conceived in different ways, with both human and divine forms.³⁰ There is no reason to suggest that the use of two different iconographies marks a development in the angelology of the Qur'ān. Welch and Waardenburg fundamentally misunderstand angelology and attempt to force Qur'ānic angelology into a developmental scheme that does not necessarily exist.³¹

G. R. Hawting provides a different account of the use of angels in anti-polytheist polemic in his *Idea of Idolatry and the Emergence of Islam*. Hawting's general thesis in this work is that the Qur'ān is not directed towards Meccan

extremely hard to date accurately.' Robinson, Neal, *Discovering the Qur'an: A Contemporary Approach to a Veiled Text* (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1996) p. 80; for more on Western dating of the verses see pp. 76 – 96.

²⁸ Welch, 'Allah and Other Supernatural Beings' p. 750.

²⁹ Welch, 'Allah and Other Supernatural Beings' p. 748.

³⁰ See Section 2.2 for a discussion of these themes.

³¹ Other accounts of the origins and development of Arabian monotheism do not force angelology into a developmental framework; Watt's 'High God Theory' is the most notable; see, Watt, W. Montgomery, 'Belief in a "High God" in pre-Islamic Arabia' *JSS* 16 (1971) pp. 35 – 40, p. 40; see also Watt, W. Montgomery, 'The Qur'an and belief in a "High God"' *Isl.* 56 (1979) pp. 205 – 211 and Fahd, Toufic, *Pantheon de l'Arabie centrale à la veille de l'hégire* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1968).

polytheists, but rather, towards other monotheists. The direct reference to the *Banāt Allāh* (*Allāt*, *al-ʿUzza* and *Manāt*) obviously presents problems for this argument: if the Qurʾān is aimed at monotheists, who are these deities? In the final chapter of the book,³² Hawting argues that the *Banāt Allāh* are actually angels and that the Qurʾān is referring to angel-worship. Hawting argues that, like the *Banāt Allāh*, angels in Judaism are often female and associated with astral bodies.³³ However, there are a number of problems with his argumentation. Firstly, angels are rarely gendered in Judaism and even when they are given gender, they are usually conceived as being male. Secondly, the names of the *Banāt Allāh* are clearly native Arabic names, and are not in the standard form of Jewish and Christian angelic nomenclature.³⁴ Thirdly, Hawting does not take into account any angel-cults that existed in the Near East prior to the expansion of Islam.³⁵ Lastly, there is archaeological evidence that these goddesses did exist in other religions in the surrounding areas.³⁶ Hawting forces Qurʾānic angelology to fit into a larger construct, the same mistake committed by Welch and Waardenburg. These examples are important to consider (albeit very briefly), as they show the ways in which angels have been treated in Islamic Studies. Angelology in Islam is often an afterthought and has not tended to be considered on

³² Hawting, *Idea of Idolatry*, pp. 130 – 149.

³³ Hawting, *Idea of Idolatry*, pp. 146 – 147.

³⁴ See section 2.1 for a longer discussion of angelic nomenclature.

³⁵ Angelolatry was evidently a problem for the Early Church with the Council of Laodicea (343 – 381) explicitly banning the practice; see Canon §35: ‘Christians must not forsake the Church of God, and go away and invoke angels and gather assemblies, which things are forbidden. If, therefore, any one shall be found engaged in this covert idolatry, let him be anathema; for he has forsaken our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and has gone over to idolatry.’ Percival, Henry R., (tr.), ‘Synod of Laodicea’ in Henry R. Percival (ed. & tr.), *The Seven Ecumenical Councils of the Undivided Church* (Repr. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1960), pp. 123 – 160, p. 151.

³⁶ Cf. Healey, John F., *The Religion of the Nabateans: A Conspectus* (Leiden: Brill, 2001) pp. 80 – 119 and Ryckmans, Jacques, ‘Le Panthéon de l’Arabie du Sud Pré-Islamique’ *RHR* 206 (1989) pp. 151 – 170, pp. 155 – 156.

its own terms. Furthermore, angelology is frequently forced to fit within larger theses, leading scholars to come to false or contrived conclusions.

Beyond Qur'ānic Studies angels are most frequently discussed in the eschatological and *mi'raj* literature in which they play a key role. As with the study of angels in the Qur'ān and its exegesis the focus is not generally on the angels themselves. There is no need to outline the vast body of scholarship on Islamic eschatology,³⁷ but it should be noted that there are three main areas of study within the field: (i) the events of the *eschaton*,³⁸ (ii) death and personal eschatology,³⁹ and (iii) the ascent literature, including Muḥammad's *mi'raj*.⁴⁰

³⁷ For a good overview, see Chittick, William C., 'Eschatology' in Nasr (ed.), *Islamic Spirituality: Foundations*, pp. 378 – 409; Hermansen, Marcia, 'Eschatology' in Tim Winter (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Islamic Theology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) pp. 308 –324 and Danner, Victor, 'The Last Days in Judaism, Christianity and Islam' in Arvind Sharma (ed.), *Fragments of Infinity: Essays in Religion and Philosophy - A Festschrift in Honour of Professor Huston Smith* (Bridport: Prism, 1991) pp. 63 – 86; as well as various articles in encyclopaedias, e.g. Gardet, L., 'Kiyāma' *IE*, vol. 5, pp. 235 – 238; Leemhuis, F., 'Apocalypse' *EQ* vol. 1, pp. 111 – 114; and Lewinstein, Keith, 'Gog and Magog' *EQ*, vol. 2, pp. 331 – 333.

³⁸ Cf. Makino, Shinya, *Creation and Termination: a semantic study of the Structure of the Qur'anic World View* (Tokyo: The Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies, 1970); Galloway, D., 'The Resurrection and Judgment in Qur'an' *MW* 12 (1922) pp. 348 – 372; Kinberg, L., 'Interaction between this world and the after world in Islamic tradition' *Oriens* 29 (1986) pp. 285 – 308 and Bashear, Suliman, 'Muslim Apocalypses and the hour: a case-study tradition re-interpretation' *IOS* 13 (1993) pp. 75 – 99.

³⁹ O'Shaughnessy, Thomas, *Muhammad's Thoughts on Death* (Leiden: Brill, 1964); Smith, Jane I., and Haddad, Y. Y., *The Islamic Understanding of Death and Resurrection* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1981); Casanova, Paul, *Mohammed et la Fin du Monde: Étude Critique sur l'Islam Primitif* (Paris: Librairie Paul Geuthner, 1911); Gardet, Louis, *Dieu et la Destinée de l'Homme* (Paris: Librairie Philosophique, 1967) pp. 237 – 257; Smith, Jane I., 'Reflection on aspects of immortality in Islam' *HTR* 70 (1977) pp. 85 – 98 and *eadem*, 'The understanding of *nafs* and *rūh* in contemporary Muslim considerations on the nature of sleep and death' *MW* 69 (1979) pp. 151 – 161

⁴⁰ Cf. Vuckovic, Brooke Olson, *Heavenly Journey, Earthly Concerns: The Legacy of the Mi'raj in the Formation of Islam* (London: Routledge, 2005); Nünlist, Tobias, *Himmelfahrt und Heiligkeit im Islam: Eine Studie unter besondere Berücksichtigung von Ibn Sīnā's Mi'raj-nāmeḥ* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2002); Asin Palacios, M., *La Escatología Musulmana en la Divina Comedia: Seguida de la Historia y Crítica de una Polémica* (Madrid: Escuelas de Estudios Árabes de Madrid y Granada, 1943) also available in translation: Sutherland, H. (tr.), *Islam and the Divine Comedy* (London: John Murray, 1926); El-Azma, N., "Some notes on the impact of the story of the *Mi'raj* on Sufi literature", *Muslim World* 63 (1973) pp. 93 – 104; Morris, James Winston 'The Spiritual Ascension of Ibn 'Arabī and the Mi'raj – Part I' *JAOS* 107 (1987) pp. 629 – 652 & 108 (1988) pp. 63 – 77; van Ess, Josef, 'Vision and Ascension: *Sūrat al-Najm* and Its Relationship with Muḥammad's *mi'raj*' *JQS* 1(1999) pp. 47 – 62 and Halperin, David J., 'Hekhalot and Mi'raj: Observations on the Heavenly Journey in Judaism and Islam' in John J. Collins & Michael A. Fishbane (eds.), *Death, Ecstasy, and Other Worldly Journeys* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995) pp. 269 – 288.

In addition to the work done on Islamic eschatology, Biblical and Jewish Studies have much to offer in regard to the theoretical approaches to angelology and beliefs about angels more broadly. These studies could be incorporated into Islamic studies with beneficial results and the discussions in Sections 2 & 3 below make much use of this material.⁴¹ A large number of works on angels are available, ranging from studies of Biblical⁴² and sectarian angelologies,⁴³ apocalypticism and eschatological literature.⁴⁴

To a lesser extent, angels have featured in theological and philosophical discussions in Islam. These usually focus on particular issues that were discussed in the mediaeval period, such as the status of angels in relation to humans;⁴⁵ or on the

⁴¹ Willem Bijlefeld has adapted some of these ideas; see, Bijlefeld, Willem A., 'Eschatology: Some Muslim and Christian Data' *ICMR* 15 (2004) pp. 35 – 54.

⁴² Olyan, Saul M., *A Thousand Thousands Served Him* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1993); Tavard, Georges, with Caquot, André & Michl, Johann, *Die Engel* (Freiburg: Herder, 1968) and Mach, Michael: *Entwicklungsstadien des jüdischen Engelglaubens in vorrabbinischer Zeit* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1992).

⁴³ Davidson, Maxwell J., *Angels at Qumran: A Comparative Study of 1 Enoch 1 – 36, 72 - 108 and Sectarian Writings from Qumran* (Sheffield: JSOT, 1992); Sullivan, Kevin P., *Wrestling with Angels: A Study of the Relationship Between Angels and Humans in Ancient Jewish Literature and the New Testament* (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Schäfer, Peter, *Rivalität zwischen Engeln und Menschen: Untersuchungen zur rabbinischen Engelvorstellung* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1975); Tuschling, R. M. M., *Angels and Orthodoxy: A Study of their Development in Syria and Palestine from the Qumran Texts to Ephrem the Syrian* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007); Rowland, Christopher, *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (London: SPCK, 1982) and Elior, Rachel, 'Mysticism, Magic and Angelology: The Perception of Angels in Hekhalot Literature' *JSQ* 1 (1993) pp. 3 – 53.

⁴⁴ Gruenwald, Ithamar, *Apocalyptic and Merkevah Mysticism* (Leiden: Brill, 1980); Himmelfarb, Martha, *Tours of hell: An Apocalyptic Form in Jewish and Christian Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983); Himmelfarb, Martha, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); Collins, John J., *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1998); there also a number of collections of articles, which are very useful, particularly, Collins & Fishbane (eds.), *Other Worldly Journeys*; Collins, John J. (ed.), *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre* in *Semeia* 14 (1979) and Bauckham, Richard, *The Fate of the Dead: Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Leiden: Brill, 1998). From a philosophy of religion perspective, see Culianu, Ioan P., *Psychanodia I: A Survey of the Evidence Concerning the Ascension of the Soul and Its Relevance* (Leiden: Brill, 1983).

⁴⁵ Jadaane, Fehmi, 'La place des Anges dans la théologie musulmane' *SI* 41 (1975) pp. 23 – 62; Lupti, Ibrahim, 'The Questions of the Superiority of Angels and Prophets between Az-Zamakhsharī and al-Baydawī' *Arabica* 28 (1981) pp. 65 – 75; Stern, S. M., *Studies in Early Ismā'īlism* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1983) and Webb, Gisela, 'Hierarchy, Angels, and the Human Condition in the Sufism of Ibn 'Arabī' *MW* 81 (1991) pp. 245 – 253.

use of angels by philosophers and theologians in a wider cosmology.⁴⁶ However, Islamic philosophy is not of great concern to the angelology of the *ḥadīth* and will not be considered as part of this thesis.

In general, the study of angels in Islam has been quite restrictive, with scholars only looking at angels as and when necessary. Angels have rarely been the primary focus of research and any discussion of them tends to be incidental to other wider issues. The study of angels has also been largely compartmentalised into specific areas: eschatology, Qur'ānic studies, exegesis, the *mī'rāj* literature, theology, philosophy and so on. Surprisingly, there has been virtually no study of angels in non-eschatological material. There does not appear to be any real reason for this and it simply seems to be an area that has yet to provoke much interest. One of the aims of this thesis is to open up the study of the angelic world of the *ḥadīth* beyond the eschatological material and to show the vitality of Muslim beliefs about angels in Islamic tradition.

The aim of this thesis is to present material about angels directly, rather than considering their position within a larger schematic framework. The two approaches to angels in Islamic Studies mentioned above have focused on the Qur'ān or its exegesis rather than Islamic tradition in general.⁴⁷ This thesis hopes to move scholarship away from Qur'ānic Studies, focusing instead on the role of angels in the *ḥadīth* literature more generally, using Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* as a basis from which to begin an exploration of Islamic beliefs about

⁴⁶ Cf. Netton, Ian R., *Allah Transcendent: Studies in the Structure and Semiotics of Islamic Philosophy* (Richmond: Curzon, 1994) and Sweetman, J. Windrow, *Islam and Christian Theology: A Study of the Interpretation of Theological Ideas in the Two Religions* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1947) Part I, vol. 2, pp. 75 – 79 and Burge, Stephen R., 'The Provenance of Suhrawardian Angelology' *ArOr* 76 (2008) pp. 435 – 457.

⁴⁷ To see a discussion of these two themes, see Burge, S. R., *Qur'ānic Angelology*. MSc. Dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 2004.

angels. Section 2 below will look at the origins and development of Islamic angelology, but without the constraints that have been placed upon it by scholars in the past.

In past scholarship the study of *ḥadīth* and *ḥadīth* collections by non-Muslims has tended to focus on the *isnād* and the authenticity of prophetic *ḥadīth*,⁴⁸ but more recently scholars have turned their focus to the development of the four *madhāhib* and the role of *ḥadīth* scholarship in this process.⁴⁹ However, the actual way in which *ḥadīth* collections have been put together has not really been addressed.⁵⁰ Andrew Newman's *The Formative Period of Twelver Shi'ism* is one of the only monographs to discuss and explore the meanings behind the structure and selection of *ḥadīth* in a collection.⁵¹ An analysis of the way in which *ḥadīth* are presented in a collection, and which sources the author has used will often reflect a compiler's intentions for a work. This thesis will attempt to understand the underlying message behind *al-Ḥabā'ik* and the ideas that al-Suyūṭī wished to convey when he compiled it, through an analysis of the *ḥadīth*, their themes and the sources of the work.

⁴⁸ E.g. Goldziher, Ignaz, (tr. S. M. Stern), *Muslim Studies* (repr. London: Aldine Transaction, 2006); Schacht, Joseph, *On the Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1950); Horowitz, Josef, 'The Antiquity and Origin of the Isnād' in Harald Motzki (ed.), *Hadith: Origins and Development* (Ashgate: Variorum, 2004), pp. 151 – 158 and Robson, James, 'The *isnād* in Muslim tradition' *TGUOS* 15 (1953) pp. 15 – 26.

⁴⁹ Motzki, Harald, *Die Anfänge der islamischen Jurisprudenz* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1991); Melchert, Christopher, *The Formation of the Sunni Schools of Law* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), Dickinson, Eerik, *The Development of Early Sunnite Hadith Criticism* (Leiden: Brill, 2002) and Dutton, Yasin, *The Origins of Islamic Law* (Richmond: Curzon, 1999); Brown, Jonathan, *The Canonization of al-Bukhārī and Muslim* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

⁵⁰ There has, however, been structural analysis of narrative *ḥadīth* considered independently; e.g. Speight, R. Marston, 'Narrative Structures in the Ḥadīth' *JNES* 59 (2000) pp. 265 – 271.

⁵¹ Newman, Andrew, *The Formative Period of Twelver Shi'ism: Ḥadīth as Discourse Between Qum and Baghdad* (Richmond: Curzon, 2000). Newman argues that the three main early Shi'ī *ḥadīth* collections (of al-Kulaynī, al-Ṣaffār and al-Barqī) differed in content and arrangement, suggesting differing or competing statements about theological truth in Twelver Shi'ism; see pp. 193 – 201. A similar structuralist approach has been made by Hilary Kilpatrick in her study of the composition of the *Kitāb al-aghānī*; see Kilpatrick, Hilary, *Making the Great Book of Songs: Compilation and the author's craft in Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī's Kitāb al-aghānī* (London, 2003).

1.2 Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik*

The great Egyptian polymath Abū 'l-Faḍl 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr ibn Muḥammad Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī al-Khudayrī (849/1445 – 911/1505)⁵² was one of the leading scholars of his day, famous for both his wide knowledge and his contempt for contemporary scholars. His work is important, not simply because of his historical context, writing at the end of the classical period; but because his *œuvre* was vast, covering many different subjects: from linguistics and philology, to history, medicine, cosmology and zoology.⁵³ Al-Suyūṭī was well respected in his own lifetime (although to a lesser degree in Egypt and Cairo),⁵⁴ with evidence of his influence stretching from East Africa to India.⁵⁵ Al-Suyūṭī continues to hold an

⁵² For a biography of al-Suyūṭī (including his own autobiography *Al-Taḥadduth bi-ni'amat Allāh*), see Sartain, E. M., *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī: Biography and Background* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975) and Saleh, Marlis J., 'Al-Suyūṭī and His Works: Their Place in Islamic Scholarship from Mamluk Times to the Present' *MSR* 5 (2001) pp. 73 – 89.

⁵³ The number of works of al-Suyūṭī (including short tracts and *fatwās*) is not agreed, with estimates ranging from 550 – 980; see Jackson, Roy, *Fifty Key Figures in Islam* (London: Routledge, 2006) pp. 137 – 141; Geoffroy, E., 'Al-Suyūṭī' *EP* vol. 9, pp. 913 – 916 and Goldziher, Ignaz, 'Zur Charakteristik Gelāl ud-dīn us-Sujūṭī's und seiner literarischen Thätigkeit' *GS* vol. 1, pp. 52 – 73 (available in translation, see Hunwick, J. O (ed.) and Barry, Michael (tr.), 'Ignaz Goldziher on Al-Suyūṭī' *MW* 68 (1978) pp. 79 – 99).

⁵⁴ Marlis Saleh comments: 'It appears that this recognition was more readily granted by those who were separated from al-Suyūṭī by either time or distance.' Saleh, 'Al-Suyūṭī' p. 78 and Irwin, R., 'Al-Suyūṭī (849 – 911 / 1445 – 1505)' *EAL* vol. 2, p. 746. For a contemporary and negative assessment of his work see, al-Sakhāwī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, *Al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi' li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsi'* (Beirut: Dār al-Maktaba bi-'l-ḥayāt, 1966) vol. 4, pp. 65 – 71.

⁵⁵ For example, al-Suyūṭī is known to have had frequent dealings with scholars in East Africa; cf. Sartain, E. M., 'Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti's Relations with the People of Takrur' *JSS* 16 (1971) pp. 193 – 198; John Voll also comments that almost all *isnāds* during the eighteenth century in the area around the Mediterranean were attributed to al-Suyūṭī, Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī (from whom al-Suyūṭī received his *ijāza*) and Zakariya al-Anṣārī; see Voll, John O., 'Hadith Scholars and Tariqahs: An Ulama Group in 18th Century Haramayn and their Impact on the Islamic World' *AAS* 15 (1980) pp. 264 – 273, p. 265.

important place in both Muslim and non-Muslim studies in Islam, particularly his work on philology and exegesis.⁵⁶

Al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* is a collection that is devoted entirely to *ḥadīth* about angels and complements other collections of his with similar themes. The compilation includes around 750 *ḥadīth* and is followed by a relatively long postscript (*khātima*) that discusses theological issues associated with angels, particularly the status of the angels in relation to humans, a popular theme in *tafsīr* and *kalām*.⁵⁷ It appears to have been a relatively popular work, with twenty-one known manuscript copies still extant.⁵⁸

Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* provides one of the most comprehensive catalogues of Islamic traditions about angels in Arabic literature. Whilst there are a number of works that feature a great many angels, particularly in the *mi'rāj* literature and the *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, none presents angelic traditions in such a logical and systematic way. For this reason, *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* provides a very useful starting point from which to look at Muslim beliefs about angels. The work is not, by any means, a *corpus* of *ḥadīth* about angels, but it does provide a significant and fairly representative sample.

The *ḥadīth* are organised into short to medium length chapters, each looking at a particular angel. The chapters begin logically, with *ḥadīth* about the necessity of

⁵⁶ Cf. Musa, Sulaiman, 'The Influence of *Tafsīr al-Jalalayn* on Some Notable Nigerian *Mufasssirun* in the Twentieth-Century Nigeria' *JMMA* 20 (2000) pp. 323 - 328. Works of al-Suyūṭī are commonly cited in both Muslim and non-Muslim scholarly works on almost any subject. For an assessment of his reception in modern Islamic thought, see Saleh, 'Al-Suyūṭī' pp. 80 - 82.

⁵⁷ Cf. Ibrahim, 'The questions of the superiority of angels' and Jadaane, 'La place des anges'.

⁵⁸ See Brockelmann, Carl, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur* (Berlin: Emil Feber, 1898 - 1902 and (Supplement) Leiden: Brill, 1937 - 1942), vol. 2, p. 147, §51 and Khazinda, Aḥmad & Shaybānī, Muḥammad, *Dalīl makhtutāt al-Suyūṭī wa-amakin wujūdhā* (Kuwait: Maktabat ibn Taymīyya, 1403 / 1983) p. 144; in addition to the MSS detailed by these two catalogues, there are two other MSS held in (i) the Mingana Collection, Birmingham, MS 651 and (ii) The British Library, Or. 9026/1 fol. 1r - 76v.

belief in angels, their great number and the most important angels (Gabriel, Michael, Isrāfīl and the Angel of Death) appearing first (§1 – 171). Beyond the four archangels there is not any obvious pattern to the arrangement of the *ḥadīth*. The last three chapters (§493 – 744) are general and do not appear to be arranged with much intent.

As is al-Suyūṭī's usual style, *isnāds* do not precede each *ḥadīth* (except in a few cases), but the traditions are taken from a written source with the name of the authority given.⁵⁹ Al-Suyūṭī typically gives an author's name, without citing the work, except in cases where he uses more than a single text of one author.⁶⁰ This method of compilation can be seen in most of al-Suyūṭī's collections, as Leon Nemoy comments, concerning al-Suyūṭī's *Tuḥfat al-kirām fī khabar al-ahrām*: 'Like most Arabic works on matters of antiquity, the treatise is predominately composed of extracts from older writers, many of whom, in their turn, depended more or less upon still older authorities, without being too anxious to indicate the source of their information.'⁶¹

This thesis presents a translation and commentary of a selection of the *ḥadīth* included in the work, with two introductory chapters introducing the origin and development of angels in Islam, and a study of the purposes and function of al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik*. The whole collection has not been translated because of the word-limit restrictions of the thesis. The *ḥadīth* that have been translated are of those angels mentioned in the Qur'ān, as it was felt that these

⁵⁹ For the use of books in the Mamlūk period, see Berkey, Jonathan, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A Social History of Islamic Education* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992) pp. 24 – 30.

⁶⁰ Details of the the authors and their works can be found in the Appendix.

⁶¹ Nemoy, Leon, 'The Treatise on the Egyptian Pyramids (*Tuḥfat al-kirām fī khabar al-ahrām*)' *Isis* 30 (1939) pp. 17 – 37, pp. 17 – 18; because of his compositional style some of al-Suyūṭī's contemporaries accused him of plagiarism; see Saleh, 'Al-Suyūṭī' p. 79.

would be the most relevant to translate, namely: Gabriel, Michael, Isrāfīl, the Angel of Death, the Bearers of the Throne, the Spirit, Ridwān, Mālik, the Guardians of Heaven and Hell, al-Sijill, Hārūt, Mārūt and the Sakīna.⁶² A précis of the remaining *ḥadīth* has been included in the appendices. The fairly substantial *khātima* has also not been included for the same reasons, but the majority of the theological discussion in the postscript is largely lifted from other authors and it serves mainly as a recapitulation of beliefs about the status of the angels and their relationship to humans.

The work's name follows the pattern of many of al-Suyūṭī's works, using a rhyme, pun or metrical title.⁶³ The title *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* is difficult to translate precisely. Firstly, the most common form of the plural of *malak* is *malā'ika* and the plural *malā'ik* is, although acceptable in classical Arabic, relatively rare. *Al-Ḥabā'ik* is also another rare word. The basic meaning of the verb *ḥabaka* means 'to plait or braid (hair)', but it is also used in connection with the courses of the planetary bodies, so there is an obvious pun linking *ḥabā'ik* to the celestial *beings*, rather than the celestial *bodies*. The word still poses a problem, especially in the context of *akhbār* – how can *ḥadīth* have a 'course' or a 'trail'? This difficulty may account for a common translation of the work as *The Book of Angels*, but this is not that suitable as it avoids a translation of *ḥabā'ik*.⁶⁴ The best translation, although not entirely acceptable, appears to be *The Arrangement of the Traditions about Angels*. Just as hair is braided and arranged, and the heavenly bodies are ordered in the

⁶² The section on the noble watching Scribes (*al-ḥafīzān al-kātibān*) could not be included because of its length.

⁶³ E.g. *Kitāb ithāf al-khaṣā bi-faḍā'il al-masjid al-aqṣā*; *al-Hay'a al-sanīya fī 'l-hay'a al-sunnīya*; *Al-ʿarf al-wardī fī akhbār al-Mahdi*; *Laqt al-marjān fī akhbār al-jānn* etc.

⁶⁴ Although Brockelmann's entry for *al-Ḥabā'ik* suggests that the word is not always found in the manuscripts; see Brockelmann, *GAL* vol. 2, p. 147, §51.

heavens, al-Suyūṭī arranges the *ḥadīth* about angels in this collection. The translation has been based on a modern edition, edited by Abū Hājir Muḥammad al-Saʿīd ibn Basyūnī Zaghlūl⁶⁵ and supported by manuscript evidence; namely, the copy held in the Warner Collection at the University of Leiden.⁶⁶

The commentary that accompanies the partial translation of *Al-Ḥabāʾik fī akhbār al-malāʾik* is divided into two parts. The following two sections look at the work as a whole, including a discussion of *ḥadīth* that have not been translated. The first looks at the origins and development of angelology in Islamic tradition, using al-Suyūṭī's collection as a basis from which to approach the subject in a general way. It looks particularly at the nomenclature of angels in Islam and the textual iconography of angels. The second section looks at the purpose and function of the work as a whole, attempting to understand what al-Suyūṭī attempted to convey through this collection, particularly through the angels' interactions with humans. Much more could be written about the work, but these two areas have been highlighted as two of the most important themes.

The commentary that accompanies the translation is aimed at explaining difficult terms and vocabulary, referring readers to important concepts, making notes on the text itself and so on. The comments are often designed only to direct the reader to other literature on the subject, rather than giving detailed analyses. The principal aim of the commentary is to provide the reader with a context in which to place the *ḥadīth*. Where possible, references to other Islamic works have been given. There is also frequent reference to other Jewish and Christian texts: these are not intended to imply a source for the *ḥadīth*, but merely to reflect the commonalities

⁶⁵ Al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn, (ed. Abū Hājir Muḥammad al-Saʿīd ibn Basyūnī Zaghlūl), *Al-Ḥabāʾik fī akhbār al-malāʾik* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1408/1988).

⁶⁶ A note on the manuscript can be found below.

between Jewish, Christian and Islamic beliefs about angels, placing Islamic traditions about angels in a wider Near Eastern milieu.

1.3 Contextualizing Al-Suyūṭī in the Late Mamluk Milieu

To understand al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* more fully, it is important to place al-Suyūṭī and his works in their wider historical and social context. The work which is the focus of this thesis emerged during the waning of the Circassian (*Burjī*) Mamluk sultanate,⁶⁷ and only a few years after al-Suyūṭī's death, the Ottomans had gained control of the majority of the Near East and North Africa, save Iran. Mamluk society, especially the relationships between the different classes and faith-communities, has received much attention in the past⁶⁸ and is important to consider, when placing al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* in its religious and social context.

Whilst the Mamluks faced increasing political, social and economic problems during the fifteenth century,⁶⁹ the scholarly élite remained relatively strong and

⁶⁷ See Holt, P. M., 'Mamlūks' *EF*², vol. 7, pp. 321 – 331, especially pp. 323 – 325; Ayalon, David, 'The Circassians in the Mamlūk Period' *JAOS* 69 (1949) pp. 135 – 147; Garcin, Jean-Claude, 'The Regime of the Circassian Mamluks' in C. F. Petry (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Egypt – vol. 1: Islamic Egypt, 640 – 1517* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) pp. 290 – 317; Lapidus, Ira M., *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967) pp. 32 – 43 and Staffa, Susan Jane, *Conquest and Fusion: The Social Evolution of Cairo. A.D. 642 – 1850* (Leiden: Brill, 1977), pp. 101 – 226.

⁶⁸ Schimmel, Annemarie, 'Some Glimpses of the Religious Life of Egypt During the Late Mamlūk Period' *IS* 4 (1965) pp. 353 – 392; Little, Donald P., 'Religion under the Mamluks' *MW* 73 (1983) pp. 165 – 181; Winter, Michael, 'Popular Religion in Egypt Since the Mamluks' *The Arabist* 9 – 10 (1994) pp. 103 – 118 and Frenkel, Yehoshua, 'Popular Culture (Islam, Early and Middle Periods)' *RC* 2 (2008) pp. 195 – 225.

⁶⁹ See Little, Donald P., 'Communal Strife in Late Mamlūk Jerusalem' *ILS* 6 (1999) pp. 69 – 96; Shoshan, Boaz, 'Exchange-Rate Policies in Fifteenth Century Egypt' *JESHO* 29 (1986) pp. 28 – 51; *idem*, 'Money Supply and Grain Prices in Fifteenth Century Egypt' *EHR* 36 (1983) pp. 47 – 67; *idem*, 'Grain Riots and the Moral Economy' *JIH* 10 (1980) pp. 459 – 478

productive, with Cairo being the centre of academic achievement in the Near East.⁷⁰ Most importantly, academia in late Mamluk Egypt became increasingly independent and secure through the establishment of endowments (*waqf*, pl. *awqāf*); as Carl Petry comments: ‘The scholarly establishment owed its relative freedom of action to the autonomy of the endowed academic position, unlike either the bureaucracy or the judiciary – both of which were tied to the state.’⁷¹ There were a great number of colleges and institutions of higher education, and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī grew up in a highly literate and educated environment.⁷² As Islamic education was primarily based on the personal relationship between teacher and pupil, most scholars came from Cairene families with a long history in the scholarly world;⁷³ but some, like al-Suyūṭī’s father, were able to succeed, having come into Cairo from the provinces.⁷⁴

Whilst scholarship was relatively fruitful in this period, academics and judges were involved in a number of important controversies that have some bearing on the cultural and religious milieu of the fifteenth century.⁷⁵ The place of Christians, particularly Coptic Christians, in Mamluk society was the cause of a number of

⁷⁰ Jonathan Berkey comments: ‘... the immense number of manuscripts that survive from, say, the fifteenth century, testify to the important role of the book in a highly literate academic world that [was] vibrant throughout the Middle Ages.’ Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge*, p. 24; see also Petry, Carl F., ‘Scholastic Stasis in Medieval Islam Reconsidered: Mamluk Patronage in Cairo’ *PT* 14 (1993) pp. 323 – 348.

⁷¹ Petry, Carl, ‘Geographical Origins of Academicians in Cairo during the fifteenth Century’ *JESHO* 23 (1980) pp. 119 – 141, p. 140.

⁷² For more on Islamic higher education, see Makdisi, George, *The Rise of the Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam in the West* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1981).

⁷³ See Petry, ‘Geographic Origins of Academicians’ p. 119; Jonathan Berkey comments: ‘The person connection – the education model relying not simply on close study of a text, but on intensive, personal interaction with a shaykh – has always been central to Islamic education, not simply in Mamluk Egypt.’ Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge*, p. 21.

⁷⁴ Petry, Carl F., *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Late Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981) p. 50; see also Waardenburg, Jacques, ‘Official and Popular Religion as a Problem in Islamic Studies’ in Pieter H. Vrijhof and Jacques Waardenburg (eds.), *Official and Popular Religion: Analysis of a Theme for Religious Studies* (The Hague: Mouton, 1979) pp. 340 – 346, pp. 361 – 362.

⁷⁵ Maribel Fierro has used scholarly literature written against innovations (*bidaʿ*) to attempt to understand Muslim society in medieval Spain; likewise, through the output of the Egyptian scholars, it is possible to gain an understanding of contemporary practices, as well as the preoccupations and concerns of the scholarly élite; see Fierro, Maribel, ‘The treatises against innovations (*kutub al-bidaʿ*)’ *Isl.* 67 (1992) pp. 204 – 246, especially pp. 238 – 240.

disputes, both in Cairo and Damascus,⁷⁶ often involving accusations of blasphemy against the prophet.⁷⁷ There were particular moments when the tensions between Coptic Christians and local Muslims became particularly strong, but, generally, the relationship between each of the groups was one of mutual distrust. Earlier in the Mamluk period, the secretaries of the court (who were mainly Copts) were legislated against, largely due to resentment from the Muslim majority and subsequently secretaries could only be Muslims.⁷⁸ This prompted a large number of Copts to convert to Islam, as the court was their main employer. However, their conversions were not usually whole-hearted, with many still celebrating Christian festivals, being only Muslim in name.⁷⁹ These converts to Islam, especially the second and third generations, would undoubtedly have brought some Christian material with them into popular Muslim interpretation of the Qur'ān and *hadīth*.

Not only were there Christian converts to Islam, but there was frequent adoption and celebration of Coptic festivals by the Muslim population in Mamluk Egypt. The most famous of these is the Nile festival held in January (*ʿĪd al-Ghiṭās*).⁸⁰

⁷⁶ For more on these disputes, see Perlmann, M., 'Notes on Anti-Christian Propaganda in the Mamlūk Empire' *BSOAS* 10 (1939 – 1942) pp. 843 – 861; Little, 'Communal Strife'; *idem.*, 'Coptic Conversion to Islam Under the Bahrī Mamlūks, 625 – 755 / 1293 – 1354' *BSOAS* 39 (1976) pp. 552 – 569 and *idem.*, 'Religion Under the Mamluks'. For the place of Jews in Mamluk society, see Cohen, Mark R., 'Jews in the Mamlūk Environment: The Crisis of 1442 (A Geniza Study)' *BSOAS* 47 (1984) pp. 425 – 448.

⁷⁷ Cf. Wiederhold, Lutz, 'Blasphemy Against the Prophet Muḥammad and his Companions (*Sabb al-rasūl, sabb al-ṣaḥābah*): The Introduction of the Topic into Shāfiʿī Legal Literature and its Relevance for Legal Practice under Mamluk Rule' *JSS* 42 (1997) pp. 39 – 70.

⁷⁸ Little comments: 'In Egypt, for example, the Copts from time to time during the Mamluk period incurred the wrath of the populace and consequently the government in Egypt, either by displays of conspicuous consumption in violation of Muslim sumptuary laws, by playing too prominent a role in the financial bureaux, or by acts of blasphemy or terrorism. Because such acts disrupted the political and social stability that the Mamluks were so keen to maintain, they attracted the interest of Muslim historians, both Egyptian and Syrian.' Little, 'Communal Strife' p. 70; see also Little, 'Coptic Conversion' and O'Sullivan, Shaun, 'Coptic Conversion and the Islamization of Egypt' *MSR* 10:2 (2006) pp. 65 – 79.

⁷⁹ Little, 'Religion under the Mamluks' p. 179.

⁸⁰ See Huda, Lutfi, 'Coptic Festivals of the Nile: Aberrations of the Past?' in Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann (eds.), *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) pp. 254 – 282.

At the same time, there was also a growth in the observance of other Muslim festivals,⁸¹ which reformers, such as Ibn Taymiyya in the previous century had strived to ‘correct’, seeing them as innovations (*bida’*) that need to be purged from Islam.⁸² The celebration of the Prophet’s Birthday (*Mawlid al-nabī*) and the practice of tomb visitation (*ziyāra*) are the most prominent of these innovative practices and there has been much secondary literature written on both of these topics.⁸³ What is most interesting is the fact that the scholarly and legal classes did not present a united front against these ‘innovative’ festivals,⁸⁴ and some, such as al-Suyūṭī, actually argued that some of these practices were acceptable.⁸⁵

Mamluk Cairo was not, then, an environment in which there was a distinct divide between ‘popular’ and ‘orthodox’ religion, but one where the divisions were much more blurred. Not all the scholars and judges believed that particular festivals were innovations (*bida’*), as Michael Winter has commented: ‘The dividing line between popular and normative Islam is sometimes unclear. As in every religion,

⁸¹ For a comprehensive list of different popular practices and brief analyses of them, see Frenkel, ‘Popular Culture’, especially pp. 198 – 204. There are articles available on specific practices such as *taḥnīk*, e.g. Gil’adi, Avner, ‘Some notes on *Taḥnīk* in Medieval Islam’ *JNES* 47 (1988) pp. 175 – 179.

⁸² Cf. Memon, Muhammad Umar, *Ibn Taymiyya’s Struggle Against Popular Religion: with an Annotated Translation of his Kitāb iqtidā’ as-sirāt al-mustaḡīm mukhālafat ashāb al-jahīm* (The Hague: Mouton, 1976), especially pp. 2 – 7.

⁸³ The most extensive study is of the *Mawlid* is Kaplan, N. J., *Muhammad’s Birthday Festival: Early History in the Central Muslim Lands and the Development in the Muslim West until the 10th / 16th Century* (Leiden: Brill, 1993); see also Kaptein, Nico, ‘Materials for the History of the Prophet’s Birthday Celebration in Mecca’ *Isl.* 67 (1992) pp. 193 – 203 and Katz, Marion Holmes, *The Birth of the Prophet Muḥammad: Devotional Piety in Sunnī Islam* (London: Routledge, 2007). On tomb visitation see Meri, Josef W., *The Cult of Saints Among Muslims and Jews in Medieval Syria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002) and Taylor, Christopher S., ‘Saints, *Ziyāra*, *Qīssa*, and the Social Construction of Moral Imagination in Late Medieval Egypt’ *SI* 88 (1998) pp. 103 – 120.

⁸⁴ Shaun Marmon comments: ‘In opposition to Ibn Taymiyya, the vast majority of the mamluk ulama valorized the petitioning of the holy dead and the visiting of their tombs. The ulama also set forth a careful etiquette for these activities, an etiquette which, judging (*sic*) by the learned complaints, ordinary people, especially women, often ignored.’ Marmon, Shaun E., ‘The Quality of Mercy in Mamluk Society’ *SI* 87 (1998) pp. 125 – 139, p. 129.

⁸⁵ See al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn, *Al-Husn al-maqṣid fī ‘amal al-mawlid*; translated in Kaplan, *Muhammad’s Birthday Festival*, pp. 48 – 67.

there are within Islam tensions between orthodox and unorthodox, or popular religion.⁸⁶

Despite this blurring between ‘popular’ and ‘orthodox’ religion, there *was* a strong divide between the academic élite and the masses. Many scholars went at great lengths to attack uneducated purveyors of religious teaching: especially the preachers (*wāʿiz*, pl. *wāʿāz*) and the story-tellers (*qāṣṣ*, pl. *quṣṣās*).⁸⁷ Al-Suyūṭī was one of many to write treatises attacking such people.⁸⁸ Éric Geoffroy comments of this period: ‘Les *ʿulamā*’, ajoute Suyūṭī, ont toujours eu la role ingrate de lutter contre l’ignorance des *quṣṣās* et de leur auditoire de bas étage.’⁸⁹ Many of these anti-*quṣṣās* works highlight the fact that the utilization of *ḥadīth* required training in the religious sciences, and that without it (i.e. without an appropriate *ijāza*), an individual was not allowed to engage in their study or propagation. There was a strong sense that the religious scholars had a monopoly on religious knowledge, which they were keen to maintain.

Scant evidence means that it is difficult to assess whether the scholarly community was simply attempting to protect its own interests, or whether it was generally concerned about the religious path along which popular preachers could lead their followers. Scholars in this period certainly include a number of more ‘popular’ materials in their works, especially their *ḥadīth* collections. Is this an

⁸⁶ Winter, ‘Popular Religion’ p. 115; for a more extensive discussion of these ideas, see Shoshan, Boaz, ‘High Culture and Popular Culture in Medieval Islam’ *SI* 73 (1991) pp. 67 – 107.

⁸⁷ Pellat, Ch., ‘*Qāṣṣ*’ *EI2* vol. 4, pp. 733 – 734; Radtke, B., and Jansen, J. J. G., ‘*Wāʿiz*’ *EF* vol. 11, pp. 56 – 57; Berkey, Jonathan P., *Popular Preaching and Religious Authority in the Medieval Middle East* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), *idem.*, ‘Tradition, Innovation and the Social Construction of Knowledge in the Medieval Islamic Near East’ *PP* 146 (1995) pp. 38 – 65; *idem.*, ‘Storytelling, Preaching, and Power in Mamluk Cairo’ *MSR* 4 (2000) pp. 53 – 74 and Shoshan, Boaz, ‘On Popular Literature in Medieval Cairo’ *PT* 14 (1993) pp. 349 – 365.

⁸⁸ See al-Suyūṭī, *Tahḍīr al-khawāṣṣ min akādhīb al-quṣṣās* (Riyadh: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1972).

⁸⁹ Geoffroy, Éric, *Le Soufisme en Égypte et en Syrie Sous les Derniers Mamelouks et les Premiers Ottomans: Orientations Spirituelles et Enjeux Culturels* (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1995) p. 49.

attempt to appeal to the masses, or is it indicative of the absorption of popular material into normative religion? Is the influence from ‘popular religion’ to ‘normative’ Islam, or are fifteenth century academics writing works for their target audience and deliberately including popular elements to appeal to them? Jacques Waardenburg has argued that popular elements of religion can become absorbed into ‘normative’ religion;⁹⁰ but there is also likely to be a conscious effort by scholars of the day to appeal to the masses and weaken the influence of the preachers and storytellers.

There is some evidence to suggest that scholars in Mamluk Egypt responded to the needs of the ordinary Cairene public; for example, after a series of plagues in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries,⁹¹ the genre of ‘books of consolation’ emerged in response to an emotional need of ordinary people.⁹² There are also a wide number of other *ḥadīth* collections written by noted academics that would appear to have a more ‘popular’ audience. Al-Suyūṭī wrote many of these more popular works: encompassing short collections of *ḥadīth*, such as his compilation on the merits of ‘Alī, *Al-qawl al-jaliyy fī faḍā’il ‘Alī*;⁹³ religious rulings favouring popular expressions of religion, such as his *al-Ḥusn* seen above; and works of a devotional

⁹⁰ Waardenburg, ‘Official and Popular Religion’ pp. 363 – 371.

⁹¹ See Dols, Michael W., ‘The Second Plague Pandemic and its Recurrences in the Middle East: 1347 – 1894’ *JESHO* 22 (1979) pp. 162 – 189.

⁹² See various articles by Avner Gil’adi; ‘Islamic Consolation Treatises for Bereaved Parents: Some Bibliographical Notes’ *SI* 81 (1995) pp. 197 – 202; ‘*Ṣabr* (Steadfastness) of Bereaved Parents: A Motif in Medieval Muslim Consolation Treatises and Some Parallels in Jewish Writings’ *JQR* 80 (1989) pp. 35 – 48 and ‘“The Child was small...Not so the Grief for Him”’: Sources, Structure and Content of al-Sakhawī’s Consolation Treatise for Bereaved Parents’ *PT* 14 (1993) pp. 367 – 386. Al-Suyūṭī wrote in this genre, e.g. *Buṣhrā al-ka’ib bi-liqā’ al-ḥabīb* (al-Zarqā’: Maktabat al-Manar, 1988) and *al-Ta’allul wa’-l-itfā’ li-nār al-tutfā’* (al-Zarqā’: Maktabat al-Manar, 1987).

⁹³ Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-qawl al-jaliyy fī faḍā’il ‘Alī* (Beirut: Mu’assasat Nādir, 1990); the brevity of the work implies that it was for popular consumption, cf. al-Nawawī, Yaḥyā ibn Sharaf, *Matn al-arba’in*; Abdassamad Clarke (tr.), *The Complete Forty Hadith* (London: Ta-Ha, 1998).

nature, like his *‘Amal al-yawm wa-‘l-layla*.⁹⁴ This suggests that Mamluk academics were engaging with the non-academic community, composing and compiling scholarly works for a wider audience.

The leading scholars of the fifteenth century, such as al-Sakhāwī and al-Suyūṭī were all involved in the compilation of what are normally referred to as ‘encyclopaedic’ works (i.e. non-canonical *ḥadīth* collections),⁹⁵ and the subject of this thesis, al-Suyūṭī’s *Al-Ḥabā’ik fī akhbār al-malā’ik*, falls into this category. Evidence shows that the Cairene libraries were extensive,⁹⁶ and these non-canonical *ḥadīth* collections tend to draw on and develop a wide range of earlier works.⁹⁷ Scholars, such as al-Sakhāwī and al-Suyūṭī, were very adept at drawing *ḥadīth* from a number of different texts into new compilations on new subjects. A. J. Arberry comments: ‘It must have been a very elaborate card-index of traditions and traditionists that al-Sakhāwī kept, with such excellent cross-references that he was obviously able at very short notice to compile a new treatise on the subject to satisfy one or other of the eccentric demands made of him by his friends and pupils.’⁹⁸ As will be seen below, al-Suyūṭī also makes use of a comprehensive range of sources in his *ḥadīth* collections.

These encyclopaedic works were common in this period and cover a wide range of topics. They tend to avoid technical, scholarly subjects, instead pursuing a

⁹⁴ Al-Suyūṭī, *‘Amal al-yawm wa-‘l-layla* (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī Ḥalabī, 1946); this is a collection of prayers and devotions.

⁹⁵ For al-Sakhāwī, see Petry, C. F., ‘al-Sakhāwī’ *EF*² vol. 8, pp. 881 – 882.

⁹⁶ See Eche, Youssef, *Les Bibliothèques Arabes: Publiques et Semi-Publiques en Mésopotamie, En Syrie et en Egypte au Moyen Age* (Damas: Institut Français de Damas, 1967) pp. 249 – 264; and Arberry, A. J., *Sakhawiana: A Study Based on the Chester Beatty Ms. Arab. 773* (London: Emery Walker Ltd., 1951).

⁹⁷ Jonathan Berkey comments: ‘Intellectual activity in the civilizations on both sides of the Mediterranean... consisted largely of replicated, and commenting upon, the literary productions of previous generations.’ Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge*, p. 25

⁹⁸ Arberry, *Sakhawiana*, p. 32.

more general approach to a subject, and they frequently serve as summaries of more complex material. The lack of more ‘scholarly’ material would seem to suggest that they are aimed at a literate, but uneducated audience, i.e. the Egyptian middle classes.⁹⁹ Similarly, their themes also seem to address more popular devotional and theological ideas. It is always difficult to suggest a definitive reason behind the compilation of these works, but they do seem to be both aimed at the general public and to act as educational tools for the spiritual life of ordinary people. As it has been argued above, it is also difficult to say whether this was driven by an attempt by the ‘*ulamā*’ to correct or reform the beliefs of the general public on pure theological grounds, or whether there was a political motivation, notably the curbing of the growing power of popular preachers and story-tellers: it is likely to be a mixture. Late mediaeval authors also seem keen to involve themselves in self-promotion: writing popular pamphlets and short encyclopaedic works would, undoubtedly, have played a key role in this.¹⁰⁰ Whilst the scholarly élite were a well defined and relatively insular section of Cairene society, the scholars do appear to be actively engaged with those outside its circle, particularly in the spiritual education of the middle classes.

Al-Suyūṭī’s *Al-Ḥabā’ik fī akhbār al-malā’ik* should, therefore, be seen as emerging in this complex social and religious environment. Firstly, al-Suyūṭī was an important scholar in his day, producing a number of important works in the fields of

⁹⁹ Al-Suyūṭī’s *Al-Ḥabā’ik* does include a ‘postscript’ (*khātima*) concerning angels in Islamic theology (*kalām*), and the function and purpose of this will be discussed below.

¹⁰⁰ Not achieving wide acknowledgement in Cairo itself, al-Suyūṭī became extremely well known outside Egypt; Nehemia Levtzion comments: ‘Al-Suyūṭī’s eminence was not universally acknowledged by the *ulamā*’ of Cairo, with some of those he was in conflict. He must have been gratified by his reputation in Takrūr.’ Levtzion, Nehemia, ‘Mamluk Egypt and Takrūr (West Africa)’ in M. Sharon (ed.), *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization* (Jerusalem: Cana & Leiden: Brill, 1986) pp. 183 – 207, p. 200.

Qur'ānic commentary,¹⁰¹ philology,¹⁰² history¹⁰³ and philosophy.¹⁰⁴ Secondly, as part of the scholarly élite, he was concerned with protecting the scholarly monopoly on religious teaching and wrote works that explicitly argue for this, such as his, *Tahdhir al-khawāṣṣ min akādhīb al-quṣṣās*. But, al-Suyūṭī was also engaged in compiling *ḥadīth* collections, with an educative motivation, encouraging the people of Cairo to return to proper 'Islamic' beliefs. Al-Suyūṭī was not, by any means, similar to figures such as Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Ḥazm, yet there are similarities: all of these authors (including al-Suyūṭī's contemporaries, like al-Sakhāwī) were attempting to promote a renewed Islam. Al-Suyūṭī took his 'reformist' credentials to their limit, portraying himself as the *mujaddid* of the fifteenth century.¹⁰⁵

The main difference is that the earlier reformist figures of Ibn Ḥazm, Ibn al-Ḥajj, Ibn al-Jawzī and Ibn Taymiyya were more forceful in their attacks on 'popular' religion and innovations (*bida'*),¹⁰⁶ whilst the authors in the fifteenth century are, in most cases, more muted in their objections and are seen to engage with popular religion, rather than to attack it openly and directly. Their aims may have been largely similar (i.e. the 'reform' of Islam), but al-Suyūṭī and Ibn Taymiyya went

¹⁰¹ E.g. Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr fī 'l-tafsīr bi-'l-ma'thūr* (Beirut: Dār al-ma'rifa, s. d.); *Kitāb al-Itqān fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān* (Cairo: Maktabat wa-Maṭba'at al-Mashhad al-Ḥusaynī, s. d.); *Asrār tartīb al-Qur'ān* (Cairo: Dār al-Itisām, 1396 / 1976); *Lubāb al-taqūl fī asbāb al-nuzūl* (Tunis: Dār al-Tunisiyya, 1981); as well as exegeses of specific verses, such as his *Ayāt al-kursī ma'ānīhā wa-faḍā'iluhā* (Cairo: Dār al-Itisād, s. d.).

¹⁰² *al-Mutawakkilī*; Bell, William Y. (ed & tr.), *The Mutawakkili of as-Suyuti* (Cairo: Nile Mission Press, 1924) and *al-Iqtirāḥ fī 'ilm uṣūl al-nahw* (Istanbul: Jāmi'at Istanbul, 1975).

¹⁰³ His most famous work is his *Tārīkh al-khulafā'* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Tajariyya al-Kubrā, 1389 / 1969).

¹⁰⁴ Most of his works on philosophy were concerned with logic, e.g. *Ṣawn al-manṭiq wa-'l-kalām 'an fann al-manṭiq wa-'l-kalām* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, s. d.).

¹⁰⁵ Landau-Tasserion, Ella, 'The "Cyclical Reform": A Study of the *Mujaddid* Tradition' *SI* (1989) pp. 79 – 117, especially pp. 87 – 88; Jansen, J. J. G., 'Tadjdīd' *EF* vol. 10, pp. 61 – 62 and Van Donzel, E., 'Mudjaddid' *EF* vol. 7, p. 290.

¹⁰⁶ Ibn Taymiyya frequently found himself in prison for his beliefs; cf Laoust, H., 'Ibn Taymiyya, Taḳī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Taymiyya' *EF* vol. 3, pp. 951 – 955; Little, Donald P., 'Did Ibn Taymiyya Have a Screw Loose?' *SI* 41 (1975) pp. 93 – 111 and Little, Donald P., 'The Historical and Historiographical Significance of the Detention of Ibn Taymiyya' *IJMES* 4 (1973) pp. 311 – 327.

about it in very different ways. Furthermore, Ibn Taymiyya typically attacks specific non-Islamic practices, whereas al-Suyūṭī and his contemporaries seem more interested in encouraging the religious education of the wider public.

Why does al-Suyūṭī approach ‘popular’ religion in this way? Firstly, the fact that al-Suyūṭī was a *ṣūfī* may be crucial to understanding his interaction with popular religion.¹⁰⁷ This aspect of al-Suyūṭī’s life is one that has received very little attention, but a number of his works, such as his exegetical *Ayāt al-kursī ma‘ānīhā wa-fadā’iluhā*, do have distinct *ṣūfī* characteristics. Secondly, al-Suyūṭī was a Shāfi‘ī, rather than a Ḥanbalī, which may account for his less vitriolic attacks on popular religion. His more popular works definitely seek to encourage religious belief and ‘proper’ practice, rather than criticising specific actions. Al-Suyūṭī, as well as many of his contemporaries, appears to have been more willing to accept and interact with popular religion.

1.4 Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī: Methodology and Sources

There has been relatively little study of al-Suyūṭī and his approach to *ḥadīth*, despite his popularity. Furthermore, the sheer quantity of his output makes it difficult to suggest any firm conclusions about his methods of *ḥadīth* compilation. However, it is feasible to analyse al-Suyūṭī’s methods in *al-Ḥabā’ik fī akhbār al-malā’ik* and

¹⁰⁷ Al-Suyūṭī was a member of the *Shādhilī* order; cf. Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, *Durrat al-asrār wa-tuḥfat al-abrār*; Elmer H. Douglas (tr.), *The Mystical Teachings of al-Shādhilī* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993) and Lory comments that it was successful because its ‘...strictly orthodox Sunnism and the respect for all exoteric tradition which it professed, its social discreetness (absence of distinctive garb or of spectacular public festivals or of begging), all of these aroused confidence and fervour.’ Lory, P., ‘*Shādhiliyya*’ *EF*² vol. 9, pp. 172 – 174, p. 173. For an analysis of al-Suyūṭī as a *ṣūfī*, see Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī*, pp. 33 – 37 and Geoffroy, *Soufisme en Égypte*, p. 49.

through a heuristic approach come to some conclusions about al-Suyūṭī's methodology. It is also hoped that it will be possible to come to some understanding of the intended audience of al-Suyūṭī's *al-Ḥabā'ik*, placing it within the more general religious and social context of Mamluk Egypt seen above.

Al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik* is divided into two sections: (i) the collection of around 750 *ḥadīth* and (ii) a fairly substantial postscript (*khātima*) on theological issues regarding angels. The sources of these two sections need to be treated separately, as they draw on different scholarly disciplines. The relationship between the *ḥadīth* and the postscript also needs to be explored. Lastly, the actual content of *ḥadīth* and the *khātima* will also indicate what issues al-Suyūṭī was engaging with, which, in turn, will aid understanding of al-Suyūṭī's target audience.

Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik looks at the angelic world, but it is not the only compilation to focus on the mysteries of the supernatural. There are, for example, works on *jinn*, Islamic cosmology, the *Mahdī* and the events in the grave.¹⁰⁸ His *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* seems to complement these other works, although it is difficult, if not impossible, to know whether al-Suyūṭī intended these works to be read in conjunction with each other. What these works do show is that al-Suyūṭī was clearly interested in exploring the divine world and that he devoted a number of *ḥadīth* compilations to the topic.

With a large number of works in a similar area, it might be expected that al-Suyūṭī used material he had included in other works. However, there is remarkably

¹⁰⁸ viz. Heinen, Anton M., *Islamic Cosmology: A Study of as-Suyūṭī's al-Hay'a as-sanīya fī l-hay'a as-sunnīya* (Beirut: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1982); the MS of *Al-Ḥabā'ik* held in the British Library is bound with his *Al-ʿarf al-wardī fī akhbār al-Mahdī* and al-Suyūṭī's abridgment of a compilation by Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Shiblī, entitled, *Laqṭ al-marjān fī akhbār al-jānn*; see Vassie, R. (ed.), *A Classified Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts Acquired Since 1912: Volume 2 - Qur'ānic Sciences and Ḥadīth* (London: The British Library, 1995) §416 - 418, p. 63.

little cross-over between some of these collections. For example, both his *al-Ḥabā'ik* and his *al-Hay'a al-saniyya fī 'l-hay'a al-sunniyya* contain *ḥadīth* stating that angels accompany raindrops as they fall from heaven and record where they land and which humans benefited from them. However, there is not a single *ḥadīth* that is repeated *verbatim* in both collections. Take, for example, the two *ḥadīth* below, which are very similar, taken from the same source (Abū 'l-Shaykh's *Kitāb al-^cazama*), yet are quite different:

‘There is no year more abounding in rain than another year; but God directs it wherever He wishes. And with the rain He sends down such and such of the angels in order to note down where that rain falls, whom it provides with sustenance, and what results from every drop.’¹⁰⁹

‘He sends down with the rain [such and such] from the angels, more numerous than the sons of Adam and the sons of Iblis. [The angels] record every raindrop, where it falls and who is sustained by that plant.’¹¹⁰

Each of the *ḥadīth* includes the same basic *matn* (‘...He sends down with the rain [such and such] from the angels... [The angels] record every raindrop, where it falls and who is sustained by that plant...’), but the *ḥadīth* included in each of the works is slightly different and are suited to their respective works. The *ḥadīth* in *al-Hay'a* focuses on the physical phenomenon of rain, and the *ḥadīth* in *al-Ḥabā'ik*, which is in the chapter entitled ‘The Great Abundance of Angels’, emphasises the quantity of angels, using raindrops as a comparison.

¹⁰⁹ Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Hay'a* VII:27; see Heinen, *Islamic Cosmology*, p. 163.

¹¹⁰ Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Ḥabā'ik* §19.

Although this is just one example, it is a very revealing one. It shows that al-Suyūṭī employed *ḥadīth* very carefully, using the most appropriate version of a *ḥadīth* for a particular work. This would also seem to suggest that al-Suyūṭī was conscious of which *ḥadīth* had been included in his other collections and may indicate that these two works were compiled at the same time, or at the very least, relatively closely together. Al-Suyūṭī often gave different sections of larger works individual titles,¹¹¹ so it is possible that *Al-Ḥabā'ik* may be linked to other works or be part of a larger one. Above all, it shows that there can be great subtlety in al-Suyūṭī's method of *ḥadīth* compilation.

It is a great help that al-Suyūṭī provides details of the authors and works from which he has taken his *ḥadīth*, making it possible to gain some insight into the way in which he worked and engaged with primary sources. In *al-Ḥabā'ik* al-Suyūṭī draws on eighty-three different authors for his *ḥadīth*,¹¹² which gives an average of one author for every nine *ḥadīth*, and he mentions thirty-two theologians in the *khātima*.¹¹³ This shows how knowledgeable al-Suyūṭī was in these fields, and the wide variety of sources that he utilized.

As a writer of the ninth / fifteenth century, it might have been expected that al-Suyūṭī would have drawn on collections of *ḥadīth* compiled in later periods, but the table below shows that the majority of the authors that al-Suyūṭī cites, died in the third and fourth centuries A.H. This is important to note, as it shows that al-Suyūṭī turned to works written in the 'golden' period of Islamic literature and *ḥadīth* science, shunning later *ḥadīth* compilations. A similar use of sources can be seen in al-

¹¹¹ Saleh, 'Al-Suyūṭī' p. 85.

¹¹² This does not include the authors and *ḥadīth* found in the *khātima*; this is because it is difficult to ascertain whether al-Suyūṭī or another author is making the citation.

¹¹³ This is the number of authors mentioned, rather than the number of works explicitly cited.

Suyūṭī's *Al-Hay'a*. Al-Suyūṭī's sources are, however, quite different in the *khātima*. Here al-Suyūṭī makes much more use of later sources, predominantly from the seventh and eighth centuries A.H, with no sources at all coming from the first to third centuries. This change in the types of sources in the *ḥadīth* and the *khātima* reflects the different genres, audiences and milieu of each of the sections.

Author Date of Death [Century (A.H.)]	<i>Al-Ḥabā'ik</i> (<i>Ḥadīth</i>)		<i>Al-Ḥabā'ik</i> (<i>Khātima</i>)		<i>Al-Hay'a</i>	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
First	1	1.2	0	0	0	0
Second	2	2.4	0	0	0	0
Third	25	30.2	0	0	18	43.9
Fourth	29	34.9	2	6.2	13	31.7
Fifth	11	13.3	7	21.9	5	12.2
Sixth	6	7.2	3	9.4	2	4.9
Seventh	3	3.6	9	28.1	0	0
Eighth	0	0	8	25.0	0	0
Ninth	2	2.4	2	6.3	0	0
Unknown	4	4.8	1	3.1	3	7.3

Fig (i) Table of al-Suyūṭī's Sources in his *Al-Ḥabā'ik* and *al-Hay'a*

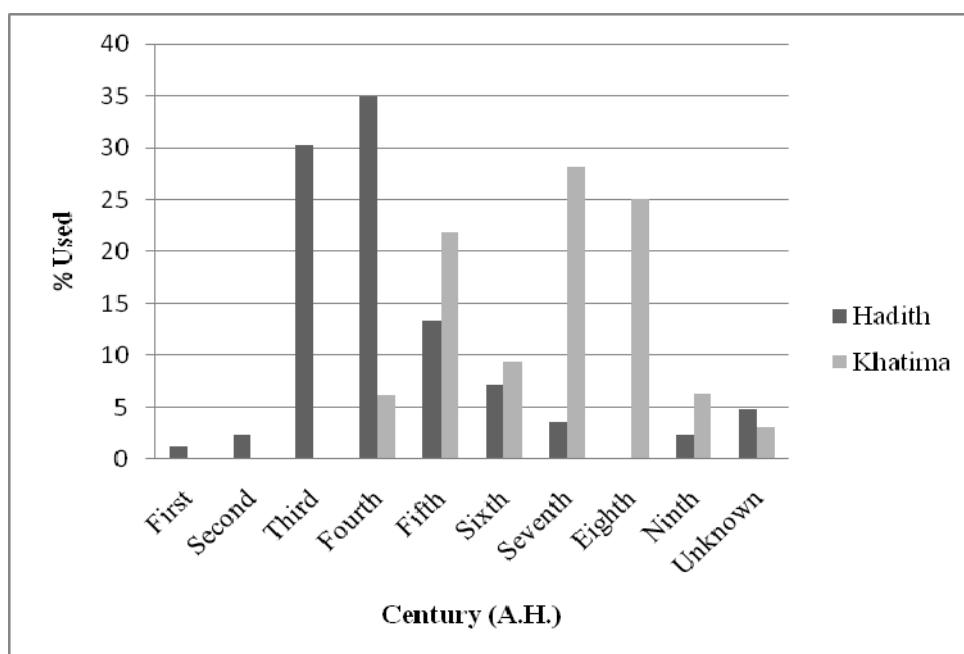


Fig. (ii) Graph of al-Suyūṭī's sources in *al-Ḥabā'ik*

The most important period in *ḥadīth* collection was in the third to fourth centuries A.H, when the collections of authentic *ḥadīth* were compiled and the *ḥadīth* sciences were developed.¹¹⁴ The majority of *ḥadīth* compilations after this period were commentaries on established works,¹¹⁵ or *muṣannaḥ* works, which took *ḥadīth* from various collections on a specific theme, as al-Suyūṭī does in *al-Ḥabā'ik*. As a result of this intense period of studying *ḥadīth*, Islamic scholarship produced a vast corpus of (authentic) *ḥadīth* from which figures like al-Suyūṭī could draw. Al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* is a representation or reorganisation of *ḥadīth*, from earlier, respected and reputable scholars on a 'new', more focused, subject area. Al-Suyūṭī is not including 'new' *ḥadīth*, but arranging old *ḥadīth* in a new way. In the *khātima*, however, al-Suyūṭī places his discussion of the angels in Islamic theology in the wider context of past theological debate. Theology, unlike the *ḥadīth*, is not static. Al-Suyūṭī was not attempting to reflect the theological opinions of a specific period, but engages instead with various theological opinions about the angels. It is also a possibility that the authors cited in the *khātima* reflect those studied in the *madrasas*.

Whilst al-Suyūṭī cites a great many authors in *al-Ḥabā'ik*,¹¹⁶ there is a tendency to focus on a few authors in particular. For example, in the *ḥadīth* section the authors Abū 'l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī are key sources, with Abū 'l-Shaykh being

¹¹⁴ See Burton, John, *An Introduction to the Hadith* (repr. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005) pp. 119 – 147.

¹¹⁵ Al-Suyūṭī made many such commentaries on earlier works: Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Muwaṭṭā' al-Imām Mālik wa-sharḥuhu tanwīr al-ḥawālik* (Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Akhīra, 1370/1951); *idem*, *Sunan al-Nasā'ī bi-sharḥ al-ḥāfiẓ Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī wa-ḥāshiyat al-imām al-Sindī* (Cairo: al-Maṭba'at al-Miṣriyya, 1348/1930); *idem*, *al-Dibāj 'alā Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim ibn Hajjāj* (al-Khubar: Dār ibn 'Affān, 1996). For more on commentaries, see Cf. Tokatly, Vardit, 'The *A'lām al-ḥadīth* of al-Khaṭṭābī: A Commentary on al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* or a polemical treatise?' *SI* 92 (2001) pp. 53 – 91, pp. 53 – 55.

¹¹⁶ 123 in total: 83 in the *ḥadīth* and 32 in the *khātima*, with two featuring in both sections (al-Bayhaqī and al-Ḥakīm).

the source of 185 *ḥadīth* (24.6%) and al-Bayhaqī 103 *ḥadīth* (13.7%).¹¹⁷ A similar trend can be seen in al-Suyūṭī's *Itqān*, although a direct comparison cannot be made, as the text integrates both *ḥadīth* and *uṣūl al-dīn* material. A comparison can, however, be made with *al-Hay'a*:

Name in Text	<i>Al-Ḥabā'ik</i>		<i>Al-Hay'a</i>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Abū 'l-Shaykh	185	24.6	191	73.2
Bayhaqī, al-	103	13.7	4	1.5
Ṭabarānī, al-	87	11.6	14	5.4
Ibn Abī Hātim	72	9.6	68	26.1
Ibn Jarīr [al-Ṭabarī]	62	8.3	18	6.9
Ibn al-Mundhir	55	7.3	16	6.1
Aḥmad	49	6.5	6	2.3
Ibn Abī Shayba	41	5.5	3	1.1
Ibn 'Asākir	40	5.3	6	2.3
Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā	37	4.9	10	3.8
Ibn Mardawayh	30	4.0	12	4.6
Ḥākim, al-	29	3.9	9	2.3
Abū Nu'aym	28	3.7	2	0.8
'Abd ibn Ḥamīd	27	3.6	4	1.5
Muslim	27	3.6	1	0.4
Daylamī, al-	25	3.3	1	0.4
Tirmidhī, al-	22	2.9	3	1.1
'Abd al-Razzāq	21	2.8	4	1.5
Bukhārī, al-	19	2.5	8	3.1
Ibn Mājah	17	2.3	1	0.4
Sa'īd ibn Manṣūr	16	2.1	3	1.1
Abū Dā'ūd	14	1.9	1	0.4
Dinawārī, al-	13	1.7	0	0
Nasā'ī, al-	12	1.6	1	0.4
Bazzār, al-	11	1.5	3	1.1

Fig. (iii) Authors cited as a source in *al-Ḥabā'ik* (more than 10 times) and in *al-Hay'a*

¹¹⁷ However, it should be noted that the two authors are not responsible for 38.3% of the *ḥadīth*, as some *ḥadīth* cite both authors as sources.

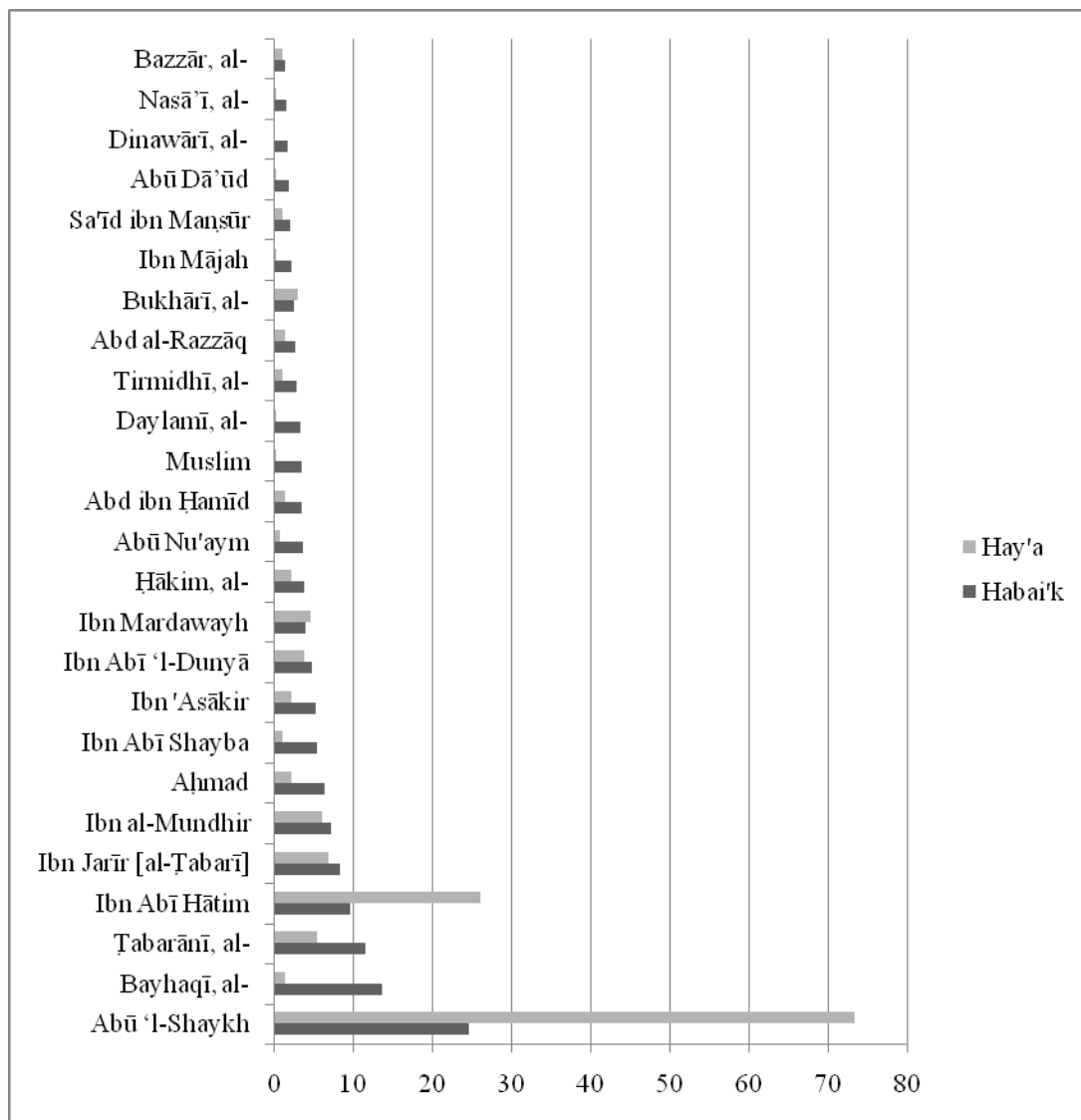


Fig (iv) Chart of al-Suyūṭī's sources in *al-Ḥabā'ik* and *al-Hay'a*

The data reveal some interesting trends. Firstly, Abū 'l-Shaykh is the most cited author in both *al-Hay'a* and *al-Ḥabā'ik*, but especially so in *al-Hay'a*, where Abū 'l-Shaykh dominates the work. K. E. Nolin's study of al-Suyūṭī's sources for his *Itqān* shows that he adapted and enlarged al-Zarkashī's *Burhān*; the data above seem to reveal a similar relationship between his *al-Hay'a* and Abū 'l-Shaykh's *Kitāb al-ʿazama*. The same relationship is not so evident in al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik*, although the work does also feature prominently. There are also a great number of common

authors, with only four out of forty-one authors appearing in *al-Hay'a* that do not appear in *al-Habā'ik*.¹¹⁸ Despite this, the frequency of the authors being used in each of the works shows only a weak correlation. This evidence suggests that al-Suyūṭī had a core set of works which he consulted for his *ḥadīth* collections, but the frequency of their use depends on the *ḥadīth* that they contain, and their usefulness to a particular work. It also suggests that al-Suyūṭī, as Nolin has shown, uses one or two particular works as a basis from which to compile a larger collection: in the case of *al-Hay'a*, it appears to be based exclusively on Abū 'l-Shaykh, whereas *al-Habā'ik* focuses on the works of Abū 'l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī.¹¹⁹

The *khātima* shows a slightly different relationship between al-Suyūṭī and his sources, which is more difficult to analyse empirically. As it has been seen above, the *khātima* draws on a wide range of sources, collecting and presenting various mediaeval materials on angels in *kalām*. Al-Suyūṭī makes extensive citations throughout the *khātima* with little personal comment, from both brief statements of doctrine, such as al-Kalabādhī's *Kitāb al-ta'arruf li-madhhab ahl al-taṣawwuf*, in which al-Kalabādhī's thoughts are not reproduced in full,¹²⁰ to the citations of entire chapters, such as the thirty-third chapter of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *Kitāb al-arba'īn: Fī an al-malā'ika afdal aw al-anbiyā'*.¹²¹

Such extensive quotation suggests that the *khātima* was written to act as a primer, presenting the views of past scholars on the issue of the precedence of angels and prophets. A number of such works were composed in this period, and it was

¹¹⁸ Ibn al-Hārith, Ibn Abī Zamīl, al-Qurtubī and Abū 'Ubayd.

¹¹⁹ A future area of research would be an analysis of al-Suyūṭī's sources in a much larger sample.

¹²⁰ Cf. Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Habā'ik*, p. 240 and Arberry, A. J. (tr.), *The Doctrine of the Sūfīs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977) p. 53.

¹²¹ Cf. Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Habā'ik*, pp. 207 – 226; al-Rāzī, Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Umar, *Kitāb al-arba'īn fī uṣūl al-dīn* (Hyderabad: Maṭba'at Majlis Dā'irāt al-Ma'ārif al-'Uthmāniyyah, 1353 / 1934) pp. 368 – 384.

common to include such a large amount of cited material: ‘By the later medieval period, scholars in institutions of higher learning established in several cities and towns of the Mamluk empire had generated myriad texts, treatises, commentaries, handbooks, and primers for curricular use.’¹²² Furthermore, the relative lack of analysis or ideas on al-Suyūṭī’s part would seem to suggest that it was not necessarily aimed at the scholarly community. It is true that extensive quotation is common in later theological works; yet, there is a tendency to engage with the material and challenge it significantly at some juncture in the work. Al-Suyūṭī does include some personal comment towards the end of the *khātima*, but it is much more limited than in other *kalām* works of the period. Despite the high consideration of his own abilities, al-Suyūṭī never really considered himself to be a *mutakallim*.¹²³ Muḥammad Jalāl Abū ‘l-Futūḥ Sharaf provides an extremely useful portrayal of al-Suyūṭī’s relationship with *kalām*, He states:

‘There is no doubt that al-Suyūṭī’s position on the discipline of *kalām* was one of suspicion and mistrust of its influence on the doctrines of Islam and its capability to mislead and cause deviant [views]. But it will be seen that al-Suyūṭī distinguishes between the disciplines of *kalām* that are founded on pure senseless debate, which can be seen in the *mutakallimūn* of the innovators and between *kalām* that is based on the Book, the *Sunna* and defence of Islamic doctrines and the refutation of the innovators and those that have deviated [from Islam].’¹²⁴

¹²² Petry, ‘Scholastic Stasis’ p. 324; see also Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge*, pp. 24 – 25.

¹²³ In his autobiography, al-Suyūṭī highlights eighteen of his works as being particularly important, none of these are in the field of *kalām*; see Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī*, vol. 2, p. 105 and Saleh, ‘al-Suyūṭī’ pp. 86 – 87.

¹²⁴ Sharaf, Muḥammad Jalāl Abū ‘l-Futūḥ, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī: manḥajuhu wa-ārā’uhu al-kalāmiyya* (Beirut: Dār al-Naḥḍa al-‘Arabiyya, 1981) p. 73 [tr. Burge].

For al-Suyūṭī *kalām* did have its benefits for the study of Islam, but he distanced himself from speculative theology. *Kalām* was acceptable, as long as it sought to support the Qur’ān, the *Sunna* and the creeds.¹²⁵ In the *khātima* in *al-Ḥabā’ik*, al-Suyūṭī engages with elements of *kalām* that support the *sunna*, but not necessarily *kalām* as a discipline in its entirety. The *khātima* presents a summary of *kalām* arguments that support orthodox beliefs, rather than advancing new ideas into the field.

However, the *khātima* is not the only section that deals with philosophical and theological issues. The presence of an early chapter in *al-Ḥabā’ik* with the title: ‘The Origin of the Creation of the Angels and the Proof that their Substance is in Contradiction to the Philosophers’¹²⁶ suggests an engagement with Islamic peripatetic philosophy in the *ḥadīth* section as well. Although only three *ḥadīth* (0.4%) are included in this chapter, it clearly shows that it was an issue of concern. The opposition of Islam to Greek philosophy in some quarters is well known,¹²⁷ and al-Suyūṭī wrote a number of works against the use of Greek logic himself.¹²⁸ The issue at stake in *al-Ḥabā’ik* concerns the physical substance of angels: in Islamic philosophy some held that angels were intellects and were incorporeal.¹²⁹ The most famous philosopher to deny angels bodies was Ibn Sīna, who in his *al-Shifā’*

¹²⁵ Cf. Sharaf, *al-Suyūṭī*, pp. 113 – 116.

¹²⁶ *Mabda’ khalq al-malā’ik wa-’l-dalāla ‘alā anhum ajsām khalāfan li-’l-falāsifa’*; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Ḥabā’ik*, pp. 10 – 11, §2 – 4.

¹²⁷ See Goldziher, Ignaz, ‘Die Stellung der alten Orthodoxie zu den antiken Wissenschaften’ *GS* vol. 5, pp. 357 – 400 and Watt, W. M., *Islamic Philosophy and Theology* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1985) pp. 133 – 148.

¹²⁸ See Ali, Mufti, ‘A Statistical Portrait of the Resistance to Logic by Sunni Muslim Scholars Based on the Works of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (849-909/1448-1505)’ *ILS* 15 (2008) pp. 250 – 267 and Ali, Mufti, *Muslim Opposition to Logic and Theology in the Light of the Works of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505)*, PhD. Thesis, University of Leiden, 2008.

¹²⁹ See Corbin, Henry (tr. W. R. Trask), *Avicenna and the Visionary Recital* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961) pp. 46 – 122 and Netton, *Allah Transcendent*, pp. 162 – 172.

explicitly refers to angels as incorporeal intellects.¹³⁰ Al-Suyūṭī's chapter stresses that the angels are corporeal and that they are made of fire or light, the tradition understanding of angelic substance.¹³¹

There is little to suggest that al-Suyūṭī is responding to a specific text that propounds the belief in the incorporeality of angels, and he simply appears to be reiterating the case against Islamic peripatetic philosophy. However, interest in *Muṣṭazilī* theology was revived from the thirteenth century onwards,¹³² Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672 / 1274)¹³³ being a notable example. This synthesis became the basis of the Isfahan School, which came to dominate Twelver philosophy a century after al-Suyūṭī's death.¹³⁴ In the intervening period, a number of scholars advanced such theological thinking, including Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥillī¹³⁵ (d. 726 / 1325) and Ibn Abī Jumhūr al-Aḥsā'ī (d. 906 / 1501).¹³⁶ Likewise, the angels were held to be incorporeal in Jewish *kabbalah*,¹³⁷ but it would seem unlikely that al-Suyūṭī is engaging with medieval Jewish philosophy in *al-Ḥabā'ik* specifically. There is no doubt that speculative theology was being pursued in al-Suyūṭī's lifetime.

¹³⁰ Ibn Sīna refers to '*al-malā'ika al-rūḥāniyya al-mujarrada allatī tasmiyya 'aqūlan*' [...spiritual angels denuded [of matter] that are called "intellects"...] Michael E. Marmura (ed. & tr.), *Avicenna: The Metaphysics of The Healing* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 2005) p. 358.

¹³¹ Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī combines Islamic peripateticism and traditional notions of angels in Islam in his illuminationist philosophy; see Burge, 'Suhrawardian Angeology' for a discussion of these ideas.

¹³² See Cooper, John, 'From al-Ṭūsī to the School of Isfahān' in Seyyed Hossein Nasr and Oliver Leaman (eds.), *History of Islamic Philosophy* (London: Routledge, 1996) pp. 585 – 596.

¹³³ Daiber, H., and Ragep, F. J., 'Al-Ṭūsī, Naṣīr al-Dīn, Abū Dja'far Muḥammad' *EF*² vol. 10 pp. 746 – 752.

¹³⁴ For more on the Isfahan School, see Dabashi, Hamad, 'Mīr Dāmād and the founding of the "School of Isfahān"' in Nasr and Leaman (eds.), *History of Islamic Philosophy*, pp. 597 – 634.

¹³⁵ Jafri, S. H. M., 'al-Ḥillī, (1) Djamāl al-Dīn' *EF*² vol. 3, p. 390; see also Schmidtke, Sabine, *The Theology of al-Allāma al-Ḥillī (d. 726 / 1325)* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1991).

¹³⁶ See Madelung, W., 'Ibn Abī Djumhūr al-Aḥsā'ī' *EF*² vol. 12, p. 380; Madelung, W., 'Ibn Abī Jumhūr al-Aḥsā'ī's synthesis of *kalām*, philosophy and Shi'ism' in Mantran (ed.), *La signification du Bas Moyen Age*, pp. 147 – 156 and Schmidtke, Sabine, *Theologie, Philosophie und Mystik in zwölferschiitischen Islam des 9./15/ Jahrhunderts: Die Gedankenwelten des Ibn Abī Ğumhūr al-Aḥsā'ī (um 838-1434-35 – nach 906/1501)* (Leiden: Brill, 2000).

¹³⁷ See Tirosh-Samuelson, Hava, 'Philosophy and Kabbalah: 1200 – 1600' in Daniel H. Frank and Oliver Leaman (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Jewish Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) pp. 218 – 257, p. 227.

However, as al-Suyūṭī does not refer to any specific texts or authors, it is difficult to ascertain whether he is engaging with these *mutakallimūn*. If al-Suyūṭī was not responding to any specific text, it is conceivable that he became aware of a resurgence in the belief in the incorporeality of angels in general terms and so responded to that; but this can only be conjecture. However, its presence and placement at the beginning of the collection do show that al-Suyūṭī believed it was an important issue to discuss.

This survey of al-Suyūṭī's use of sources has shown a number of important aspects of al-Suyūṭī's methodological approach, although much more work needs to be done to understand it more fully. Firstly, al-Suyūṭī appears to have used an *Urtext* for his compilations, around which he adds, removes and expands material. In some cases, this *Urtext* is extremely prominent, in others, such as his *al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik*, it is less so. Secondly, al-Suyūṭī applied different types of sources in the *ḥadīth* and *kalām* sections. The *ḥadīth* are sources from an early period, the third to fourth centuries *hijrī*, whereas the *kalām* material is derived principally from material from the seventh century onwards. This appears to reflect the need for the *ḥadīth* to be taken from the formative period of *ḥadīth* collection, and the *kalām* material to reflect more contemporary discussions. Lastly, the *khātima* makes use of extended citation, and appears to have the reproduction of key ideas and expositions of the theological problem being discussed as its main aim.

1.5 The Purpose of *al-Ḥabā'ik* and its Audience

The purpose of al-Suyūṭī's *ḥadīth* compilations and their audience can, at times, be a little difficult to ascertain. The discussions above have shown that the *ḥadīth* section and the *khātima* utilise different types of sources and approaches, and that the historical milieu of fifteenth-century Cairo was complex and dynamic. There are many different audiences to which *al-Ḥabā'ik* could be aimed: the masses, the literate public, students or academics. The juxtaposition of the *ḥadīth* and the *khātima* does little to help resolve the issue.

Éric Geoffroy has commented that: '...[al-Suyūṭī] prefigures the modern period by certain aspects, such as being partly an autodidact, presenting to the public, which he wanted to be widened, manuals which were centred around precise themes.'¹³⁸ If his works were intended for the general public, some of them certainly required a degree of learning: the *khātima* that follows *al-Ḥabā'ik*, for instance, contains detailed theological discussions. Yet, at the same time, there is a tension in his collections between the use of this overtly scholarly material and his frequent reliance on weak and non-Prophetic *ḥadīth*,¹³⁹ as well as elements of folklore.¹⁴⁰

As it has been seen above, there is textual evidence that al-Suyūṭī was engaged in promoting scholarly *ḥadīth* studies during his lifetime and that he

¹³⁸ Geoffroy, 'al-Suyūṭī' p. 914.

¹³⁹ cf. Bauer, Thomas, 'Islamische Totenbücher. Entwicklung einer Textgattung im Schatten al-Ġazālīs' from S. Leder (ed.), *Studies in Arabic and Islam* (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 2002) pp. 421 – 436, p. 424.

¹⁴⁰ There has been much secondary literature written on popular Islamic literature: e.g. Abdel-Malek, Kamal, 'Popular Religious Narratives' *CHAL* vol. 6, pp. 330 – 346; Reynolds, Dwight F., 'Popular Prose in the Post-Classical Period' *CHAL* vol. 6, pp. 245 – 269; Knappert, Jan, *Islamic Legends: Histories of the Heroes, Saints and Prophets of Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1985) and Brinner, William M., 'Popular Literature in Medieval Jewish Arabic' in Norman Golb (ed.), *Judeo-Arabic Studies: Proceedings of the Founding Conference of the Society for Judeo-Arabic Studies* (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1997) pp. 59 – 71.

attacked those who used *ḥadīth* without having had any proper training in the field.¹⁴¹ However, Marlis Saleh suggests the best explanation; she comments that: ‘Al-Suyūṭī came to feel that he had been born into an age of widespread ignorance and scholarly decline, and that as the most knowledgeable person of his time he had a special mission to assemble and transmit the Islamic cultural patrimony before it disappeared entirely due to the carelessness of his contemporaries.’¹⁴² It would seem that al-Suyūṭī was engaged in two different activities at the same time: firstly, promoting particular ideas about different subjects (in these case, angels) to the wider Muslim public; and, secondly, addressing more academic and theological issues, preserving them for future generations of scholars and students. It is, perhaps, for this reason that in *al-Ḥabā’ik* the theological arguments are kept within the confines of the *khātima*; those who did not understand *kalām*, or were not interested in it, could simply ignore it.

The *ḥadīth* found in al-Suyūṭī’s *al-Ḥabā’ik* are often part of the *qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā’* genre. As has been seen above, al-Suyūṭī and his contemporaries like al-Sakhāwī were involved in attempts to combat the growth of the preachers and the story-tellers. These popular preachers, in the opinion of the ‘*ulamā’*’, were using *ḥadīth* inappropriately. The *quṣṣās* narrated stories in the *qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā’* tradition, which itself had a strong association with ‘popular religion’: ‘The classification of Kisai’s [*Qīṣās al-anbiyā’*] as popular religious literature may be suggested by its tendency to simplify Biblical-Quranic legends for the education and enjoyment of the

¹⁴¹ See Berkey, Jonathan P., ‘Tradition, Innovation and the Social Construction of Knowledge in the Medieval Islamic Near East’ *PP* 146 (1995) pp. 38 –65, pp. 61 - 65 and Berkey, ‘Storytelling, Preaching, and Power’.

¹⁴² Saleh, ‘Al-Suyūṭī’ p. 76.

masses...¹⁴³ The use of *qīṣaṣ* material in *al-Ḥabā'ik* may be an indication of its target audience: such material is being used in attempt to wean the general public of the *quṣṣaṣ* onto the works of the orthodox, acceptable and scholarly *'ulamā'*.

Naturally, much of this *qīṣaṣ* material is also found in the *tafsīr* works, but al-Suyūṭī does appear to have utilized this material much more frequently than scholars of earlier generations. This trend can be seen in both his general encyclopaedic *ḥadīth* collections and his more formal exegeses, such as his *al-Durr al-manthūr*. Such a blurring between formal and popular works was common in late Mamluk literature, which '...transcends boundaries: the boundaries between the everyday and literary communication; between popular and high literatures; between poetry and prose; between the private and public; between theory and praxis.'¹⁴⁴ Whether or not such a blurring was a direct response to the growth of the *wu^{cc}az* and the *quṣṣāṣ* is difficult to ascertain, but there certainly seems to be an engagement with 'popular' material in this period, which al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik* also exhibits.

This more 'popular' material is juxtaposed with the *khātima* – a section that clearly requires a high degree of intellectual ability. Al-Suyūṭī refers to the *khātima* in his introduction to the work as the whole, and states: 'I have ended it with a useful lesson, which will make those who see it glad.'¹⁴⁵ Al-Suyūṭī clearly intended it to be read, but by whom? The material in the *khātima* and its recapitulation of the work of earlier *mutakallimūn* seems to suggest that the postscript was aimed towards students, acting as a primer or summary of *kalām* arguments about angels. The relationship between the *ḥadīth* section and the *khātima* is difficult to comprehend, because, except for the presence of the angels, the two sections appear to have little in

¹⁴³ Shoshan, 'High Culture', p. 85.

¹⁴⁴ Bauer, 'Mamluk Literature', p. 130.

¹⁴⁵ Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Ḥabā'ik*, p. 9.

common in their approach, sources and contents. There is, however, one quite general theme that can take both the *ḥadīth* and the *kalām* materials into account. Over the whole text there is a sense that work is attempting to outline all beliefs about angels in Islam, both those raised in the *ḥadīth* and in Islamic theology, making the work almost a ‘text book’ on belief in angels.

All of this would seem to suggest that *al-Ḥabā’ik* was aimed at a literate audience, but not necessarily those at the highest level of academia. It is not really an ‘academic’ work in that sense. It has already been seen that al-Suyūṭī wrote many works that could be considered as being fully *academic*, engaging in logic, law, exegesis and the *uṣūl al-dīn*, among many other subject areas. This material is quite different in nature and form to *al-Ḥabā’ik*. Furthermore, an analysis of al-Suyūṭī’s works shows that he also wrote much material that could be considered as being more popularist. Al-Suyūṭī’s *Al-Ḥabā’ik fī akhbār al-malā’ik* sits somewhere in between these two audiences: neither fully academic, nor aimed entirely at the masses, but whether it was aimed at the literate general public or students specifically is difficult to ascertain. It would seem likely that both groups would have benefited from the work.

Appreciating al-Suyūṭī’s target audiences produces some interesting insights on al-Suyūṭī as an author. He appears to have been engaged with a wide range of different groups of society: academics, students and the general public. His arrogant nature may not have enamoured him to the Cairene *intelligentsia*, but he does appear to have achieved a degree of fame and reputation, a fact not missed by Reynold Nicholson. After discussing his various disputes with contemporary scholars, Nicholson comments: ‘Be this as it may, he saw what the public wanted. His

compendious and readable handbooks were famed throughout the Moslem world...¹⁴⁶ Al-Suyūṭī knew what sort of books and *ḥadīth* collections were wanted, and he obligingly responded, writing works for a wide range of different social groups in Mamluk Cairo.

Others, such as al-Sakhāwī and Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī, appear to have acted similarly;¹⁴⁷ this would seem to imply that scholars of the late Mamluk period were more deeply involved in the world outside academia than previous generations of scholars. This period is often accused of being a period of stagnation and intellectual malaise;¹⁴⁸ but, authors such as al-Suyūṭī show an awareness and interaction with the whole range of audiences in Mamluk Cairo. The Mamluk era was a period of great intellectual activity, not stagnation, seen especially in the interaction of scholars with the wider community – an academic model that, perhaps, has much to resonate with the contemporary world.

¹⁴⁶ Nicholson, R. A., *A Literary History of the Arabs* (repr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953) p. 455.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. Rosenthal, F., 'Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī' *EP* vol. 3, pp. 776 – 778 and Petry, 'al-Sakhāwī'.

¹⁴⁸ Gardet commented: 'Elle semble avoir marqué l'entrée de la pensée religieuse musulmane en une longue période de stagnation...on peut situer au cours de ce IXe siècle de l'hégire le début effectif de l'ankylose qui se prolongera plus de quatre siècles.' Gardet, Louis, 'De quelle manière s'est ankylosée la pensée religieuse de l'Islam' in R. Brunschwig and G. E. von Grunebaum (eds.), *Classicisme et Déclin Culturel dans l'Histoire de l'Islam* (Paris: Editions Besson, 1957), pp. 93 – 105, p. 95. Such a position is now being questioned, see Bauer, Thomas, 'Mamluk Literature: Misunderstandings and New Approaches' *MSR* 9:2 (2005) pp. 105 – 132.

The Origins of Islamic Beliefs About Angels

2. The Origins of Islamic Beliefs about Angels

Although angels appear in the Qur'ān, with Gabriel and Michael explicitly named, the traditions included in Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* show a great increase in the number of angels. The question naturally arises about how these traditions entered Islam and from where they originated. Understanding the provenance of these *ḥadīth* will provide a basis for comprehending the wider interactions between Islam and other religious traditions of the Near East, and allows a particular motif or concept to be placed in context: in what ways is an Islamic motif similar or different to its use in Judaism or Christianity?

The aim of this section is not to analyse the *ḥadīth* in source-critical terms, as this would not actually achieve very reliable results for a number of reasons: firstly, the majority of *Isrā'īliyyāt* traditions passed into Islam through oral transmission,¹⁴⁹ often through a number of different sectarian and language groups.¹⁵⁰ This makes literary comparison or any source-critical approach difficult and of questionable value. Secondly, *ḥadīth* present material in a different way to Jewish and Christian texts. There is no real counterpart to the *ḥadīth collection* in Jewish or Christian literature; *ḥadīth* collections reproduce isolated fragments of information, usually

¹⁴⁹ See Nagel, T., 'Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā' *ET* vol. 5, pp. 180 – 181 and Vajda, G., 'Isrā'īliyyāt' *ET* vol. 4, pp. 211 – 212; for a discussion of the term *Isrā'īliyyāt*, see Tottoli, Roberto, 'Origin and Use of the Term *Isrā'īliyyāt* in Muslim Literature' *Arabica* 46 (1999) pp. 193 – 210.

¹⁵⁰ Steven Wasserstrom comments: 'Rarely if ever will it be certain that an ancient Jewish pseudepigraph was taken over into Muslim narrative without such Christian intermediation.' Wasserstrom, Steven M., 'Jewish Pseudepigrapha in Muslim Literature: A Bibliographical and Methodological Sketch' in John C. Reeves (ed.), *Tracing the Threads: Studies in the Vitality of Jewish Pseudepigrapha* (Atlanta: Scholars' Press, 1994) pp. 87 – 114, p. 99.

with little in the way of contextualisation.¹⁵¹ At most, a *ḥadīth* collection will offer a short narrative unit, such as the *Death of Moses* or the story of *Hārūt and Mārūt*.¹⁵² Furthermore, even if a Judeo-Christian story or motif is found in a Muslim text, it is often adapted and changed to suit its new religious environment. In his discussion of al-Tha^clabī's version of the death of David, Kees Wagtendonk comments: 'As is the case with Wahb b. Munabbih's David stories, parts of these stories are derived from or influenced by Jewish or Christian sources. But this does not necessarily determine their intentions. We have to judge them by their new context.'¹⁵³ When approaching the *ḥadīth* in this collection in an attempt to understand the origin of Muslim beliefs about angels, a number of parallels will be made between the *ḥadīth* and Jewish, Christian and other texts. However, the purpose is not to attribute sources to particular beliefs or motifs in the *ḥadīth*, but to highlight commonalities and differences between Islam and other religious traditions in general terms.¹⁵⁴ It is also important to place any commonalities in the context of their differences, so that a general and full picture about the interaction between Islam with other faiths can be seen.

¹⁵¹ Rabbinic texts are often collections of the sayings of the sages, but they are almost always placed within a wider legal or exegetical context (*halakha* and *haggadah*); see Maccoby, Hyam, *Early Rabbinic Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) pp. 1 – 48. Some Christian texts, such as the *Coptic Gospel of Thomas* and the *Gospel of Philip* are also collections of the sayings of Jesus, but this form is relatively rare in Christian texts.

¹⁵² Eg. §146 & 248 – 255; cf. El Calamawy, Sahair, 'Narrative Elements in the *Ḥadīth* Literature' *CHAL* vol. 1, pp. 308 – 316.

¹⁵³ Wagtendonk, 'Stories of David' p. 344; see also Wasserstrom, 'Jewish Psuedepigrapha and *Qisas al-Anbiyā*'.

¹⁵⁴ After a period in Biblical Studies where many studies were undertaken drawing parallels between the Old Testament and Ancient Near Eastern literature, Sandmel highlighted the problems that can be encountered when undertaking such work; see Sandmel, 'Parallelomania'.

At a basic level, Islamic beliefs about angels have largely been attributed to Jewish and Christian ones,¹⁵⁵ but there has not been much subsequent study of Islamic angelology as a whole. In order to understand the origins of Muslim beliefs about angels, a wide range of traditions need to be analysed so that a general picture of the situation can be taken. A study of a specific tradition may indicate an influence from one particular source or tradition, but that source may play a very minor role in the influences on Islamic angelology as whole. The study that follows looks at the *ḥadīth* presented by al-Suyūṭī in his *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* in an attempt to assess the influences on Islamic angelology, through (i) the analysis of angelic nomenclature and (ii) a comparison of the depiction and iconography of the angels in *al-Ḥabā'ik*. What will be seen is that the influences on Islamic angelic traditions are more varied than may have been expected.

2.1 Angelic Nomenclature

The way in which objects and people are named often reveals much about both the object (or the person) and the one that did the naming. The modern discipline of semiotics is based on this principle and to a certain extent played a part in classical Arabic linguistic theory. Many mediaeval Arabic linguists attempted to find the etymological origins of the names of places and animals etc., so they could understand the word more clearly.¹⁵⁶ Likewise, a study of the way that angels are

¹⁵⁵ For example, Gaudefroy-Demombynes comments: 'From Judaism and Christianity, Islam learned the names of spirits not known before, and it gave them definite forms...' Gaudefroy-Demombynes, M., 'Demons and Spirits (Muslim)' in *ERE* vol. 4, pp. 615 – 619, p. 615.

¹⁵⁶ See Stetkevych, Jaroslav, 'Name and Epithet: The Philology and Semiotics of Animal Nomenclature in Early Arabic Poetry' *JNES* 45 (1986) pp. 89 – 124.

named reveals two key aspects: firstly, the physical origin of the angelic name; and secondly, the way in which the angel was perceived by a particular group.

What is evident from the angels found in al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* is that there is a relatively large quantity of angels that are singled out and 'named' (albeit not always with individual personal names), and that the way in which this is done varies greatly. This, in itself, suggests that angels were incorporated into Islam in different ways and that the origins and development of Islamic beliefs about angels are more complex than some scholars have believed in the past. There are four main ways in which Islamic angels are named: (i) use of the suffix '-īl'; (ii) function names using the formula 'the Angel of X'; (iii) function names formed without *malak*, which are often derivations from concepts or (physical) objects and (iv) other miscellaneous names of varied or complex origin.

The main sources for Jewish and Christian angelic names are the Talmud, Midrash and other rabbinic texts, Old and New Testament Pseudepigrapha, the Dead Sea Scrolls, as well as other magical incantation texts and later Jewish and Christian mystical treatises.¹⁵⁷ In Judaism the most common form of an angelic name is one composed with the suffix '-ēl', a suffix that is maintained in both Jewish and Christian angelic names in other non-Semitic languages. These types of angelic names have meanings associated with God ['ēl]; for example, *Mikā'ēl*, means 'one like God' and *Gabrī'ēl* means 'power of God'. In the Bible named angels only appear in the post-exilic book of Daniel and were developed in the inter-testamental

¹⁵⁷ For a comprehensive survey of angelic names see Michl, J., 'Engel V (Katalog der Engelnamen) *RAC* vol. 5, coll. 200 – 239; Petersen, Erik, 'Engel- und Dämonennamen. Nomina Barbara.' *RMP* 75 (1926) pp. 393 – 421 and Davidson, Gustav, *Dictionary of Angels* (London: Collier-Macmillan, 1967). Julia Creswell's recent popular *The Watkins's Dictionary of Angels* (London: Watkins, 2006) contains many angelic names and some details about them, but has little information regarding sources.

period, perhaps influenced by Zoroastrianism,¹⁵⁸ and culminated in Pseudepigraphical texts.¹⁵⁹ In his commentary on *1 Enoch* George Nickelsburg highlights a number of reasons why named angels became popular in the inter-Testamental period, concluding that: ‘In general, however, it has the effect of reifying the heavenly world. If it does not give personalities to these beings, it does give definition and an increasing sense of reality to these beings – whether they be good or evil – concretizing their functions on their names...’¹⁶⁰

Another important way that angelic names were given in Judaism arose out of exegeses of passages in the Hebrew Bible.¹⁶¹ In these instances, heavenly objects found in scripture become angelic, often forming a group of angels, rather than individuals. As a result, these groups usually take the form of the standard Hebrew plural (*-īm*) of the hypostasised object. For example, the wheels of God’s chariot become the group of angels called the *ōpannīm* [‘the wheels’].¹⁶² These two forms of angelic nomenclature are the most common, but angelic names not taking either of these forms can be found. These angels are usually conceptual, i.e. anthropomorphic (or rather angelomorphic) representations of abstract ideas such as ‘Death’,

¹⁵⁸ See Winston, David, ‘The Iranian Component in the Bible, Apocrypha, and Qumran: A Review of the Evidence’ *HR* 5 (1966) pp. 183 - 216, pp. 189 - 192. Some early commentators argued that Jewish angelology developed during the period of exile in Persia; e.g. Kohut, A., ‘Was hat die Talmudische Eschatologie aus dem Parsismus aufgenommen?’ *ZDMG* 21 (1867) pp. 552-91 and Kohut, A., *Ueber die jüdische Angelologie und Daemonologie in ihrer Abhängigkeit vom Parsismus* (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1866). However, this influence is no longer seen to have been as strong as nineteenth century scholars, such as Kohut, suggested; cf. Barr, James, ‘The Question of Religious Influence: The Case of Zoroastrianism, Judaism and Christianity’ *JAAR* 53 (1985) pp. 201 – 236.

¹⁵⁹ E.g. *1 Enoch* contains a great number of angelic names formed in this way.

¹⁶⁰ Nickelsburg, George E., *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001) p. 45.

¹⁶¹ Cf. Olyan, *A Thousand Thousands*. Olyan, however, does have a tendency to overstate the role of exegesis in the development of Jewish angelology, as C. R. A. Morray-Jones comments: ‘Beliefs about angels were not simply generated, within a religious and social vacuum, by anomalies in the text of Scripture.’ Morray-Jones, C. R. A., ‘Review of Saul M. Olyan, *A Thousand Thousands Served Him: Exegesis and the Naming of Angels in Ancient Judaism*’ *JSS* 42 (1997) pp. 154 – 159, p. 159.

¹⁶² See Olyan, *A Thousand Thousands*, pp. 34 – 41 and Halperin, David J., ‘The Exegetical Character of Ezek. X 9 - 17’ *VT* 26 (1976) pp. 129 - 141.

‘Wisdom’ and so on;¹⁶³ or are ultimately derived from other non-Semitic languages, such as Greek.

This section will look at the different types of angelic names included in al-Suyūṭī’s *Al-Ḥabā’ik fī akhbār al-malā’ik*, attempting to locate their origin and the significance of their nomenclature.

2.1.1 Theophoric Names

A number of angelic names included in *Al-Ḥabā’ik* derive from Hebrew (or North-West Semitic equivalents), with some changes in vocalisation. Angelic names in Hebrew, Aramaic and Syriac are most often compounds formed with the termination *-’ēl*, meaning ‘X of God’. The most common theophoric name in Islam is, of course, Gabriel / *Jibrīl*. The Qur’ānic *muṣṣhaf* reads *Jibrīl* for the angel Gabirel, but there are a number of variations extant, including: *jabra’īl*, *jabrīl*, *jabrāll*, *jabrīn*.¹⁶⁴ These variations suggest that the name is of foreign origin and it was thought to be either Hebrew or Syriac in traditional lexicography.¹⁶⁵

Despite the retention of the ending *-īl* (the Arabic equivalent of the Hebrew *’ēl*), the angelic name often loses its original meaning when transferred to Arabic and, even when it could be retained, the original Hebrew sense is usually

¹⁶³ Cf. Brandon, S. G. F., ‘The Personification of Death in some Ancient Religions’ *JJRL* 43 (1960 – 1961) pp. 317 – 335 and Ringgren, Helmar, *Word and Wisdom: Studies in the Hypostasation of Divine Qualities and Functions in the Ancient Near East* (Lund: H. Ohlsson, 1947).

¹⁶⁴ See Jeffrey, *Foreign Vocabulary* pp. 100 – 101 & 275 - 276. Variants of the Gabirel can be found in the Codices of Ubai ibn Ka’b, ‘Alī, Ibn ‘Abbās, ‘Alqama, ‘Ikrima and al-A‘mash on Q 2:97 – 98; see Jeffery, A., *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qur’ān* (Leiden, Brill, 1937) pp. 119, 189, 195, 242, 269 & 315; see also al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn (ed. Muḥammad Abū ‘l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm), *Al-Itqān fī ‘ulūm al-Qur’ān* (Cairo: Maktabat wa-Maṭba‘at al-Mashad al-Ḥusaynī, s.d.) vol. 4, p. 68 and al-Jawālīqī, Abū Mansūr ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Khiḍr (ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākīr), *Al-Mu‘arrab min al-kalām al-‘jamī ‘alā ‘urūf al-mu‘jam* (Tehran; s.n., 1966) pp. 113 – 115 & 327.

¹⁶⁵ See al-Zabīdī, *TA*, vol. 28, pp. 45 – 46; Jeffrey suggests Syriac as the vocalisation (*Gabri’ēl*) is closer to the Arabic; Jeffery, *Foreign Vocabulary*, p. 100; cf. Payne-Smith, Robert, *Thesaurus Syriacus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879) vol. 1, p. 648.

ignored. For example, §89 states that: ‘Gabriel’s name [means] servant of God; Michael’s name [means] servant of God; and Isrāfīl’s name [means] servant of the Merciful.’¹⁶⁶ The *ḥadīth* gives the three names meanings that are not strictly correct in the Hebrew sense; but the new names are revealing. Whereas the Hebrew names enhance the power and might of God, the Arabic names highlight the angels’ subservience to God.¹⁶⁷ These translations do, however, still retain the correct translation of *’ēl / ’īl* as ‘God’.¹⁶⁸

The *-īl* ending is also given an ‘incorrect’ definition in two of the *ḥadīth* found in *al-Ḥabā’ik*: §37 states that ‘every name has *Īl* in it, and this means ‘the Temple of God.’¹⁶⁹ Again, this translation (or definition) shows some ingenuity, as *’ēl* is the Hebrew word for God and *īl* is not in Arabic, it had to be translated or interpreted in a different way. To say that *īl* means the ‘temple of God’ circumvents this problem. It also avoids the introduction of another, non-Islamic, name for God. However, in the Arabic lexicographical tradition *īl* is usually given the simple explanation ‘a name of God, Most High.’¹⁷⁰

Al-Ḥabā’ik includes eleven angelic names ending in *-īl*: *Jibrīl* (Gabriel), *Mīkā’īl* (Michael), *Isrāfīl*, *Ismā’īl*, *Riyāfīl*, *Ramyā’īl*, *Sharahīl*, *Harahīl*, *Artiyā’īl*, *’Azrā’īl / ’Izrā’īl* and *Rufīl*. The origin of the angels *Jibrīl / Jibrā’īl* (Hebrew: *Gabri’ēl*) and *Mīkā’īl (Mīkā’ēl)* are both well-known and have been frequently

¹⁶⁶ §89; cf. §36 – 38 & §78; these translations are also found in Al-Zabīdī, *TA*, vol. 28, pp. 45 – 46.

¹⁶⁷ Rabbinic texts do, however, still stress that angels are ‘lower’ than humans, because of their inability to do other than that which God has commanded them to do; cf. Schechter, S., ‘Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology’ *JQR* 7 (1895) pp. 195 – 215.

¹⁶⁸ Some Arabic texts do not attempt to give a precise meaning for the name, for example in one text about the *mī’rāj*, Michael says to Muḥammad, ‘I am called *Mīkā’īl* simply because I am appointed over the rain and the plants.’ McKane, W., ‘A Manuscript on the *Mī’rāj* in the Bodleian’ *JSS* 2 (1947), pp. 366 – 379, p. 370.

¹⁶⁹ §37; §36 also has a similar statement.

¹⁷⁰ Al-Zabīdī, *TA*, vol. 28, p. 45 ; see also al-Suyūṭī, *Itqān*, vol. 4, p. 68 and al-Ṭabārī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, pp. 436 - 438.

discussed.¹⁷¹ The use and adaptation of Judeo-Christian theophoric names would, at first sight, produce a strong case for a Judeo-Christian influence on this type of Islamic nomenclature. However, there are a number of idiosyncrasies in the Arabic names that make this relationship more complex.

A number of the names included in *al-Ḥabā'ik* have strong etymological links with Jewish angels,¹⁷² but other names are philologically further removed. For example, Artiyā'īl, an angel responsible for removing grief from humans, bears some philological similarity to the angel Uriel (Hebrew: 'uri'ēl).¹⁷³ An etymological relationship between the two is potentially possible as the Arabic name only includes the addition of the infix '-ti-' and some minor vowel modifications. The initial *alif* is left without any diacritical marks and is usually vocalised with a *fatha*; however, a *kasra* (i.e. Irtiyā'īl) would, perhaps, make more sense – linking it to VIII R-W-Ā, (to quench one's thirst), which is what this angel does in an abstract way. However, it must be stressed that this is only conjecture, as there is no other textual evidence available to gain a fuller understanding of the name's origin.

Another example relates to the two angels Rūfīl (also given as Rufā'īl)¹⁷⁴ and Riyāfīl, which both appear to derive from the Hebrew *Rupa'ēl* (Aramaic *Rapa'ēl*) with a fairly straightforward etymology.¹⁷⁵ There are, however, a few problems with the origins of the name Rūfīl. Firstly, did the Hebrew *Rupa'ēl* generate two different

¹⁷¹ See Jeffery, *Foreign Vocabulary*, pp. 100 – 101 and 275 – 276; Pedersen, J., 'Djibrā'il' *EF*² vol. 2, pp. 362 – 364 and Wensinck, A. J., 'Mikāl' *EF*² Vol 7, pp. 24 – 25.

¹⁷² *Viz*: Jibrīl ≡ Gabri'ēl; Mikā'īl ≡ Mīka'ēl; Ismā'īl ≡ Sama'ēl; Isrāfīl ≡ Sarapī'ēl; Ramyā'īl ≡ Rami'ēl; Sharahīl ≡ Sarahi'ēl.

¹⁷³ In the Pseudepigraphical text the *Life of Adam and Eve*, Uriel is involved in the burials of Adam and Abel, although it should be noted that the text does not directly associate Uriel with comforting the grieving: cf. *LAE(V)* 48:3, *OTP*, vol. 2, p. 290.

¹⁷⁴ A similar ḥadīth appears in al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Hayā' al-sāniya*, VIII:11 where the name is given as *Rufā'īl*; see Heinen, *Islamic Cosmology*, p. 31 [Ar.]; Heinen suggests that this is Raphael, see p. 232.

¹⁷⁵ See Barton, George A., 'The Origin of the Names of Angels and Demons in the Extra-Canonical Apocalyptic Literature to 100 A.D.' *JBL* 31 (1912) pp. 156 – 167, p. 158; 1En 10:4; 13:1.

angels, *Rūfīl* and *Riyāfīl*? With only very limited source material available it is difficult to come to any firm conclusions; although it does seem likely, etymologically at least, that *Rupa'el* is related to both *Rūfīl* and *Riyāfīl*. Another problem arises with this angel; Raphael is a prominent angel in both Judaism and Christianity,¹⁷⁶ but in Islam *Rūfīl* and *Riyāfīl* are not. Furthermore, whilst *Riyāfīl* performs a role similar to Raphael,¹⁷⁷ *Rūfīl* is the Angel of the Clouds, a role not played by either the Jewish or Christian Raphael. In this case, a strong etymological link can be established between *Rūfīl* / *Riyāfīl* and Raphael, but the Jewish and Christian conceptions of the angel are not assimilated with the name.

Similar problems are encountered with the pair of angels *Harāhīl* and *Sharāhīl* (§409 – 410), the angels responsible for the sun and the moon. In Judeo-Christian tradition the Angel of the Sun is often associated with Uriel,¹⁷⁸ but in 1 Enoch 8:3¹⁷⁹ there is reference to the two demons Shamshiel and Sarahiel.¹⁸⁰ In Enoch, however, Sarahiel is not an angel, as such, but the fallen angel or demon that taught humans the courses of the moon (i.e. astrology).¹⁸¹ The Arabic *Sharāhīl* is clearly derived from Sarahiel, with the only change being *sīn* to *shīn* (a common and easily acceptable alteration).¹⁸² Whilst this accounts for the angel of the moon, the angel of

¹⁷⁶ For a survey of the role of Raphael see Barker, Margaret 'The Archangel Raphael in the Book of Tobit' in Mark Bredin (ed.), *Studies in the Book of Tobit* (London: T&T Clark, 2006) pp. 118 – 128.

¹⁷⁷ §275 – 276; *Riyāfīl* is the angel that accompanies Dhū 'l-Qarnayn, in much the same that Raphael is Tobit's guide; cf. Tob. 5:16, *NRSV* p. 6.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. *NumR* II:10, p. 39; 1 En. 75:3, *OTP* vol. 1, p. 54

¹⁷⁹ 1 En 8:3, *OTP* vol. 1, p. 16.

¹⁸⁰ The two demons are also linked to a Mandaic incantation bowl, see Bhayro, Siam 'Noah's Library: Sources for 1 Enoch 6 – 11' *JSP* 15 (2006) pp. 163 – 177; pp. 172 – 173.

¹⁸¹ See Kuhn, Harold B., 'The Angelology of the Non-Canonical Jewish Apocalypses' *JBL* 67 (1948) pp. 217 – 232, p. 226. These two demons bear some resemblance to the story of Hārūt and Mārūt, [Q 2:102; Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 12 – 13] in which the angels are said to have taught humans magic; cf. Bauckham, Richard, 'The Fall of the Angels as the Source of Philosophy in Hermias and Clement of Alexandria' *VC* 39 (1985) pp. 313 – 330.

¹⁸² For the relationship between *š*, *ś* and *s* in the Semitic language group, see Moscati, Sabatino *et. al.*, *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1964) §8; pp. 33 – 37.

the sun (*Harāhīl*) is not included in the pairing of demons found in 1 Enoch 8:3, which uses the name *Shamshiel*. The reason why the Enochic *Shamshiel* was not appropriated into Islam along with *Sarahi 'ēl* is unclear, especially as the name means 'Sun of God' and could easily be converted into **shamsā'īl* or **shamsīl* in Arabic. It is deeply unsatisfactory for a pairing of angels to be adopted incompletely, but with no other sources extant that can attest to the origins of *Harāhīl*, the reasons behind it must remain unknown.

The Angel of Death is occasionally given the theophoric name *ʿAzrā'īl* or *ʿIzrā'īl* (both of these vocalisations are found).¹⁸³ This name came to prominence after the coming of Islam in both Islamic and Jewish literature and folklore,¹⁸⁴ and from its form appears to have been assimilated into Arabic from Judaism. Attempts have been made in the past to identify the *ʿAzrā'īl* / *ʿIzrā'īl* with a Jewish (or Christian) angel and the most likely candidate is that it is a corruption of *ʿAšri'el*, which was suggested by the eminent Islamic scholar, A. J. Wensinck.¹⁸⁵ The only change to the name is the consonant shift from *samekh* to *zayin*, one that was relatively common in the move from Biblical to Rabbinic Hebrew.¹⁸⁶ However, there are also attestations of the name *ʿAzra'ēl* extant in five Aramaic incantation texts,¹⁸⁷ but, because of the nature of these incantation texts, there is no evidence to

¹⁸³ Cf. al-Zabīdī, *TA*, vol. 13, p. 27 and Lane *AELex*, p. 2035.

¹⁸⁴ See Wensinck, A. J. 'ʿIzrā'īl' *EI*² vol. 4, pp. 292-293; El-Shamy, Hasan M., *Folk Traditions of the Arab World: A Guide to Motif Classification* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995) vol. 2, p.2:36 and Nov, Doy, 'Angel of Death' *EJ* vol. 1, coll. 952 – 956, col. 955.

¹⁸⁵ Wensinck, A. J., 'ʿIzrā'īl' *EI*¹ vol. 2, pp. 570 – 571 (however, this derivation is not found in *EI*²); see also Bowman, John, 'A British Museum Arabic Eschatological Fragment' *MW* 38 (1948) pp. 198 – 217, pp. 206 – 207.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. Pérez Fernández, Miguel (tr. John Elwolde), *An Introductory Grammar of Rabbinic Hebrew* (Leiden: Brill, 1997) p. 13.

¹⁸⁷ Isbell, Charles D., *Corpus of the Aramaic Incantation Bowls* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1975) §12:14 & 41:7, pp. 44 & 98 and Naveh, Joseph and Shaked, Shaul, *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1985) §1:13; 2:16; 7:3, pp. 40 – 41, pp. 46 – 47 & 68 – 69. The name also appears in a much later amulet on parchment; see Casanowitz,

link the name to the angel's (Islamic) function as the angel of death, as the name simply appears in lists amongst many others. Generally, these Aramaic incantation texts found in Mesopotamia and the Levant are thought to date to around the seventh century CE,¹⁸⁸ however, there is some archaeological evidence to suggest an earlier date.¹⁸⁹ These incantation texts are important because they reflect an angelology that was a popular and integral part of folk-religion in the Near East on the eve of, and during, the expansion of Islam. Such a popular aspect of religious belief must have had some impact on the formation of Islamic folk-religion and early traditions about angels, and by extension the names of the angels themselves.

A survey of the theophoric names reveals some interesting perspectives on Islamic angelology. Firstly, the use of theophoric names is limited, with only a few instances in the entire collection. Some of these names are important Judeo-Christian angels, such as Gabriel and Michael; others are much more obscure, such as Sharahīl and Irtiyā'īl. This creates a confusing picture of the way in which angelic names were used by the Muslim community. The use of Gabriel and Michael in the Qur'ān clearly point to usage in the earliest nascent community, but is this the case for other theophoric names for angels? Some names such as Isrāfīl are very common and can be found easily in *tafsīrs* and other *ḥadīth* collections, others are much rarer. It would seem plausible to suggest that the more popular angels and angelic names probably entered Islamic tradition early on in the development of its angelology, whilst the rarer names were adopted at a later stage. The retention of the *-īl* ending would seem

I. M., 'Two Jewish Amulets in the United States National Museum' *JAOS* 37 (1917) pp. 43 – 56, p. 55.

¹⁸⁸ See Isbell, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls*, pp. 3 – 12 and Yamuchi, Edwin M., 'Aramaic Incantation Bowls' *JAOS* 85 (1965) pp. 511 – 523, p. 511.

¹⁸⁹ Concerning Naveh & Shaked §2 & 3, they comment: 'It seems likely to us that the two amulets belong to the later part of the occupation of the Building 300, i.e. late 6th or early 7th century C.E.' Naveh & Shaked, *Amulets*, p. 46.

to indicate closer connections with Hebrew, Aramaic or Syriac angelic nomenclature, possibly made known through magic incantation texts, popular in mediaeval period or through other Jewish or Christian texts. The way in which the names were appropriated into Islamic tradition remains, at best, speculative; particularly in cases where no other attestations of the name exist. However, Jewish folk-religion, as reflected in magical incantation texts must present an important influence on the use of some of these theophoric names in Islam. However, it is necessary to contextualise the relatively limited use of theophoric names for angels in Islam against the large volume of names formed by the formula *the Angel of X*. This would seem to suggest that Islamic nomenclature favours that construction, which, in turn, makes angelic neologisms formed with *-īl* endings less likely.

2.1.2 Function Names

The way in which angels are named in Islam is predominately by their function: i.e. The Angel of *X*. This is important as it means the angel is nameless, which is in direct conflict with the main trend in Judeo-Christian angelology of giving angels an actual name.¹⁹⁰ In Jewish angelology the power and authority of God is seen in the theophoric element of the name. When the theophoric element becomes meaningless (as it does when it has been translated into Arabic), the angel achieves some degree of independence as a named being and the preference for descriptive function-formulae may reveal an attempt in Islamic thought to move the focus from the angel to God directly. In al-Suyūfī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik* there are thirty-two angels (or pairs of

¹⁹⁰ Although the name usually reflects the function of the angel; e.g. Baraqiel = 'Lightning of God' and is the angel responsible for lightning.

angels) whose names are formed in this way, reflecting a wide range of angelic functions. There are four main groups to consider: (a) angels of abstract concepts; (b) cosmological angels; (c) angels of specific things and places; (d) other angels. The idea that there are angels responsible for different things is common to both Judaism and Zoroastrianism.¹⁹¹

Function is an important concept in Islamic angelology and it should be noted that in the *ḥadīth* it can be seen that no angel has multiple functions; situations in which multiple functions could occur are given two angels. For example, the Angel of Death is responsible for the taking of souls and nothing else (§107 – 171); there are two Scribes that do two different jobs (§312 – 406). In some other cases there are multiple angels performing the same roles, but in each of these cases the group of angels only performs one task. The angels' functions are important, as Fehmi Jadaane comments: 'La plupart du temps les Anges sont définis par leur fonction et non par leur essence; ce sont précisément des êtres fonctionnels.'¹⁹² The idea that angels can only perform one task is, generally speaking, a rule throughout the *ḥadīth* in the collection, the only exceptions being two of the four archangels (*ru'ūs al-malā'ika*), Gabriel and Michael.¹⁹³ The belief that angels can only carry out one function is also found in Rabbinic thought.¹⁹⁴

There are a number of angels of abstract concepts included in the work: the angels of death, faith, life, livelihood, weeping, righteousness and unrighteousness, health, suffering, wealth, nobility, *murū'a*, loathing, ignorance, war (the Angel of the

¹⁹¹ Joshua Trachtenberg comments: '...the personality of the angels was more clearly delineated through an effort to describe them, to name the more important ones, and to accord them peculiar spheres of influence, so that we have "princes" of fire, of hail, of rain, of night, of the sea, of healing and so on...' Trachtenberg, Joshua, *Jewish Magic and Superstition: A Study in Folk Religion* (New York: Atheneum, 1982) pp. 71 – 72.

¹⁹² Jadaane, 'La place des Anges' p. 43.

¹⁹³ See §27 – 35; the other two are Isrāfil and the Angel of Death.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. *GenR* 50:1, p. 434.

Sword) and courage. The Angel of Death is the only angel in this group that plays a prominent role in Islamic angelology and the last ten angels only appear in one *ḥadīth* (§472). The personification of abstract ideas is common to many late antique religions including Zoroastrianism,¹⁹⁵ Christianity and Judaism,¹⁹⁶ and is particularly common in representations of these ideas in the art of the late-antique and early mediaeval period.¹⁹⁷ Angels representing abstractions also bear some similarity to some pre-Islamic pagan deities such as *Manāt* (Fate).¹⁹⁸ This group of angels is relatively straightforward to consider, although it is important to draw attention to the fact that these angels of abstraction include the specifically Arabian concept of *murū'a*. However, it should be noted that the rarity of this angel seems to suggest it was not commonly personified either in the Islamic period or before. At the very least, this reference to the Angel of *murū'a* attests to the relative ease with which abstract concepts could be turned into angels in Islamic thought.

Cosmological angels form the largest group of angels with this particular style of nomenclature. *Al-Ḥabā'ik* includes references to angels of rain, mountains, the leaves of trees, thunder, clouds, lightning, the sun, shadow, plants and the sea.¹⁹⁹

The angels have similar roles in Jewish tradition, particularly in Pseudepigraphical

¹⁹⁵ The Zoroastrian *Amāša Spāntas* are personifications of abstract ideas; see Geiger, Bernhard, *Die Amāša Spāntas – Ihr Wesen und ihre ursprüngliche Bedeutung* (Vienna: Hof- und Universitäts-Buchhändler, 1916) and Clark, Peter, *Zoroastrianism: An Introduction to an Ancient Faith* (Brighton : Sussex Academic Press, 1998) pp. 27 – 58.

¹⁹⁶ Wisdom is the most common example, which is personified in the wisdom literature of the Hebrew Bible (e.g. Proverbs); see Camp, Claudia V., *Wisdom and the Feminine in the Book of Proverbs* (Sheffield: Almond, 1985).

¹⁹⁷ Cf. Downey, Glanville, 'Personifications of Abstract Ideas in the Antioch Mosaics' *TPAPA* 69 (1938) pp. 349 – 363.

¹⁹⁸ See Fahd, *Panthéon*, pp. 123 – 126. In early twentieth century scholarship, it was thought that many beliefs in angels and spirits were rooted in early animistic beliefs; cf. Langton, Edward, *Good and Evil Spirits: A Study of the Jewish and Christian Doctrine, Its Origin and Development* (London: SPCK, 1942) and Zwemer, Samuel S., 'Animism in Islam' *MW* 7 (1917) pp. 245 – 255.

¹⁹⁹ §172 – 177 (rain and clouds); §298 – 299 (mountains); §407 – 408 (leaves); §257 – 268 (thunder and lightning); §409 – 410; 430 – 434 (sun); §435 (shadow); §485 (plants) and §486 – 487 (sea / tide).

texts, such as *Jubilees* and *Enoch*.²⁰⁰ However, as Harold Kuhn comments: ‘These references indicate that the writers in question thought of angels as controlling intermediaries between God and the inanimate world; and further that they considered them to be rather indistinct personifications of powers, rather than as clear-cut personalities.’²⁰¹ These angels are not individuals, like gods or demigods, but are merely designated as the beings that control an aspect of meteorology or cosmology.²⁰² This depersonalisation is made clearer in Islam where the angels are stripped of a personal name, reversing the reification process of the Jewish theophoric names highlighted by Nickelsberg above. As a result, these meteorological angels reflect God’s influence and power over the created world, which is a particularly strong and well-known theme of the Qur’ān.

Five angels in *al-Ḥabā’ik* using this descriptive formula are connected with specific objects and places: the veil (§178), cemeteries (§413 – 414), the Yemeni Column (§458 – 460), the three *jimār* at Minā (§461) and the Prophet’s Tomb (§448 – 449). These are all sites and objects with particular religious significance in Islam and it is only natural that angels were made responsible for maintaining them and noting whomever performed the rituals associated with them. For example, the Angel responsible for the Yemeni Column says to whoever passes it: ‘Amen! Amen!’²⁰³

²⁰⁰ E.g. Angels of fire (Gabriel), hail (Baradiel), wind (Ruhi’el), lightning (Baraqiel), whirlwind (Za’amiel), thunder (Ra’ami’el), Ziqi’el (comets), Zi’i’el (tremors), Za’api’el (hurricanes), Ra’āši’el (earthquakes), snow (Šalgi’el), rain (Maṭari’el), day (Šimši’el); night (Laili’el), sun (Galgalli’el), moon (‘Opanni’el), stars (Kokabi’el) and constellations (Rahaṭi’el) can be found in 3 En. 14:3 – 4, *OTP* vol. 1, p. 266 – 7.

²⁰¹ Kuhn, ‘Angelology’ p. 226.

²⁰² There are a number of meteorological gods in Semitic and pre-Islamic Arabian religion, but these divinities have individual power over the phenomenon, whereas the meteorological angels in Jewish and Muslim thought have none. Cf. Green, A. R. W., *The Storm God in the Ancient Near East* (Winona Lake: Eisenbaums, 2003) and Brown, David Allan, *The Deities Worshipped in Central and North-West Arabia at the Advent of Islam, their temples and rituals*. (PhD. Thesis, University of Cambridge, 1968.) pp. 529 – 549.

²⁰³ §458 – 460.

Likewise, the seventy thousand angels that visit the Prophet's tomb each day demonstrate its sanctity.²⁰⁴ The Angel of the Veil is the angel responsible for the veil which surrounds God in the Seventh Heaven. Whilst there may be similar angels in Jewish and Christian traditions,²⁰⁵ it is difficult to establish the extent to which these ideas influenced Islamic angelology.

There are also a number of angels that cannot be easily placed into any of the groups discussed thus far. Some of these refer to specific incidents in the history of angelic interaction with humans, such as *The Angel of the Prophet of the River* (§256) and *The Angel of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn* (§478 – 484). There are also a number of angels responsible for certain ritual actions, namely: The Angel of the Qur'ān (§462 – 465), which corrects in an individual's 'book' any misreading of the Qur'ān that he or she makes when reciting the Qur'ān; the Angel of the Blessing of the Prophet, who records any occasion when someone says: 'God have mercy upon him and grant him salvation'; the Angel who is responsible for whoever says: 'The Most Merciful of those that are merciful' (§466); the Angel of Private Prayer (§467 – 470); the Angel of Ritual Prayer (§474); the Angels of Funerary Rites (§475 – 477), and the Angel of the Prophet's Prayer (§449 - 457), who tells Muḥammad about who has blessed him. These angels seem to work in addition to the noble watching Scribes (*al-ḥafīzān*) and they provide an extra encouragement and motivation for Muslims to perform certain ritual practices.²⁰⁶

Other angels have more obscure functions. The Angels of the Womb and the Embryo (§436 – 444) are the two angels involved in instilling God's predetermined

²⁰⁴ §488 – 489.

²⁰⁵ In Samaritanism, the heavenly temple is surrounded by an angel that is later associated with the Angel of the Lord; see Fossum, Jarl, 'The Angel of the Lord in Samaritanism' *JSS* 46 (2001) pp. 51 - 75.

²⁰⁶ This will be discussed in more detail in Part 3.

course for the individual and in protecting the embryo throughout gestation. Another example is found in *ḥadīth* that describe the formation of the world. The world stands on a succession of different layers, at the bottom of which is a fish, which is itself supported by an angel. In other conceptions a rock is at the very bottom, but in this case the rock has an angel associated with it.²⁰⁷ There is another angel that ‘...creates pieces of jewellery for the people in the Garden from the Day of the Creation until the Resurrection Hour.’²⁰⁸ Another *ḥadīth* also states that crying is the result of an angel rubbing an individual’s liver with its wing.²⁰⁹ These angels are difficult to classify: they are often very rare and the *ḥadīth* themselves tend to be very short, and accordingly hard to place in a wider context.

What these function formulae show is that Islam often associated events, physical things, meteorological phenomena, abstract ideas and ritual behaviour with angels. The construction of the name allows this to be done relatively easily and, whilst there are sometimes parallels with Jewish and Christian angelology, the link is weak and unlikely to be the result of significant influence. For example, the Jewish angel *Sandalfon* is said to make crowns of flowers from the prayers of the faithful,²¹⁰ which bears some resemblance to the Islamic angel who creates jewellery for those in paradise; but there is unlikely to be any ‘genetic’ link between the two angels and, at the very most, one can only note the similarity between the two ideas.

The use of angels, particularly in the case of these functional angels, creates a bridge between this world and God’s world, between the heavenly and the earthly. The nomenclature gives religious authority to certain ritual actions, particular places,

²⁰⁷ §415 – 422.

²⁰⁸ §448

²⁰⁹ §471

²¹⁰ See Scholem, G., ‘Sandalfon’ *EJ* vol. 14, coll. 827 – 828.

and, in the case of the Angel of the Womb, also restates theological ideas, such as predestination. In these *ḥadīth*, the angelic world penetrates almost all forms of human experience and the use of the function name formula goes further and associates individual angels with a large number of specific actions, places and phenomena.

2.1.3 Function Names without *Malak*

There are a few angels named in *al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* which have names linked to their function, which are not expressed by the angelic formula. These angels include: the *Bearers of the Throne*, *The Spirit*, *The Cockerel*, *The Sakīna*, *The Tempters of the Grave*, *The Scribes*, *The Scroll*, *The Cherubim* and *The Guardians of the Wind*. These angels are all closely associated with the Qur'ānic text itself, and were developed in Islamic traditions and exegesis.²¹¹

The Bearers of the Throne (§179 – 206) are mentioned in Q 40:7 & 69:17²¹² in a relatively general way, and the material presented in the exegetical literature is much more developed.²¹³ Q 69:17 states that there are eight bearers of the Throne, but some *ḥadīth* state there are only four (e.g. §189, 190, 192, 193, 197), whilst some take a middle position, arguing that there are four bearers of the Throne, who are replaced by another four on the Day of Resurrection (§188, 191). On the whole, there

²¹¹ Exegesis played a similar important role in Judaism, as Olyan argues: 'The interpretation of texts of the Hebrew Bible by ancient and medieval exegetes is certainly responsible for the vast majority of angelic brigade designations, and many angelic personal names.' Olyan, *A Thousand Thousands*, p. 118.

²¹² See Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 481 & 604; the Qur'an also refers to angels surrounding the Throne of God in Q 39:75; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 479.

²¹³ For a discussion of the imagery of the Throne and the Throne Bearers see O'Shaughnessy, T., 'God's Throne and the Biblical Symbolism of the Qur'an' *Numen* 20 (1973) 202 – 221, particularly 206 – 207; for a discussion of various traditions about the *ḥamlat al-^carsh* and Jewish material, see Halperin, *Faces of the Chariot*, pp. 467 – 476.

is no attempt to name the Bearers of the Throne with personal names, although the angel Isrāfīl is occasionally believed to be one of the Bearers (§ 194 & 195). This trend highlights the importance of the angels' function, as the majority of the angels in this group remain unnamed.

The Spirit is an angel that has aroused much debate in both Qur'ānic and Islamic studies,²¹⁴ as the Qur'an varies in the ways in which it both uses and conceives the Spirit. In the exegetical material the Spirit is most often associated with Gabriel, but it is also often conceived as being an angelic being in its own right.²¹⁵ This confused picture can be seen in the chapter on the Spirit in Al-Suyūṭī's *al-Ḥabā'ik* (§210 – 228). Some of the *ḥadīth* state that the Spirit is a single angelic being²¹⁶ and others that *al-Rūḥ* refers to a species of angel.²¹⁷ The interpretation of *al-Rūḥ* as a group of angels rather than a single angel appears to be a development in later exegesis²¹⁸ and the fact that the term *arwāḥ* (spirits, plural of *rūḥ*)²¹⁹ is also found in Islamic tradition makes this usage of *al-Rūḥ* quite unusual. To a certain extent it is difficult to determine the original place and role of the *Spirit* in the Qur'ān and early tradition, so understanding its origins is problematic; but Jewish and

²¹⁴ See O'Shaughnessy, T., *The Development of the Meaning of Spirit in the Koran* (Roma: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1953); MacDonald, D. B., 'The development of the idea of Spirit in Islam' *AO* 9 (1931) 307 – 351; Calverley, E. E., 'Doctrines of the soul (*Nafs* and *Rūḥ*) in Islam' *MW* 33 (1943) pp. 254 – 265 and Sells, Michael A., 'Sound, Spirit and Gender in Sūrat al-Qadr' *JAOS* 111 (1991) pp. 239 – 259.

²¹⁵ Al-Ṭabarī refers to three main interpretations of *al-rūḥ al-quḍus*: (i) Gabriel; (ii) the *Injīl* (Gospel) or (iii) God. Al-Ṭabarī argues that it refers to Gabriel; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, pp. 403 – 406 [Q 2:87]. The idea that the *Spirit (of God)* is an angel began to become popular in Hellenic Judaism, see Levinson, John R., *The Spirit in First Century Judaism* (Leiden: Brill, 1997).

²¹⁶ E.g. §216: 'The Spirit is in the Fourth Heaven, and he is greater than the heavens and the mountains and the angels. He praises God every day by saying 'I praise you' ten thousand times; God, Most High, creates an angel from every saying of 'I praise you'. He will come in a rank by himself on the Day of Resurrection.'

²¹⁷ E.g. §225: '...concerning His Word: 'Upon the day when the Spirit and the angels stand in ranks.' [Q 78:38] He said: Both of them are ranks of the Lord of the two worlds; on the Day of Judgement there will be a rank of the Spirit and a rank of angels.'

²¹⁸ See O'Shaughnessy, *Meaning of Spirit*, pp. 16 – 24.

²¹⁹ *Arwāḥ* is normally used to refer to a human's spirit, but it is used of a species of angelic being in some traditions; see Wensinck, A. J., *CTM* vol. 2, pp. 317 – 318.

Christian influences are plainly evident. Strong Christian, and particularly, Jewish influences can also be seen in the *karrabiyūn* (Cherubim) and the *Sakīna* (§295 – 297). The *Sakīna* fulfils much the same role as the *Shekina* in post-Biblical Jewish thought.²²⁰

The Cockerel (al-Dīk) appears only in Islamic tradition and there are fifteen *ḥadīth* in *al-Ḥabā'ik* (§280 – 294) devoted to the cockerel.²²¹ The nomenclature in this case is simple; the *dīk* is an enormous angel in the form of a cockerel, which gives the times of prayer to the angels and the human world (via earthly cockerels), a motif also found in 3 Baruch.²²² Likewise the angel *al-Sijill* (§243 – 247, ‘the scroll’), is an angel that is in the form of a scroll. The Tempters of the Grave (*fattān al-qabr*), the Scribes (*al-ḥāfiẓān*), and The Guardian of the Wind (*khaznat al-rīḥ*) are angels that have obvious functions and their names reflect this.

Angels with names not formed by with the suffix *-īl*, or by the angelic formula *the angel of X* are, on the whole, some of the more important angels in Islamic tradition. In most cases the angelic names are derived from the Qur’ān itself and its exegesis. Saul M. Olyan has highlighted the important role of exegesis in the development of Jewish angelic nomenclature,²²³ and this trend is replicated in the Islamic exegetic tradition. Although some of these angels may have equivalents in

²²⁰ The *sakīna* is mentioned in the Qur’ān: 2:248; 9:26, 40; 48:4, 18; see Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 35, 182, 184, 531 & 533. There have been a number of studies on this word: e.g., Goldziher, Ignaz, ‘La notion de la Sakina chez les Mohamétans’ *GS* vol. 2, pp. 296 – 308. In the Qur’ān the *sakīna* is usually associated with the invisible help which came to the Muslims’ aid in battle; however in Q 2:248, the *sakīna* carries the Jewish association with the Ark of the Covenant. See Patai, Raphael, ‘The Shekina’ *JR* 44 (1964) pp. 275 – 288 and Rubin, Uri, ‘Traditions in transformation: The Ark of the Covenant and the Golden Calf in Biblical and Islamic Historiography’ *Oriens* 36 (2001) pp. 196 – 214.

²²¹ See Tottoli, Robert, ‘At Cock-Crow: Some Muslim Traditions About the Rooster’ *Der Islam* 76 (1999) pp. 139 – 147; and for the cosmic cockerel see, pp. 142 - 143. This article is a survey of another *ḥadīth* collection of Al-Suyūṭī, *Kitāb al-wadīk fī faḍl al-dīk*.

²²² Cf. ‘This is what wakens the cocks on earth, for just as articulate beings do, thus also the cock informs those on the earth according to its own tongue. For the sun is being prepared by the angels and the cock is crowing.’ *3Bar.* 6:16; *OTP*, vol. 1, p. 671.

²²³ Olyan, *A Thousand Thousands Serve Him*.

the Judeo-Christian tradition (e.g. the *Spirit* and the *Sakīna*), their development as angels in Islam is most likely to be entirely internal, with a less prominent influence from Judaism and Christianity.

2.1.4 Other Miscellaneous Angelic Names

The majority of the angelic names that have been encountered thus far have been named by their function, with only eleven having personal, theophoric names. There are other names that are not formed in a logical manner, which have either been borrowed from other cultures, or originate within Islam itself. The angels with no formal nomenclature include: Riḍwān, Mālik, Hārūt, Mārūt, Ṣadluḡan, Dhū ‘l-Qarnayn, Dhū ‘l-Nurayn, Dūma, Mīṭaṭrūsh, Qā’id, Munkar, Nakīr (with the variants Ankar and Nākūr) and Rūmān. Some of these are important in Islamic angelology, especially Riḍwān, Mālik, and the two pairs of angels Hārūt & Mārūt and Munkar & Nakīr; whilst others only appear in a limited number of *ḥadīth*, namely: Ṣadluḡan (§274), Qā’id (§323), Dhū ‘l-Qarnayn as an angel (§277 & 278) and Dhū ‘l-Nurayn (§279). This section will briefly look at their etymological history and attempt to understand the way in which the names entered Islamic tradition.

The most interesting etymological history is that of the two angels Hārūt and Mārūt (§248 – 255). Hārūt and Mārūt are two angels that wished to experience human life, after complaining that humans were sinning and boasting that they did not; the two angels are then tricked by al-Zuhara (Venus) into drinking and they subsequently commit murder and fornication. The story is alluded to in the

Qur'ān,²²⁴ but the story is greatly expanded by the exegetes and in the *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* literature.²²⁵ The two names are quite different to other angelic names found in both the Qur'ān²²⁶ and other traditional material and various attempts have been made to suggest an origin. A. J. Wensinck suggested a possible Syriac origin, but it is now generally thought that the names originate from the Zoroastrian *Amāsha Spāntas* Haurvatāt and Amretetāt, through an intermediary language, possibly Middle Persian, Sogdian or Armenian.²²⁷ Direct influence from the Persian tradition can be seen in two *ḥadīth* (§251 & 253), in which there are direct references to *Anāhīd*, a Zoroastrian *yazata* that was associated with both fertility, love and the planet Venus.²²⁸ Another *ḥadīth* contains the following exchange: '[Al-Zuhara] said: "Regarding faith, it is not right for anyone to come to me, without being the same." The two said: "What is your faith?" She said: "Zoroastrianism (*majūsiyya*)."'²²⁹ All of this suggests a strong Zoroastrian influence on the names of the two angels; however the actual story of Hārūt and Mārūt has other characteristics in common

²²⁴ 'And they follow what the Satans recited over Solomon's kingdom. Solomon disbelieved not, but the Satans disbelieved, teaching the people sorcery, and that which was sent down upon Babylon's two angels, Harut and Marut, they taught not any man, without they said, "We are but a temptation; do not disbelieve.' Q 2:102; Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 12 – 13.

²²⁵ E.g. al-Tha'labī, *QA*, pp. 50 – 54; William M. Brinner (tr.), *'Arā'is al-majālis fī qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā' or "Lives of the Prophets"* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 86 – 91; cf. al-Ṭabārī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, pp. 454 - 459; see also Margoliouth, 'Harut and Marut' *MW* 18 (1918) pp. 73 - 79.

²²⁶ There are a few personal names that follow this pattern found in the Qur'ān: viz. *Jālūt* (Saul), *Yājūj* (Gog), *Mājūj* (Magog), *Ṭālūt* (Saul), *Dā'ūd / Dāwūd* (David). Some of the names have origins in Hebrew or Aramaic (*Jālūt*, *Dā'ūd*), but the derivation of the others remains unclear. For a longer discussion of these names, see Carter, Michael, 'Foreign Vocabulary' in Andrew Rippin (ed.), *The Blackwell Companion to the Qur'ān* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006) pp. 120 – 139, pp. 134 – 137.

²²⁷ See Wensinck, A. J., 'Hārūt and Mārūt' *EI*¹ vol. 2, pp. 272 – 273; Vajda, G., 'Hārūt wa-Mārūt' *EI*² vol. 3, pp. 236 – 237 and Brinner, William M., 'Hārūt and Mārūt' *EQ* vol. 2, pp. 404 – 405. For a fuller analysis of the etymology of the names see de Menasce, P.-J., 'Une légende indo-iranienne dans l'angéologie judéo-musulmane: à propos de Hārūt et Mārūt' *EA* 1 (1947) pp. 10 – 18; Uhl, Patrice, 'Guillaume IX d'Aquitaine et le Sorcellerie de Babel – à Propos des Vers Arabes de la Chanson V (MS. C) –' *Arabica* 38 (1991) pp. 19 - 39, pp. 19 – 20; Henning, W. B., *Sogdica* (London: s.n., 1940) pp. 16 & 19 and Jeffrey, Arthur, *Foreign Vocabulary*, pp. 282 – 283 and Shabazi, Shapur A., 'Hārūt and Mārūt' *EIr*. vol. 12, pp. 20 - 22. Al-Jawālīqī states that the names are foreign, *al-Mu'arrab*, pp. 317 & 349.

²²⁸ For more on Anāhīd, see Choksy, Jamsheed K., 'Ancient Religions' *IrS* 31 (1998) pp. 661 – 679, p. 663 and Boyce, M., Chaumont M. L. & Bier, C., 'Anāhīd' *EIr*. vol. 1, pp. 1003 – 1011.

²²⁹ §255.

with Jewish and Christian stories about the fall of the angels, particularly the two angels Shamhazai and Azael.²³⁰

The *fattān al-qabr* (Tempters of the Grave) play an important part in Islamic beliefs about life after death. Most commonly, there are two tempters of the grave, traditionally given the names Munkar and Nakīr. There are two variants included in *al-Ḥabā'ik*, Ankar (§309) and Nākūr (§309, 310); although these variants appear to be very rare. A third angel, Rūmān, is occasionally associated with the two angels (§309 & 310) and one ḥadīth states that Nakīr and Nākūr are two different angels (§310). The names do not appear until relatively late in Islamic tradition, and in the early creeds, there are no angels associated with the punishment in the grave, as Wensinck argues: ‘... there seem to be four stages in the traditions regarding the subject: the first without any angel being mentioned, the second mentioning “the angel”, the third two angels, the fourth being acquainted with the names Munkar and Nakīr.’²³¹ The origin of the names is not at all clear, although some have suggested that both the names are related to the base root *NKR*, but Wensinck felt this was unlikely.²³² Two other angels, Ridwān and Mālik, the guardians of Heaven and Hell (§229 – 247), have similar etymological histories and roles in Islamic angelology. The name Ridwān may simply be a personified abstraction of *riḍwān*²³³ and Mālik, a reference to his dominion over Hell.

The remaining five angels included in *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* are only referred to once and have a wide range of influences. Dhū ‘l-Qarnayn is

²³⁰ See Jung, ‘Fallen Angels’ *JQR* 16 (1926) pp. 287 – 295. Georges Dumézil argues that the Hārūt and Mārūt story has a close parallel with a story found in the Mahabharata, but this seems less likely; see Dumézil, G., *Naissance d’Archanges (Jupiter Mars Quirinus III)* (Paris: Librairie Gallimard, 1945) pp. 158 – 170.

²³¹ Wensinck, A. J., ‘Munkar wa-Nakīr’ *EF* vol. 7, p. 577; for more on the angels, see also Gardet, *Destinée de l’Homme*, pp. 247 - 253.

²³² Wensinck, ‘Munkar wa-Nakīr’, p. 577.

²³³ See Raven, W., ‘Ridwān’ *EF* vol. 8, p. 519. The name is usually associated with Q 3:15.

generally associated with Alexander the Great and much has been written about this tradition.²³⁴ However, there is very little evidence in Islamic tradition to suggest the belief that Dhū ‘l-Qarnayn was an angel (as given in §277)²³⁵ was in any way a mainstream belief, as Mino Southgate concludes: ‘In spite of his higher roles as a sage, a protector of mankind, a fighter for religion, and a prophet, the Alexander of Persian romances remains essentially human.’²³⁶

Dhū ‘l-Nūrayn is normally used in reference to the caliph ‘Uthmān, who had two beautiful wives who were the Prophet’s daughters,²³⁷ but the reference in §279 to Dhū ‘l-Nūrayn being an angel is clearly not a reference to ‘Uthmān. *Al-Nūrayn* is sometimes used, particularly by Shi‘īs, to refer to Muḥammad and ‘Alī,²³⁸ but, again, this does not appear to be intended, particularly in the phrase *Dhū ‘l-Nūrayn*. *Dhū ‘l-Nūrayn* is sometimes used in relation to the *nūr ‘alā nūr* of the Light Verse (Q. 24:35), although there is almost nothing to suggest that *Dhū ‘l-Nūrayn* was commonly believed to be the name of an angel.²³⁹

²³⁴ See Southgate, Mino S., ‘Portrait of Alexander in Persian Alexander-Romances of the Islamic Era’ *JAOS* 97 (1977) 278 – 284 and Stoneman, Richard, ‘Alexander the Great in the Arabic Tradition’ in Stelios Panayotakis, Maaike Zimmermann and Wyste Keulen, *The Ancient Novel and Beyond* (Leiden: Brill, 2003) pp. 3 – 22.

²³⁵ ‘Dhu ‘l-Qarnayn was one of the angels, whom God sent down to earth...’; see also al-Suyūṭī, *Itqān*, vol. 4, p. 69.

²³⁶ Southgate, ‘Portrait of Alexander’ p. 284.

²³⁷ Schimmel, Annemarie, *Islamic Names* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1989) p. 33.

²³⁸ Tritton, A. S., ‘Popular Shi’ism’ *BSOAS* 13 (1951) pp. 829 – 839, p. 829.

²³⁹ The only possible example is found in Ibn al-‘Arabī’s *Kitāb ‘anqa’ mughrib*, and Gerald Elmore suggests that the reference is to Ibn al-‘Arabī himself (Gerald T. Elmore, *Islamic Sainthood in the Fullness of Time: Ibn al-‘Arabī’s Book of the Fabulous Gryphon*. (Leiden: Brill, 1999) p. 590 n.10). The particular reference in question reads: ‘On his precious Right was the “Faithful One” (*al-Ṣiddīq* [*sci.* Abū Bakr]); on his most-holy Left was the “Discriminator” (*al-Fārūq* [*sci.* ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb]); and before him knelt the Seal [*sci.* Jesus], recounting to him the story of the Female (*ḥadīth al-unthā*) as ‘Alī [b. Abī Tālib] (May God bless him and keep him!) was translating the seal’s [words] into his own language, while “He of the Two Lights” (*dhū l-nūrayn*), wrapped in the mantle of his modesty (*riḍā’ ḥayā’ihī*), for his part [also] faced the Prophet Muḥammad.’ Elmore (tr.), *Islamic Sainthood*, p. 590.

Dūma is the ‘Angel who is responsible for souls of the unbelievers...’²⁴⁰ The same angel appears in the Babylonian Talmud with the same function,²⁴¹ confirming the authority of the *ḥadīth* being ‘a Man of the Book.’ The Angel of the Veil is also given the name *Mīṭaṭrūsh*, which is a close transliteration of the Hebrew *Mīṭaṭron* (Metatron).²⁴²

A Jewish origin seems possible for another angel, *Ṣadluḡan* (§274), although the etymology is rather more complex. Making the analysis more complicated is the fact that the *ḥadīth* about the angel *Ṣadluḡan* is relatively short: ‘God has an angel and it is said that He has *Ṣadluḡan*; the seas of the world are one ninth the size of his big toe.’ This angel appears to be very rare in Arabic tradition and the fact that the Leiden MS (fol. 203r, ll. 4 – 5) vocalises the name would seem to imply that Muslim readers were unfamiliar with the name. The name could be derived from the Jewish angel *Ṣandalpōn*,²⁴³ the ‘partner’ of the important Jewish angel *Mīṭaṭron*. Both *Ṣandalpōn* and *Ṣadluḡan* are said to be gigantic and *Ṣandalpōn* is said to have his feet on the earth and his head under the Throne of God.²⁴⁴ *Ṣandalpōn* is also associated more directly with feet, which is appropriate within the context of this *ḥadīth*: ‘Sandalfon was also thought of as the “shoe” of the *Shekhina*, that is to say the angel on which the feet of the *Shekinah* rested.’²⁴⁵ However, the etymological history of the name is not clear, and there are no other attestations of the name in any other Semitic language through which its development can be traced. The loss of the

²⁴⁰ §301

²⁴¹ cf. ‘But these and those [the wicked and the intermediate] are delivered to Dumah.’ *Shab.* 152b, p. 779. Cf. *Ḥag* 5a and *San.* 94a.

²⁴² For more on the name see, Scholem, G., ‘Metatron’ *EJ* vol. 11, coll. 1443 – 1446 and Black, Matthew, ‘The Origin of the Name Metatron’ *VT* 1 (1951) pp. 217 – 219.

²⁴³ See Scholem, ‘Sandalfon’; Davidson, *Dictionary of Angels*, p. 257 and Schäfer, Peter, *Der verborgene und offenbare Gott* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1991) pp. 99 – 101.

²⁴⁴ cf. *Ḥag* 13b, p. 78

²⁴⁵ Scholem, G., ‘Sandalfon’ col. 828.

nūn can be explained by the assimilation of the *nūn* to the following *dāl*; probably through another Northern Semitic language, possibly Syriac as both Aramaic and South Semitic favour nasalization.²⁴⁶ The change from *pē* to *qāf* is less clear. Some similar Aramaic words show a change from *pē* to *kaf*: e.g. *ṣandalpōnīn* (gems) has the variant form *ṣandalkōnīm*,²⁴⁷ but such a form is unattested for *ṣandalpōn*, and a number of factors still remain unexplained. Islamic exegetes did also associate the *malā'ika muqarrabūn* with the *karrūbiyyūn* (i.e. q-r-b and k-r-b), but this appears to be an isolated example.²⁴⁸ However, whether or not *Ṣadluqan* is actually *Ṣandalpōn* is not that important. The fact that *Ṣandalpōn*, an important angel in later Judaism, was not appropriated into Islam (save this one, rare example), shows that the influence of Jewish angelology on Muslim beliefs about angels was limited.

The survey of angelic names provides an interesting background to Islamic beliefs about angels. The picture is more complicated than may, at first sight, be expected. When angels are given personal names, there is a strong Judeo-Christian influence present. However, Jewish, Christian and, in the case of *Hārūt* and *Mārūt*, Zoroastrian influences are relatively limited. In Islam there is a strong preference to use the formula 'Angel of X', which is a uniquely Islamic form of nomenclature. In the past there has been a tendency for scholars to stress the Judeo-Christian influences on Islamic angelology, presumably because of the importance of angels such as Gabriel and Michael. Whilst these angels are important, and are clearly taken from Judaism

²⁴⁶ Cf. Southern, Mark and Vaughn, Andrew G., 'Where have all the nasals gone? *nC* > CC in North Semitic' *JSS* 42 (1997) pp. 264 – 282.

²⁴⁷ Jastrow, Marcus, *Dictionary of the Targumim, Talmud Balbi and Yerushalmi and the Midrashic Literature* (repr. Peabody: Hendrickson, 2005) vol. 2, p. 1005.

²⁴⁸ See Wansbrough, John, *Quranic Studies: Studies and Methods of Scriptural Interpretation* (Repr. Amherst: Prometheus Books, 2004) p. 30 - 31.

and/or Christianity, it is important to contextualise these influences with the relatively limited amount of named angels in Islamic tradition. Furthermore, the influence of the Judeo-Christian tradition is often restricted to the etymology of the name and frequently the conception of the angels and their roles are markedly different after their assimilation into (popular) Islamic belief.

2.2 The Iconography of the Angels in *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik*

Just as the way in which angelic nomenclature can reveal something about how angels are conceived in Islam, iconography too can act as a similar tool for looking at the development of, and influences on Islamic angelology. Angels are very rarely the focus of a particular work and this is where the originality and usefulness of al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* lies, as it provides a relatively large number of descriptions of different angels in one place.

A number of studies in Jewish and Biblical studies have attempted to understand the meaning of angelic elements in different texts through the use of particular motifs that indicate (or, at the very least, *could* indicate) angelic status.²⁴⁹ Sometimes it is only through specific descriptions and allusions that a particular character in a narrative can be understood to be angelic,²⁵⁰ or to have angelic

²⁴⁹ E.g. Piñero, A., 'Angels and Demons in the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve*' *JSJ* 14 (1993) pp. 191 – 214; Brooke, G. J., 'Men and Women as Angels in *Joseph and Aseneth*' *JSP* 14 (2005) pp. 159 – 177 and Ruffatto, Kristine J., 'Raguel as Interpreter of Moses' Throne Vision: The Transcendent Identity of Raguel in the *Exagoge* of Ezekiel the Tragedian' *JSP* 17 (2008) pp. 121 – 139.

²⁵⁰ Ithamar Gruenwald highlights six key elements found in Throne Visions, two of which are the presence of angels around God's throne and the singing of hymns by angels; see Gruenwald, *Mysticism*, p. 31. Gruenwald, also, gives the *Apocalypse of Isaiah* 6:10 – 12 as an example of the importance of angels in attesting to the veracity of a vision: 'Isaiah goes into some detail when he describes the glory of that angel....Obviously, this remark is directed to distinguish between this vision

qualities.²⁵¹ As such, a vocabulary or iconography of angels evolved in which certain features are designated as being related to angels. It is these features and their use in Islamic angelology that will be discussed in this section.

Angels are normally included in texts for specific purposes. For example, in apocalyptic texts angels are used most often to confirm the veracity of a prophetic vision.²⁵² The visions of the throne (*merkebah visions*) in the Bible (*viz.* Isaiah 6; Ezekiel 1 and 10; Daniel 7) typify this use of angels: the angels are present, but there is a clear focus on God. The angels are there to express divine power and authority, as well as the need for God to be worshipped. As George Nickelsburg comments, '[The transcendence of God] is understood in the descriptions of the heavenly throne room, in the accounts of Enoch's call and ascent, and in the references to the eschatological theophany.'²⁵³ Angels become very useful signifiers of the fact that the seer is witnessing a vision of the divine world. Although both angelologies and iconographies can differ from one text to another,²⁵⁴ a number of supernatural, non-human characteristics were used in Jewish and Christian texts to distinguish angels from humans. It is this angelic iconography, developed further in the inter-testamental period, which alerts both the visionary and the reader that they are

- which entailed a heavenly ascent - and the one in *Isaiah* vi, which the writer apparently believed to entail no such experience.' Gruenwald, *Mysticism*, p. 58.

²⁵¹ In some texts, humans are given angelic attributes or are described as being like angels to illustrate their righteousness, in these cases the individuals are not angels, but iconographic details associated with angels are used to describe them. This is seen particularly strongly in the Qumran community; cf. Davidson, *Angels at Qumran*, pp. 316 – 319.

²⁵² Whilst discussing the opening of the Throne-Vision in the *Testament of Levi*, Paulo Augusto de Souza Nougiera comments that the vision of heaven '...shows too that the seer has special access to hidden secrets and the knowledge of these secrets is crucial, and should have immediate consequences for the everyday lives of his readers.' See de Souza Nougiera, Paulo Augusto, 'Celestial Worship and the Ecstatic-Visionary Experience' *JSNT* 25 (2002) pp. 165 – 184, p. 166.

²⁵³ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p. 40.

²⁵⁴ Cf. Kuhn, 'Angelology', pp. 217 – 232; Kasher, Rimmon, 'Angelology and the Supernatural Worlds in the Aramaic Targums to the Prophets' *JSJ* 27 (1996) pp. 168 - 191 and Shinan, A., 'The Angelology of the Palestinian Targums on the Pentateuch' *Sefarad* 43 (1983) pp. 181 – 198.

encountering the divine.²⁵⁵ Angels are not simply used to confirm the reality of a vision, but they are also used to confirm the righteousness of the visionary. For example, in the *Testament of Levi*, the visionary is robed in priestly garments by angels, which ‘...is meant to reinforce the divine favour of the priesthood for his descendents, to legitimate Levi in his priestly duties.’²⁵⁶ Angels are not important in and of themselves, but they are used in Biblical and Pseudepigraphical texts to convey certain ideas or beliefs.

Islamic texts behave in similar ways. The *miʿrāj* literature draws on similar imagery and the Prophet’s tours of heaven have their origin in Pseudepigraphical texts, such as the *Apocalypse of Peter* and the *Apocalypse of Paul*.²⁵⁷ Angels are used in these tours of Heaven and Hell (Jewish, Christian and Muslim) to portray the power and might of God and the consequences of human action, in the hope that the reader would return to righteousness or even convert, as Vuckovic argues: ‘Through these descriptive tales, the scholars establish narratives that reiterate the moral code of the Quran and convey a careful set of expectations, warnings, and exhortations for the members of Muhammad’s community.’²⁵⁸

It should be noted, however, that symbols and emblems typically used to describe angels in Islamic literary works are not necessarily found in other forms of religious expression, such as art. For example, both Byzantine and Islamic art have

²⁵⁵ Cf. Gruenwald, *Mysticism*, p. 31.

²⁵⁶ Segal, Alan F., ‘Heavenly Ascent in Hellenic Judaism, Early Christianity and their Environment’ in Hildegard Temporini, Wolfgang Haase and Joseph Vogt (eds.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1972) pp. 1333 – 1394, p. 1361; see also and Charlesworth, James H., ‘The Portrayal of the Righteous as an Angel’ in George W. E. Nickelsburg & John J. Collins (eds.), *Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism* (Chico: Scholars Press, 1980) pp. 135 – 151.

²⁵⁷ See Cook, David, ‘Moral Apocalyptic in Islam’ *SI* 86 (1997) 37 – 69, pp. 37 – 38.

²⁵⁸ Vockovic, *Heavenly Journeys*, p. 97; cf. Alan Segal on *IEn*: ‘Though the workings of the physical universe are described, the most important message of Enoch is that the unrighteous will be punished and that the suffering of the righteous has meaning.’ Segal, ‘Heavenly Ascent’ p. 1360. See also Porter, J. R., ‘Muhammad’s Journey to Heaven’ *Numen* 21 (1974) pp. 64 – 80, p. 75 and Martha Himmelfarb’s two key studies, *Tours of Hell* and *Ascent to Heaven*.

specific motifs to describe angels that are not found in their respective textual traditions. For this reason, the symbols that make up the ‘angelic language’ are not necessarily universal throughout different media. In Islamic art angels are often seen to wear crowns or coronets,²⁵⁹ an image that is not found in any of the *ḥadīth* in al-Suyūṭī’s *Al-Ḥabā’ik*.²⁶⁰ When Islamic Art developed in the East, much of the imagery and iconography of angels was influenced by East-Asian symbolism.²⁶¹ This is important to acknowledge, because it stresses the flexibility of the depiction of angels. Although set motifs did emerge, the supernatural origin of the angels allows for freedom to refer to different (symbolic) attributes.²⁶² Whilst these differences are observed most profoundly across the different media of one particular religion, the same can also be seen within a textual tradition; even in *Al-Ḥabā’ik fī akhbār al-malā’ik* there are a number of examples where different *ḥadīth* provide contradictory information about a particular angel. To give a basic example, Munkar and Nakīr are

²⁵⁹ Cf. al-Bel’ami MS [Freer Gallery of Art 57.16] foll. 182a & 184a; see Soucek, Priscilla P., ‘The Life of the Prophet: Illustrated Versions’ in Soucek, Priscilla P. (ed.), *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World* (London : Pennsylvania State University Press, 1988) pp. 193 – 217, and the Saray-Album (Topkapı Museum) MS Hazine 1221, fol. 223b; Hazine 2152, fol. 60b; Hazine 2154, foll. 61b, 121a; see Ipşiroğlu, M. Ş., *Das Bild im Islam* (Vienna: Schroll, 1971) pl. 23, 38, 39 and 104; and BNPer. 174, foll. 69r, 113r, 121v; Barrucand, Marianne, ‘The Miniatures of the *Daqā’iq al-ḥaqā’iq* (Bibliothèque Nationale Pers. 174): A Testimony to the Cultural Diversity of Medieval Anatolia’ *IA* 4 (1990 – 1991) pp. 113 – 142. For brief analysis of angels in Islamic art, see Milstein, R., ‘Angels in Islamic Art and Architecture’ *EF*³.

²⁶⁰ Some of the *ḥadīth*, albeit very few, do refer to angels wearing turbans (§626 – 628 & (yellow turbans) 630), and these are also found in Islamic Art (cf. FGA 57.16 fol. 138a, 170b; see Soucek, ‘Life of the Prophet’). However, whether the angels’ wearing of turbans is related to Islamic tradition or other external influences is difficult to ascertain.

²⁶¹ Cf. Esin, Emel, ‘An Angel Figure in the Miscellany Album H. 2152 of Topkapı’ in Oktay Aslanapa (ed.) *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte Asiens: in Memoriam Ernst Diez* (Istanbul: Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1963) pp. 264 – 282. Esin also includes other information on other motifs used for angels in Islamic and their influence from East-Asian culture.

²⁶² For example, in the miniatures of the *Daqā’iq al-ḥaqā’iq*, a number of the angels are depicted carrying different objects, representing the objects or seasons over which the angels have influence; see Barrucand, ‘Miniatures of the *Daqā’iq*’. Also, in one version of the *Mīrāj-nama* (Tokapı, Hazine 2154, fol. 61b), a miniature depicting Muḥammad’s encounter with the Cockerel (*al-Dīk*) includes an angelic choir, a motif that is not found in any available text of the *Mīrāj-nama* remaining extant; see Ettinghausen, Richard, ‘Persian Ascension Miniatures of the Fourteenth Century’ in Richard Ettinghausen, *Islamic Art and Archaeology: Collected Papers* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1984) pp. 244 – 267, pp. 246 – 248.

said to be blue in §302, but black in §305.²⁶³ The colour motifs are used to convey the terrifying form that the two angels take, the actual colour (be it blue or black) is not important.

In Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūfī's *Al-Habā'ik*, there are actually very few *ḥadīth* in the collection that give full descriptions of what angels look like, with most of the information only given in passing. This creates a slight methodological problem in that different *ḥadīth* may have different conceptions of a particular angel (or even angels in general), so care must be taken when attempting to reconstruct the image and form of particular angels. However, this section attempts to focus on some general trends in the depiction of angels, ignoring the fact that other individual *ḥadīth* could be cited to the contrary.

2.2.1 The Physical Form of Angels

In Islam, as in Judaism and Christianity, angels are often represented in anthropomorphic forms. In the Old Testament, God's angels are usually seen in the role of a messenger and there is actually no philological or textual distinction between divine and human messengers.²⁶⁴ It is only in the prophetic literature that angels begin to adopt more supernatural features: wings, animal characteristics *etc.*, culminating in the literature of the inter-testamental period and beyond, in which

²⁶³ Blue and black are often 'negative' colours in folklore; cf. Ugochukwu, Françoise 'The Devil's Colors: A Comparative Study of French and Nigerian Folktales' *OTr* 21 (2006) pp. 250 – 268, p. 260.

²⁶⁴ 'Divine messengers are usually depicted as indistinguishable from human beings...' Meier, S. A., 'Angel I' p. 48.

angels began to be described in both human and heavenly forms.²⁶⁵ The following extract from the early Pseudepigraphical text *Joseph and Aseneth* combines anthropomorphic and supernatural elements:

‘And Aseneth raised her head and saw, and behold, (there was) a man in every respect similar to Joseph, by the robe and the crown and the royal staff, except that this face was like lightning, and his eyes like sunshine, and the hairs of his head like a flame of burning torch, and hands and feet like iron shining forth from a fire, and sparks shot from his hands and feet.’²⁶⁶

In this example, the angel is described with divine imagery, such as having a face ‘like lightning’ and ‘eyes like sunshine’, alongside the comment that the angel was a ‘man in every respect similar to Joseph’. The anthropomorphic form of the angel is the most common form in both Jewish and Christian religious writings,²⁶⁷ and it is an obvious form for the angel to take, as for both Christians and Jews, God created humans in his own image.²⁶⁸ In early Jewish and Christian art angels were depicted without wings until the fifth century, as Glenn Peers comments: ‘In Early Christian art, angels were most often depicted in this earthly guise, as a man either bearded or unbearded, and, in this way, artists described one comprehensible aspect out of the many that scripture ascribes to angels’.²⁶⁹ Even in the later development

²⁶⁵ See also VanderKam, James C., ‘The Angel of the Presence in the Book of Jubilees’ *DSD* 7 (2000) pp. 378 – 393 and Quispel, Gilles ‘Ezekiel 1:26 in Jewish Mysticism and Gnosis’ *VC* 34 (1980) pp. 1 – 13.

²⁶⁶ JosAsen 15:9, *OTP* vol. 2, p. 225.

²⁶⁷ See Meier, ‘Angel I’ pp. 45 – 50 and van Henten, J. W., ‘Angel II’ *DDD* vol. 1, pp. 50 – 53. The two forms (celestial and anthropomorphic) are also found in Gnostic and Hermetic texts, see Stroumsa, Gedaliahu G., ‘Form(s) of God: Some Notes on Metatron and Christ’ *HTR* 76 (1983) pp. 269 – 288.

²⁶⁸ See Sullivan, *Wrestling with Angels*, p. 83.

²⁶⁹ Peers, Glen, *Subtle Bodies: Representing Angels in Byzantium* (London: University of California Press, 2001) p. 23. See, also, Bussagli, M., ‘Angelo’ *EdAM* vol. 1, pp. 629 – 638 and Pallas, D. I.,

of Jewish angelology, the angels continued to retain two different forms: human and supernatural.²⁷⁰

Angels in Islam are no different and in the Qur'ān angels are described in both explicitly human and supernatural forms.²⁷¹ Throughout al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* there are numerous references to angels being in human form, or, at the very least, having a number of human characteristics. These anthropomorphic images are balanced with images rooted in the supernatural and the heavenly: wings, zoomorphic forms, wearing or bearing heavenly articles, being of a great size, and so on. These make the anthropomorphisms less human; the angel still remains 'like a human', but the imagery plants the angel firmly in the divine world.

In the collection there are a number of general references to angels being in human form.²⁷² The anthropomorphic form is normally associated with great beauty (cf. Q 12:31) and this is echoed in *al-Ḥabā'ik*²⁷³ with one *ḥadīth* even likening the angel Gabriel to *Dihyā al-Kalbī*.²⁷⁴ The angels are given a number of different body parts, particularly important ones, such as the head, feet, legs, hands, and face.²⁷⁵ There are a number of references to facial features, including the mouth, nose, forehead, teeth, hair, ears and eyes.²⁷⁶ Added to this are some references, but more

'Himmelmächte, Erzengel und Engel' *RZBK*, vol. 3, coll. 13 – 119, coll. 43 – 56. For depictions of angels with wings in Jewish art, see Landsberger, Franz, 'The Origin of the Winged Angel in Jewish Art' *HUCA* 20 (1947) pp. 227 – 254.

²⁷⁰ Cf. Stoumsa, 'Form(s) of God' p. 274f.

²⁷¹ Cf. Q 19:16 – 19 & 35:1; Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 303 & 444.

²⁷² §46, 54, 56, 120 - 124, 151, 160, 167, 175, 218, 220 & 223.

²⁷³ §46, 120 & 122 (Gabriel and the Angel of Death).

²⁷⁴ *Dihyā al-Kalbī* is said to have been of 'such outstanding beauty that the Angel Gabriel took his features.' Lammens, H. [-Pellat, Ch.], '*Dihyā*' *EF*² vol. 2, p. 274.

²⁷⁵ *head*: §50, 54, 55, 92, 96, 104, 122, 184, 190, 195, 197, 219, 222, 243, 234, 494, 498, 499 & 684; *feet*: §29, 44a, 44b, 50, 52, 54, 96, 180, 181, 184, 195, 202, 205, 219, 222, 223, 274, 415, 485 & 486; *legs*: §180, 544 & 625; *hands*: §29, 166, 219, 222, 229, 234, 257, 269, 306, 487, 653 & 684; and *face*: §122, 189, 212 & 214.

²⁷⁶ *mouth*: §211, 233, 303, 305, 306, 493, 498 & 500; *nose*: §180; *forehead*: §54, 94, 104 & 105; *teeth*: §50; *hair*: §54, 120, 122, 233, 305 & 306; *ears*: §99, 122, 181, 270, 490 & 545 and *eyes*: §87, 95, 120, 123, 146, 183, 197, 199, 233, 303, 305, 306 & 499.

limited, to other areas of the body; including: the neck, shoulders, collarbone and heart.²⁷⁷ There are 129 *ḥadīth* with direct references to angels being in human form or having human body parts, which is roughly 17% of the collection. This is a relatively high percentage, and it shows the important place that anthropomorphic imagery had in Islamic traditions. It contrasts strongly with the relatively few references to angels having wings, with only 30 *ḥadīth* (around 4%) explicitly referring to them.²⁷⁸

The notion that angels have wings is a common one, but there are few references to angels having wings in either the Qur’ān or the *ḥadīth*.²⁷⁹ In this collection, some of the *ḥadīth* do not give much more information other than the fact that the angels have wings,²⁸⁰ with one simply stating that the angel’s wings are feathered.²⁸¹ Other references to the angels’ wings are used by the *ḥadīth* to express the great size of the angels by stating they stretch from the East to the West, for example: ‘...[Isrāfīl] has four wings, [and] from them are two wings, one of which is in the East, and the other of which is in the West...’²⁸² As will be seen below, the wings are given further detailing, including: being strung with precious stones (§45 & 49), being green (§54), being like peacock’s feathers (§49), and two references to a wing serving to cover the angel’s modesty (§93 & 744). However, with only six

²⁷⁷ Neck: §53, 94, 96, 99, 195 & 233; shoulders: §48, 51, 181, 231, 494 & 499; collarbone: §490 & 499 and heart: 549.

²⁷⁸ §20, 43, 45, 49, 50, 53, 54, 92 – 95, 99, 104, 149, 189, 213, 214, 284 – 287, 294, 416, 499, 511, 622, 623, 743 & 744.

²⁷⁹ See Burge, S. R., ‘Angels in *Sūrat al-Malā’ika*: Exegeses of Q 35:1’ *JQS* 10 (2009) pp. 50 – 70. This is, also, reflected in Jewish and Christian literature, where there are only a few references to angels having wings: cf. *2En* 12:2 & 72:9, *OTP* vol. 1, pp. 122 - 123 & 210 - 211; *3En* 9, *OTP* vol. 1, p. 263; *ApAbr* 18:6, *OTP* vol. 1, p. 698; *QuesEzra* 27 – 30, *OTP* vol. 1, p. 598 and *LadJac* 2:15, *OTP* vol. 2, p. 408.

²⁸⁰ Eg. §20, 94, 99, 149, 416, 622, 623, 690 & 744.

²⁸¹ §744; some modern commentators have argued against conceiving angels as being like birds, e.g. ‘We need not suppose that angelic “wings” have muscles and feathers, like the wings of birds.’ Ali, Y. H., *The Holy Qur’an* (Lahore: Sheikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1938, p. 1152, n. 3871.

²⁸² §94; see also §43, 92 – 95, 213, 214 & 499.

ḥadīth mentioning such specific details, this finer detailing is relatively rare. There are a number of *ḥadīth* that refer to the number of wings that each angel has, but the numbers vary, including: two (§50, 54 & 743), three (§94 & 743), four (§93, 189 & 743), six (§744), twelve (§53), and seventy thousand (§511). Although the Qurʾān gives the number of angels' wings as 'two, three and four' (*mathnā, wa-thulāth, wa-rubāʿ*),²⁸³ in Islamic tradition many more wings were added.²⁸⁴ These *ḥadīth* highlight an important aspect: the actual physical details about the wings are not necessarily generally agreed. This is because such detailing is there to express a theological idea, rather than giving a concrete description of what angels look like; for example, take the following *ḥadīth*:

[54] '... [Gabriel's] two wings are green and his feet are immersed in green, and the form which he takes fills the horizon. [The Prophet] (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: "I wanted to see you in your true form, Spirit of God." Then he transformed himself and filled the horizon.'

In this *ḥadīth*, the finer detailing is not aimed at giving the reader a full description of what an angel looks like, but the references to *green feet* highlight the divine origin of the angel and the size of the angel focuses the reader on the marvels of God's creation.²⁸⁵

²⁸³ Q 35:1; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 444.

²⁸⁴ E.g. During the *miʿrāj*, Muhammad sees Gabriel with six hundred wings; see, al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* (Riyadh: Bayt al-Afkār al-Dawliyya, 1998), §4856, p. 593; al-Qurṭubī, *Al-Jamīʿ*, vol. 14, pp. 319 – 320 and al-Bayḍawī, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar, *Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-taʾwīl*; Fleischer, H. O. (ed.), *Commentarius in Coranum* (Leipzig: Vogel, 1846 – 1848) vol. 2, p. 148. The increase in wings is justified through the exegesis of the phrase 'yazīdū fī'l-khalqī mā yashāʾu' in Q 35:1; cf. al-Ṭabārī's exegesis of this phrase: '...He increases what He wills for his creation, whatever He wills for it; and he decreases as He wills, what ever He wills for a creation; His is the creation, and the power, His is the ability and the authority.' Al-Ṭabārī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 22, p. 114.

²⁸⁵ See below for a discussion of the significance and symbolism of the colour green in Arabic.

Beyond the angelomorphic imagery and the basic idea that angels have wings, there are a few references to angels having the forms of animals. One of the most interesting examples is that of the *Bearers of the Throne* (*ḥamlat al-ʿarsh*), who are associated with two forms; the first is that of the four-faced angel, which is derived from the Jewish *ḥayyōt* (‘living creatures’) that bear the Throne or Chariot of God; the second is that the four *Bearers of the Throne* are in the form of a mountain goat (*wāʿil*). In Judaism, the *ḥayyōt* take the forms of a bull, a lion, a human, and an eagle.²⁸⁶ The use of animal-angels in the imagery of God’s Throne may have its antecedents in pagan deities,²⁸⁷ but, in Judaism and Christianity, the four *ḥayyōt* came to represent the whole of creation, as Richard Bauckham comments: ‘Their representative function is to worship on behalf of all creatures, and therefore it is fulfilled when the circle of worship expands to include not only humans, but “every creature in heaven and on earth and under earth and in the sea” (5:13).’²⁸⁸ There are six *ḥadīth* in *Al-Ḥabāʾik* that describe the *Bearers of the Throne* in these zoological forms,²⁸⁹ although, amongst these there is no consensus, as four state that each angel has four faces and the other two that there are four different angels with one single form.²⁹⁰ One of the *ḥadīth* alludes to the idea that the four angelic forms refer to creation as a whole:

‘...An angel from amongst them has the likeness of a human, which intercedes for the children of Adam in their need, and an angel has the likeness of an eagle, which intercedes for birds in their need, and an

²⁸⁶ Ezk. 1:5 – 14; Rev. 4:6 – 8; Apoc. Abr. 18:3 – 7, *OTP*, vol. 1, p. 698.

²⁸⁷ Cf. Egger, Jürg, *Influences and Traditions Underlying the Vision of Daniel 7:2 – 14* (Fribourg: University Press / Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000) pp. 42 – 54.

²⁸⁸ Bauckham, Richard, *The Theology of the Book of Revelation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) pp. 33 – 34.

²⁸⁹ §189 – 193 & 198; the Angel of the Thunder is, also, described like this, see §267.

²⁹⁰ Single form: §192 & 193; (four faces): §189 – 191; 198.

angel has the likeness of a bull, which intercedes for livestock in their need, and an angel has the likeness of a lion, which intercedes for predatory animals in their need...²⁹¹

As noted above, six of the *ḥadīth* in the collection refer to the Bearers of the Throne having horns like mountain goats or looking like mountain goats.²⁹² David Halperin suggests that similar *ḥadīth* may be referring to a passage in the *Babylonian Talmud* (*Hag* 13a), which refers to the horns of the *ḥayyōt*, but can draw no further conclusions.²⁹³ This imagery remains unclear, but horns did have religious significance in Semitic religion, particularly as representations of divinity,²⁹⁴ and such iconography is also found in a Greek temple to Apollo on the island of Delos.²⁹⁵ In relation to the divine throne, there are some images of Semitic gods seated on zoomorphic thrones and some evidence of thrones being supported by horns,²⁹⁶ but it is difficult to ascertain whether the Islamic image of the *Bearers of the Throne* like goats is related to these wider Semitic and pagan ideas.

Beyond these cases of zoomorphic images of angels in *al-Ḥabā'ik*, there are also two other *ḥadīth* that include a reference to Isrāfīl making himself smaller

²⁹¹ §191.

²⁹² *goats*: §179; *horns*: §180, 181, 184, 197 & 209

²⁹³ Halperin, *Faces of the Chariot*, p. 470.

²⁹⁴ Cook, Stanley A., *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the Light of Archaeology* (London: Oxford University Press, 1930) p. 29; see also Obhink, H. Th., 'The Horns of the Altar in the Semitic World, Especially in Jahwism' *JBL* 56 (1937) pp. 43 – 49; see, also, Coudert, Allison, 'Horns' *ER*² vol. 6, pp. 4130 – 4131 and Litvinski, B. A. (tr. Sylvia Juan), 'Sheep and Goats' *ER*² vol. 12, pp. 8309 – 8312.

²⁹⁵ The altar is called the *keratinos bumos*; see Brureau, Philippe, *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos à l'époque hellénistique et à l'époque impériale* (Paris: Editions E. de Boccard, 1970) pp. 22 – 29. The altar was destroyed, but is referred to by the poet Callimachus; see Callimachus, *Εἰς Ἀπολλῶνα*, l. 61; William, F., *Callimachus. Hymn to Apollo: A Commentary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978) pp. 59 - 60. The altar of the Jerusalem temple, also, had stone 'horns', see Milgrom, Jacob & Lerner, Blalik Myron, 'Altar', *EJ* vol. 1, coll. 760 - 771.

²⁹⁶ See Cornelius, Izak, *The Iconography of the Canaanite Gods Reshef and Ba'al: Late Bronze Age and Iron Age Periods (c. 1500 – 1000 BCE)* (Fribourg: University Press & Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994) pp. 245 – 253 and Metzger, Martin, *Königsthron und Gottesthron: Thronformen und Throndarstellungen in Ägypten und in Vorderen Orient im dritten und zweiten Jahrtausend vor Christus und deren Bedeutung für das Verständnis von Aussagen über den Thron im Alten Testament* (Kevelaer: Verlag Butzon & Berkcer; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1985) p. 253.

‘...until he has become like a small sparrow (*was^c*)...’²⁹⁷ and the Angel of the Thunder having a tail (§267). These are only minor references and it is difficult to draw further conclusions from them. There is also the angelic cockerel (*al-dīk*);²⁹⁸ however, this angel should be treated differently, as the imagery is purely of a cockerel, rather than that of an angel with certain features of a cockerel.

On the whole, the angels in *al-Ḥabā’ik* have human, rather than animal, characteristics. The *ḥadīth* frequently draw on Judeo-Christian imagery and the *Bearers of the Throne* are a prominent example of such an influence. The trend, however, is quite a general one. Images do not appear to be derived from Jewish or Christian images, rather general ideas about angelic iconography are adapted by Islam from Judaism and Christianity. This is seen most clearly in the use of the anthropomorphic angel: the image is clearly indebted to a Judeo-Christian iconography, but is adapted, used and developed in Islamic traditions independently.

2.2.2 Angels of Great Size

Whilst many Jewish, Christian and Islamic texts that feature angels usually include very little in the way of descriptions, one of the most common motifs is that the angels are of great size and very rarely are they said to be small. This general scheme is found in al-Suyūṭī’s *Al-Ḥabā’ik*, with only one *ḥadīth* (§5) stating that a ‘single angel is smaller than a fly.’²⁹⁹

²⁹⁷ §53.

²⁹⁸ §280 – 294.

²⁹⁹ One other *ḥadīth* state that the angel Isrāfīl can be both huge and incredibly small (the size of a small sparrow), see §53.

There are a number of ways in which their vast size is described, with four of the most common being: (i) describing measurements in terms of travelling long distances; (ii) stating that the angel has a wing in the East and a wing in the West; (iii) descriptions of the angel filling the horizon; and (iv) describing the angel stretching from the earth to the heavens. There are a number of Jewish and Christian texts that portray angels in similarly large scale terms, which becomes an important theme in the fifth / sixth century *Hebrew Apocalypse of Enoch (3 Enoch)*: ‘The vast size of angels is a theme of 3En...In the Hekhalot texts size conveys the idea of majesty and sublimity. It is found not only in the motif of the measurements of the angels, but in Ši^cur Qomah, the measurements of the body of God, and in the motif of the dimensions of the heavens.’³⁰⁰ The following extract from *3 Enoch* is a typical example, the prophet Enoch says: ‘I was enlarged and increased in size till I matched the world in length and breadth. He made me to grow on me 72 wings, 36 on one side and 36 on the other, and each single wing covered the entire world.’³⁰¹

A common method that the *ḥadīth* use to describe the angels’ huge size is to give the length between two points in terms of the distance equivalent to many years’ travel. This often takes the form: ‘the distance from *X* to *Y* is a journey of *N* hundred years.’ This phrasing appears some twenty times through the compilation.³⁰² Both the two points of reference for the distance and the distance itself vary from *ḥadīth* to *ḥadīth*, as can be seen in the table below.

³⁰⁰ Alexander, P., ‘3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch’ *OTP* vol. 1, p. 293 n. 9c.

³⁰¹ 3En 9:2 – 3, p. 263.

³⁰² 20,51,180 (three times), 181, 183, 197, 202, 209, 231 (bis), 485, 490, 494, 499 (four times) & 545.

§	Angel	From	To	Distance (in years)
20	Bearers of the Throne	Head	Throne	100
51	Gabriel	Shoulder	Shoulder	700
180	Bearers of the Throne	Balls of Feet	Ankles	500
180	Bearers of the Throne	Tip of Nose	Collarbone	500
180	Bearers of the Throne	Tip of Nose	Earlobe	500
180	Bearers of the Throne	Earlobe	Shoulder	700
183	Bearers of the Throne	Inner part of eye	Outer part of eye	500
197	Bearers of the Throne	Horns	Head	500
202	Bearers of the Throne	Ankles	Bottom of the foot	500
209	Bearers of the Throne	Bottom of Horn	Top of Horn	500
231	Keepers of the Fire	Shoulder	Shoulder	100
231	Keepers of the Fire	Shoulder	Shoulder	500
485	Bearers of the Throne	Ankles	Shoulder	500
490	Cherubim	Earlobe	Collarbone	500
494	Unnamed Angel	Shoulder	Head	100
499	Bearers of the Throne	Horn	Horn	500
500	Unnamed Angel	Wing	Wing	300
500	Unnamed Angel	Earlobe	Shoulder	400
545	Unnamed Angel	Earlobe	Collarbone	7000

Fig(i): Distances between body parts in *Al-Habā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik*

The table shows that a distance of five hundred years is the most common and that there is no general trend in the body parts used for the measurements. Generally, the measurements given are usually short distances making the angels appear even larger. Some of the *ḥadīth* also use further phrases to clarify the distance, such as §71, in which it is said that the distance is ‘a journey of seven hundred years for a bird.’³⁰³ The phrase is used most often in connection with the *Bearers of the Throne* and, by extension, of God’s Throne and, ultimately, God. Such imagery is typified in the Jewish *Shi‘ūr Qomah* texts, which give similar measurements, not of an angel, but of God,³⁰⁴ although there is some debate about

³⁰³ See, also, §181 (bird); §231 (100 autumns); §490 (quick-flying bird going downwards); §494 (angel flying) and §545 (quick-flying bird).

³⁰⁴ The scales are enormous; for example R. Ishmael b. Elosa is said to have remarked that ‘...the entire measurement (of the Creator) is 2,000,000,000,000,000 (i. e. 2×10^{18}) parasangs in height, and 10,000,000,000 parasangs in width.’ *Sefer Hashi‘ūr*, ll. 5 - 6; Cohen, Martin Samuel, *The Shi‘ūr*

what the exact intention is of the text giving these measurements.³⁰⁵ Just as in the *ḥadīth* in *al-Ḥabā'ik*, a wide number of different measurements are made; for example one of the *Shi'ur Qomah* texts, *Siddur Rabbah*,³⁰⁶ includes the following measurements:

l.	p.	From	To	Distance (in parasangs)
4	38	Right eye	Left Eye	33,000
5	38	Let Arm	Right Arm	770,000
57	44	Souls of Feet	N/A	30,000
58	44	Foot	Ankle	120,000,000
58	44	Ankle	Knee	450,000,000
63	44	Knees	Thigh	600,002,000
65	45	Thigh	Shoulder	600,000,080
67	45	Shoulder	Neck	190,000,000
67	45	Neck	N/A	180,000,000
68	45	Head (circumference)	N/A	500,000,333
75	46	Forehead	N/A	180,000,000
76	46	Pupil	N/A	11,200
78	46	White of the eye	N/A	22,000
90	48	Lips	N/A	21,000
92	48	Left Shoulder	Right Shoulder	120,000,000
93	48	Right Arm	N/A	150,000,000
96	48	Hand	N/A	70,000,000
97	48	Right Arm	Left Arm	770,000,000
98	49	Fingers	N/A	300,000,000
103	49	Right Foot	N/A	10,000,000

Fig. (ii): Table of Distances between Body Parts in *Siddur Rabbah*

Qomah: Texts and Recensions (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1995) p. 29. The date of these texts is unclear [cf. Stemberger, Günter (tr. Markus Bockmuehl), *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* (Repr. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1997), pp. 348 – 349], the tradition appears to have its origins in the period after the *Babylonian Talmud* (5th Century), but, significantly, before the time of the philosopher Saadia Gaon (d. 942); see Cohen, *Shi'ur Qomah*, pp. 1 - 2 and Cohen, Martin Samuel, *The Shi'ur Qomah: Liturgy and Theurgy in Pre-Kabbalistic Jewish Mysticism* (London: University Press of America, 1983) pp. 51ff.

³⁰⁵ Some commentators believe the *Shi'ur Qomah* texts may, actually, be an unusual attempt to de-anthropomorphise God. Gedaliahu Stroumsa argues that the texts appear to be referring to an archangelic divine hypostasis, rather than the actual essence of God (see Stroumsa, 'Form(s) of God' p. 277f.); Joseph Dan argues that the measurements are so exceptionally incomprehensible, they become meaningless; see Dan, Joseph, 'Concept of Knowledge in the *Shi'ur Qomah*' in Siegfried Stein and Raphael Loewe (eds.) *Studies in Jewish Religious and Intellectual History Presented to Alexander Altmann*, (Alabama: University of Alabama Press 1979) pp. 67-73.

³⁰⁶ Cohen, *Shi'ur Qomah* (1985), pp. 38 – 53.

A basic comparison between the *ḥadīth* in *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* and *Siddur Rabbah* shows the practice of giving measurements between specific body parts of cosmic proportions is common to both texts; but there is a notable difference in that *Siddur Rabbah*, as well as the *Shi'ur Qomah* in general, do not tend to give the measurements in years, but by physical units of distance (usually *parasangs*).³⁰⁷ The usage of measuring the distance between two specific body parts is less common in other Jewish and Christian texts³⁰⁸ and in these cases the distances are given in actual physical measurements, rather than 'years'.³⁰⁹ However, anthropomorphic representation of the divine on a cosmic scale is a belief generally held in the Ancient world.³¹⁰

Another way that the *ḥadīth* describe the great size of the angels is by stating that the angels (or the angels' wings) stretch from the East to the West, which is fairly common throughout the work, appearing explicitly fifteen times.³¹¹ This

³⁰⁷ In *Siddur Rabbah* 'years' are not used, but in another text, *Sefer ha-Shi'ur*, there is one distance given in 'years' amongst many measurements taken in *parasangs*: 'The distance that a man can walk in a (single) day is ten parasangs, which is to say that, in a year consisting of 365 parasangs, (he can) walk 3,656 parasangs (!). In ten years, the sum totals 36,400 parasangs, and (therefore,) in one hundred years, it reaches, 365,000 parasangs, and in five hundred years, it reaches 1,825,000 parasangs - this is the span of the Creator, may He be blessed'. *Siddur Rabbah* II: 9 – 12; Cohen, *Shi'ur Qomah* (1985) pp. 28 - 29.

³⁰⁸ The distance 'shoulder to shoulder' does, however, appear in the *Book of Elchasai*: an angel is said to be 96 miles high (24 schoinoi) and the distance from shoulder to shoulder to be 6 schoinoi (14 miles): *NTA*, vol. 2, p. 687; this fragment is taken from Hippolytus, *Refutatio omnium haeresium*, IX:13.2; Marcovich, Miroslav (ed.), *Hippolytus: Refutatio Omnium Haeresium* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1986) p. 357.

³⁰⁹ Although *year*-measurements can be found, usually in relation the size of the earth. In addition to the use in *Sefer ha-Shi'ur* (see above), it can, also, be found in *DeutR 2:10*, p. 29 and *CantR 6:9 §2 – 3*, p. 266. See, also, Gandz, Solomon, 'The Distribution of Land and Sea on the Earth's Surface According to Hebrew Sources' *PAAJR* 22 (1953) pp. 23 – 53; especially p. 33. This use can be found in al-Mas'ūdī, Abī al-Ḥassan °Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn °Alī (ed. °Abd al-Amīr °Alī Muhanna), *Murūj al-dhahāb wa-ma'ādīn al-jawāhir* (Beirut: Mu'sassa al-A°lamī li-'l-Maṭbu'āt, 1321 / 2000) §I:16; vol. 1, p. 172

³¹⁰ Cf. Stroumsa, 'Form(s) of God' p. 269; see also Jackson, Howard M., 'The Origins and Development of *Shi'ur Qomah* Revelation in Jewish Mysticism' *JSJ* 31 (2000) pp. 373 – 415. Jackson looks at representations of the divine in other, non-Jewish, religious traditions.

³¹¹ §42, 53, 92 – 95, 158 – 159, 201, 202, 213, 214, 285, 286 & 294.

description is only applied to named angels and is only used in reference to Gabriel, Isrāfīl, the Spirit, the Angel of Death and the Cockerel. The phrase normally comes in the form: *the angel has a wing in the East and a wing in the West*. This phrase occurs eleven out of the fifteen times, but is only used of the Cockerel and the angel Isrāfīl.³¹² Gabriel is said to have ‘filled the space between East and West’ (§42); the Angel of Death is said to have a spear that reaches from the East to the West (§158 & 159) and the stride of the Angel of Death is said to stretch from the East to the West (§202). Although this phrase is only used of Gabriel twice (§42 & 53), another related description, stating that Gabriel filled the horizon, is used more frequently (§43, 46, 47 & 54).

So far the gigantic size of the angels has been described by measurement and breadth (i.e. East to West), but height is also used relatively frequently.³¹³ Some of the *ḥadīth* refer to great height in a general way; for example, Gabriel is said to fill ‘the space between Heaven and Earth’ in §41.³¹⁴ However, the most common way to express height is to say that the angel’s feet are on the (Seventh) Earth and its head in the (Seventh) Heaven.³¹⁵ The concept of the angels’ heads reaching heaven is found in the *Acts of John* where it is said of an angel that: ‘...his feet [...] were whiter than snow, so that the ground was lit up by his feet, and his head stretched up to the heaven.’³¹⁶

The concept of angels as being of a great size is common in Judeo-Christian angelology. Numerous texts, particularly Pseudepigrapha, often describe angels in

³¹² §53, 92 – 95, 201, 202, 213, 214, 285, 286 and 294.

³¹³ §41, 96, 180, 181, 184, 190, 195, 201, 205, 284, 286, 287, 294 & 544.

³¹⁴ Cf. §190

³¹⁵ §96, 180, 181, 184, 195, 201, 205, 284, 286, 287, 294 & 544.

³¹⁶ *ActsJ*90; *NTA*, vol. 2, p. 180 – 181.

this way.³¹⁷ There are a number of texts that refer to angels being of a great size in general terms, such as the *Gospel of Philip*, in which it is said that: ‘...when [Jesus] appeared to the disciples in glory on the mountain, he was not small - he became great - but he made the disciples great, that they might see him in his greatness.’³¹⁸ Although only a general comment, this passage from the *Gospel of Philip* reveals, quite clearly, the meaning of the angel of great size: the size is a sign of the truth of the vision.

It is unlikely that direct sources could be traced for the *ḥadīth* found in *al-Ḥabā’ik*, but the description of these massive angels clearly owes a large debt to the vocabulary and imagery of Judeo-Christian angelology. This is important as it shows that Islam did not only ‘borrow’ angelic imagery from Jewish and Christian traditions, but Islam developed and utilised this angelic imagery, with the angels *Isrāfīl* and *al-Dīk* the most notable examples.

2.2.3 Finer Detailing: Clothing, Jewellery & Colours

The majority of the descriptions about angels in *Al-Ḥabā’ik* are fairly general, usually emphasising the size of the angel. However, just as the size of the angel attests to the reality of the vision, certain iconographical details are used to highlight and refine the image of the angel. An angel is often only distinguishable from another angel by certain *props* or other characteristics. It is in the use of these

³¹⁷ For a short discussion of this see: De Conick, April D., ‘The “Dialogue of the Savior” and the Mystical Sayings of Jesus’ *VC* 50 (1996) pp. 178 – 199, pp. 190 – 193.

³¹⁸ *GPhil* 26a; *NTA*, vol. 1, p. 191. Cf. *DialSav* 42 & 67; *NTA*, vol. 1, pp. 4 – 11

different props that an iconographic vocabulary emerges.³¹⁹ The use of iconographic details is more important in visual media, as a picture, mosaic, or carving tend not to make use of written names; for example, in Byzantine art angels are often pictured holding a sceptre and robed in priestly garments.³²⁰ Clothing is an important iconographical detail, as the way in which someone is clothed often reveals much about their status,³²¹ as well as distinguishing individuals from others, since clothing ‘...serves to preserve the boundaries among persons of different statuses.’³²² Likewise, vestments play an important part in the iconography of angels in Islamic art, although this is usually expressed in different ways to the literary tradition.³²³ In al-Suyūṭī’s *Al-Ḥabā’ik fī akhbār al-malā’ik* there is some evidence that Islamic tradition developed its own iconographic vocabulary, with a number of angels being associated with particular accessories, colours and clothes.

The most prominent item of clothing is a robe, with which angels are particularly associated in Jewish and Christian scriptures, as well as visual media.³²⁴ In Jewish tradition, the robe is normally believed to be white, developing out of

³¹⁹ Cf. Swartz, M. D., ‘The Semiotics of the Priestly Vestments in Ancient Judaism’ in Albert I Baumgarten (ed.), *Sacrifices in Religious Experience* (Leiden: Brill, 2002) pp. 57 - 80. Garments were, also, used to distinguish gods from mortals in Semitic religion: see Oppenheim, A. Leo, ‘Golden Garments of the Gods’ *JNES* 8 (1949) pp. 172 – 193.

³²⁰ For a comprehensive list of various iconographic details associated with angels, see Pallas, ‘Himmelsmächte’ *RZBK* vol. 3, coll. 34 – 43. Another interesting article by Catherine Jolivet-Lévy discusses the semiotics of dress in Byzantine art and particularly the way in which the Imperial costume of the angels was also used to stress the worldly power of the Emperor; see Jolivet-Lévy, Catherine, ‘Note sur la représentation des archanges en costume impérial dans l’iconographie byzantine’ *CA* 46 (1998) pp. 121 – 128.

³²¹ For a discussion of the place of clothing in Judaism and Christianity, see Kim, Jung Hoon, *The Significance of Clothing Imagery in the Pauline Corpus* (London: Continuum, 2004). For an important work on the semiotics of clothing and dress (in general), see Rubinstein, Ruth P., *Dress Codes: Meaning and Messages in American Culture* (Oxford: Westview Press, 1995).

³²² Rubin, Nissan & Kosman, Admiel, ‘The Clothing of the Primordial Man: Adam as a Symbol of Apocalyptic Time in the Midrashic Sources’ *HTR* 90 (1997) pp. 155 - 174, p. 163.

³²³ Emel Esin includes a discussion of angelic dress in Islamic art and its East-Asian influences, see Esin, ‘Angel Figure’ p. 269f.

³²⁴ For a discussion of angelic clothing in Byzantine art, see Parani, Maria G., *Reconstructing the Reality of Images: Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography (11th – 15th Centuries)* (Leiden: Brill, 2003) pp. 42 – 50.

exegeses of Ezekiel 1 and Daniel 7:9.³²⁵ The imagery of a white robe is transferred into the Old and New Testamental Pseudepigraphical literature, such as the book of *Jannes and Jambres*.³²⁶ Similar imagery can be found in *al-Ḥabā'ik*, e.g. 'Gabriel came to me just as a man comes to his friend in a white gown...'³²⁷ The white of the angels' gowns normally reflect two main ideas: the purity of the angels' faith and their dazzling brightness.³²⁸ In Islam, white also carries connotations of purity, as Khalil ^cAthamina comments: '...white garments symbolize the modesty incumbent upon all Muslims in their attitude toward the Creator, especially during prayer. It is for this reason Muslims of all social strata and walks of life have followed the practice of praying in white as a sign of their modesty and piety.'³²⁹ Colour is used to convey certain characteristics of the angel as colours had important meanings in Islamic culture.

White is not the only colour used of angels in *al-Ḥabā'ik* and there are some references to green (*akhḍar*).³³⁰ Gabriel, for example, is associated with the colour

³²⁵ 'As I watched, thrones were set in place, and an Ancient One took his throne; his clothing was white as snow and the hair of his head like pure wool...' *NRSV* p.843 Cf. 20:12; 'and he saw two angels in white...' *NRSV* p.111, Martha Himmelfarb discusses the use and symbolism of God's white gown and argues that there are two main ideas: (i) judgement and (ii) purity; she, also, alludes to the wearing of a plain white robe by the Jewish High Priest on the Day of Atonement; see Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, pp. 16 – 18; see also Rowland, Christopher, 'A Man Clothed in Linen: Daniel 10.6ff and Jewish Angelology' *JSNT* 24 (1985) pp. 99 – 110.

³²⁶ Cf. *JanJam* 25a, *OTP* vol. 2, p. 437 and *ApEl* 5:5 – 6 'Then Gabriel and Uriel will become a pillar of light leading them into the holy land. It will be granted to them to eat from the tree of life. They will wear white garments....and angels will watch over them.' *OTP*, vol. 1, p. 750. This text is referring to the righteous, rather than angels, but the intention of the white garments is to signify their righteousness and their place in heaven.

³²⁷ §54; see also §122 (Angel of Death)

³²⁸ '[Weiß] bezeichnet jede Art von Helligkeit, darunter auch die Helligkeit des Weiß, aber ebenso des Strahlen und Leuchten des Lichts und das Funkeln und Schillern reflektierender Gegenstände.' Fischer, Wolfdiétrich, *Farb- und Formbezeichnungen in der Sprache der altarabischen Dichtung: Untersuchungen zur Wortbedeutung und zur Wortbildung* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1965) p. 244.

³²⁹ ^cAthamina, Khalil, 'The Black Banners and the Socio-Political Significance of Flags and Slogans in Medieval Islam' *Arabica* 36 (1989) p. 311.

³³⁰ *Akhḍar* can, also, refer to blue (see Fischer, *Farb- und Formbezeichnungen*, p. 306), but, in these texts, 'green' is clearly intended.

with one *ḥadīth* stating that the ‘soles of his feet are green’³³¹ and another that Gabriel wore a green headband.³³² The use of green, the Prophet’s colour, gives these angelic traditions a more Islamic symbolism, distancing the imagery from Judaism and Christianity. Green is also an important colour because of its associations with paradise, as David Alexander comments: ‘In the Qur’an green is associated with life itself and as one of the signs of God. Green evoked the idea of tranquillity and refuge.’³³³ Although green is used to designate paradise in other religions of the Near East (particularly Zoroastrianism),³³⁴ the association of green with paradise in an arid environment is quite obvious.³³⁵ The symbolism of the colour does not appear to have played such an important part in Jewish and Christian angelic imagery. More generally, the colour green simply carries notions of creation and the physical order of the universe in Judaism and, by extension, the divine – in the sense that the world is God’s creation.³³⁶ However, green can have negative connotations, for example, in *3 Enoch* the souls of the ‘intermediates’ in Hell are green.³³⁷

Jewels also play an important part in the Islamic iconography of angels. In *al-Habā’ik*, Gabriel’s clothing is often described as being encrusted with jewels (normally rubies, pearls or chrysolite), which is a sign of his status in the angelic

³³¹ §54, see also §50 & 52.

³³² §690.

³³³ Alexander, David: ‘The Black Flag of the ‘Abbasids’ *Gladius* 20 (2000) p. 224.

³³⁴ For a discussion of the symbolism of colours in Near Eastern cultures, see Carbó, Antoni Gonzalo, ‘El Viaje Espiritual al «Espacia Verde»: el «Jardín de la Visión» en el Sufismo’ *Convivium* 20 (2007) pp. 65 - 90.

³³⁵ §42, 44b, 45 & 54; Green robes are, also, said to be worn by those in paradise: e.g. Q 18:31 ‘...and they shall be robed in green garments of silk and brocade...’ Arberry, *Koran*, p. 292; see also Q 55:76 & 76:21; Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 559 and 622; see also ‘Athamina, ‘Black Banners’ pp. 325 – 326.

³³⁶ ‘The color green is symbolic of the beginning of the things, of the creation, of the physical order and also of the fundamental wisdom which underlies creation.’ Bokser, Ben Zion, ‘The Thread of Blue’ *PAAJR* 31 (1963) p. 11

³³⁷ ‘Moreover, the faces of the intermediate were a greenish colour, on account of their deeds, for they are tainted until purified of their iniquity by fire.’ *3En* 44:5; *OTP*, vol. 1, p. 295.

world. The Cockerel, although not wearing a robe or gown, is also described as having body parts made out of precious metals and jewels.³³⁸ Precious stones play an important part in Jewish and Christian iconography and they are usually associated with God or those that have dealings with the divine, such as priests.³³⁹ For example, in the *Letter of Aristeas*, an account of the dedication of the Jewish Temple, the High Priest was said to be robed in ‘...all the glorious vestments, including the wearing of the “garment” with precious stones upon it in which he is vested...’³⁴⁰ and that the ‘...house faces east, and the rear of it faces west. The whole foundation was decked with (precious) stones...’³⁴¹ The *Letter of Aristeas* describes the earthly temple, but the heavenly temple and those making the journey to heaven are also described in similar terms in other Pseudepigraphical works.³⁴² The importance of precious stones is their association with wealth, power and majesty. Certain angels, particularly Gabriel in Islamic tradition, are given status through the use of jewels and precious stones. Such imagery is natural and widespread in religious iconography of the divine in general.

There are two further motifs in *al-Ḥabā’ik* that are slightly unusual. The first is that some angels wear turbans and a second which describes one of the angels’ clothing like a pair of *sarāwīl* (*trousers*). The turbaned angels are the angels that helped the Muslim community at Badr.³⁴³ This imagery is not found in the Judeo-

³³⁸ §281, 285, 286 & 294.

³³⁹ See Royalty, Robert M., *The Streets of Heaven: The Ideology of Wealth in the Apocalypse of John* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1998) pp. 45 – 58. For the use of precious stones in a whole range of different religions, see Kunz, George Frederick, *The Curious Lore of Precious Stones* (London: s.i., 1913) pp. 225 – 274.

³⁴⁰ *Let Aris* 96, *OTP* vol. 2, p. 19; cf. Ex 28:4, 27 – 31.

³⁴¹ *Let Aris* 88, *OTP* vol. 2, p. 18; see also *Let Aris*, 52 – 82, *OTP* vol. 2 pp. 16 – 18.

³⁴² Cf. *1En* 14:11 & 24:2, *OTP* vol. 1, pp. 20 & 26; *3En* 12, *OTP* Vol 1, p. 265 ; *2Bar* 5:7 *OTP* Vol 2, p. 623; *ApAb* 11:1 – 3, *OTP* vol. 1, p. 694 and *Ps.-Phil.* 26:9 – 10 *OTP* vol. 2, p. 338.

³⁴³ §626 – 628 & 630. cf. Q3:123 – 124; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 61; Ibn Ishāq, *Sīra*, pp. 303ff.; Al-Wāqidī, Muḥammad ibn ‘Umar (ed. Marsden Jones), *Kitāb al-maghāzī* (London: Oxford University Press,

Christian tradition to any great extent, so the use of turbans marks a distinctly Islamic image and it reflects the association of angels with contemporaneous dress.³⁴⁴ The image of the angel being covered with a wing has obvious resonances with the *seraphim* in Isaiah 6:3;³⁴⁵ but the motif appears to be very uncommon (only appearing three times) and is only used in reference to Gabriel and Isrāfīl.³⁴⁶

The last form of finer detailing that will be discussed here is the use of props and accessories, some of which have already been mentioned. Props and accessories are normally used to symbolise a specific angel or a particular function of an angel, a trend that is seen most clearly in the visual arts. Isrāfīl is the most notable example of this trend; Isrāfīl is associated with the Trumpet that announces the Last Day, and so he is often described as holding it.³⁴⁷ Other angels, such as the Angel of Death, the Guardian of the Fire and the Angel of the Thunder, are also associated with objects relating to their cosmic function. The Angel of Death is said to hold a spear, with which ‘he cuts the vein of life.’ The Guardians of Hell and the angel Mālik are believed to have spears or rods with which to persecute those in Hell.³⁴⁸ Lastly, the Angel of the Thunder (who is, also, responsible for the clouds) is said to have a whip

1966) vol. 1, pp. 56 – 57, 79, 113 and Mālik ibn Anas, *al-Muwatta; Muwatta’ al-Imām Mālik wa-sharḥuhu tanwīr al-ḥawālik* (Cairo: Maṭba‘at al-akhīra, 1370 / 1951) vol. 1 pp. 291 – 292; Bewley, Aisha Abdurrahman (tr.), *Al-Muwatta of Imam Malik ibn Anas: The First Formulation of Islamic Law* (Granada: Madinah Press, 1992) §20.81.254, p. 171; for more on the significance of turbans, see Kister, M. J., ‘“The Crowns of this Community”...Some Notes on the Turban in Muslim Tradition’ *JSAI* 24 (2000) pp. 217 – 245.

³⁴⁴ This is also found in Western art, as Stephen Prickett comments early renaissance art: ‘Biblical characters (once clothed) always wore contemporary dress and appeared in the local context.’ Prickett, Stephen, ‘The Bible in Literature and Art’ in John Barton (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Biblical Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) pp. 160 – 178, p. 165.

³⁴⁵ Cf. Kaiser, Otto (tr. R. A. Wilson), *Isaiah 1 – 12* (London: SCM Press, 1972) p. 76 and Oswalt, John, *The Book of Isaiah: Chapters 1 - 39* (Grand Rapids: W. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1986) p. 179.

³⁴⁶ §93, 99 & 744.

³⁴⁷ §85 – 88, 91, 92 & 99; see also Wensinck, A. J., ‘Isrāfīl’ *EF* vol. 4, p. 211.

³⁴⁸ §234 & 234.

made of iron (or light) and a rope, with which he moves the clouds through the sky.³⁴⁹

Occasionally the relationship between the object and the angel is different, with the object not reflecting the function of the angel, but the status of the angel. Gabriel is said to have a belt strung with pearls (§50 & 54) and Isrāfīl is associated with the *Preserved Tablet* (*al-lawḥ al-mahfūz*), the Qur'ān and the Throne of God.³⁵⁰ The closeness of Isrāfīl to God explains both his prestige and his function as it is Isrāfīl who delivers the messages of God to His angels.

The use of finer detailing allows the *ḥadīth* to highlight certain aspects of an angel. Clothing, jewellery and props allow the reader to understand both the angel's function and status. Such detailing is common to Islam, Judaism, and Christianity in almost all media. In visual media, finer details are often used to distinguish one angel from another.³⁵¹ This resulted in the development of a specific iconographic language, in which different angels are represented by different objects. In textual material, however, the ability to name angels verbally makes the use of specific iconographies less important; but a set language did appear to develop, in which objects came to signify certain characteristics, especially references to colour, costume and precious stones.

The basic and most common iconographical form of an angel in Islam is the same as that found in Judaism and Christian, that of an anthropomorphized angel. However,

³⁴⁹ §257, 258, 261 & 263.

³⁵⁰ See §85 – 106.

³⁵¹ For example, in Byzantine art different kinds of holy people (martyrs, monks, warrior saints, bishops etc.) are dressed in different clothing to differentiate them; cf. Walter, Christopher, *Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003) pp. 270 – 274, 285 – 290 and Maguire, Henry, *The Icons of Their Bodies: Saints and Their Images in Byzantium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

the way in which the angel is anthropomorphised is different in Islamic tradition. In Judaism and Christianity, there are fewer references to specific body parts in the description of angels and their anthropomorphic form is achieved by stating the angels are 'like a man'. References to body parts are not unknown in Judaism and Christianity but they are much rarer, so their use distinguishes Islamic iconographic vocabulary from the other Abrahamic faiths. This is seen further in particular angelic motifs, such as the great size of the angels. These general motifs can be found elsewhere, but the way in which this motif is expressed in Islam is unique. The use of divine measurements can be found in Jewish works (e.g. the *Book of Elchasai*, the *Shi'ur Qomah* traditions), but they are not frequently used when referring to or describing angels.

The influence of Jewish and Christian beliefs about angels should not, however, be underestimated. In a number of specific examples, the Islamic traditions draw on Jewish (and Christian) motifs directly. The *Bearers of the Throne*, for example, appear to have been assimilated directly from Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature. Angels robed in white, the trumpet that heralds the Last Day, the use of precious stones and so on, all relate to Judeo-Christian angelic imagery as well. This should not be surprising, because the use of props, accessories, clothing, and actions are part of a wider symbolic framework. Particular objects are used metonymically to tell the reader what the function of a particular angel is and other finer details are used to confirm the status and divine origin of an angel. When Islamic traditions about angels began to develop, it was only natural that they developed within the same symbolic framework; Islamic traditions grew in a similar milieu and so similar symbolism is often encountered.

2.3 Conclusions: The Origins of Islamic Beliefs about Angels

The two discussions above about angelic nomenclature and iconography suggest Islamic traditions about angels are both similar to and yet distinct from Jewish and Christian beliefs about angels. Why? And how can these be explained?

It would seem sensible to suggest a certain number of traditions drew on a common, natural vocabulary that is more universal in nature, rather than specific to the Judeo-Christian tradition. Precious stones, for example, will be associated naturally with wealth and power; things of a great size with the supernatural and the realm of the divine, and so on. These types of iconographic details can be seen throughout Semitic religion in general, as well as beyond.³⁵² They are commonsense and basic images of power and, by extension, the power of the divine. Other images, such as the anthropomorphic form of the angel, would appear to be more closely aligned with Jewish and Christian thought.

These basic symbols of the divine and the Judeo-Christian emphasis on anthropomorphic angels form the foundation from which the Islamic iconography of angels developed. However, Islamic beliefs about angels also developed independently, which can be seen particularly clearly in the way in which some angels are named. The theophoric name is clearly indebted to Judaism, but whilst an Arabic theophoric name may resemble a Jewish angelic name, its function and status often do not. The angel Raphael, for example, plays an important role in Jewish angelology, but is essentially absent in Islamic angelology; even the angels *Rufl* and

³⁵² George Kunz looks at a wide range of different religions' uses of precious stones, ranging from Egyptian to Chinese; see Kunz, *Curious Lore*, pp. 225 – 274.

Riyāfīl, which could be etymologically associated with Raphael, have markedly different roles to their Jewish counterpart. The opposite occurs with *Isrāfīl*; whilst the Islamic angel may be etymologically related to an angel such as Seraphiel, the Islamic *Isrāfīl* is much more developed in Islamic tradition, so much so that *Isrāfīl* bears little resemblance to any angel in Jewish or Christian literature.

Not all of Islam's angels have their origins in Judaism or Christianity, especially angels such as *Hārūt* and *Mārūt*, the angel *Isrāfīl* and the Cockerel (*Dīk*). However, the influences of other religions traditions, such as Zoroastrianism, are markedly weaker and appear to affect only a few, specific examples.³⁵³

Islamic angelic nomenclature does present a unique approach to angelology: whilst both Islamic and Jewish traditions believe that there is an angel responsible for a whole range of natural phenomena, ranging from lightning to the sea, Judaism has a tendency to give these angels a personal name, usually, but not exclusively, a theophoric one. Islam, on the other hand, prefers to use the generic, non-theophoric formula: 'the Angel of X'. This, again, reveals the tension between the influence and independence of Islamic beliefs about angels. Islam often has the same angels as Judaism (and, to a lesser extent, Christianity), but names them in a completely different way.

The reason behind this tension could be rooted in the history of Islam itself. The references to angels in the *Qur'ān* clearly indicate some knowledge of Jewish and Christian beliefs about angels, especially the direct references to Gabriel and Michael. From the foundation of the *Qur'ān*, the Islamic exegetical tradition proceeded to generate a number of distinct beliefs about angels. This is reflected by

³⁵³ For a discussion of the influence of Zoroastrianism on Islam, see Stepaniants Marietta, 'The Encounter of Zoroastrianism with Islam' *PEW* 52 (2002) pp. 159 – 172.

the fact that there are sixty-four *ḥadīth* in the work (c. 9%) that include direct Qur'ānic quotations in their *mitān*,³⁵⁴ with many more than these more loosely based in the Qur'ānic exegetical tradition; eighty-eight *ḥadīth* (c. 11%) are attributed to one of the principal sources of Islamic exegesis, Ibn ʿAbbas and so on. All this indicates that exegesis was, as in Judaism, an important springboard from which Islamic beliefs about angels developed. There is, however, a slight difference in the ways in which Jewish and Islamic exegesis developed their angelologies. Jewish angelology is typified by a tendency to turn objects, such as the wheels of God's chariot, into angels. This is not found in Islam; the *qalam* always remains as a 'pen' (albeit a divine pen), and *al-lawḥ al-maḥfūz*, always remains a tablet – there is no attempt to turn these into angels, the only example of this in *al-Ḥabā'ik* is *al-Sijill*.

The similarity between Jewish and Islamic angelology is seen more strongly in the traditional material rather than exegesis, particularly the Pseudepigrapha, the Talmud and the Midrashim. In these types of texts, the angels become responsible for various objects in the human world, maintaining them and protecting them, on behalf of God. This is also found in Islamic angelology and much of the traditional material that developed out of the exegetical movement turn to this sort of interpretation. Traditional material, both the various collections of *ḥadīth* in Islam and the Jewish *midrashīm*, often reflect a popular expression of beliefs about angels, which is corroborated by similar beliefs found in magic incantation texts and studies of Jewish and Muslim folklore. The nature of these types of texts does, however, make it extremely difficult to assess how Islamic, Jewish, and Christian beliefs about angels

³⁵⁴ §1, 9, 25, 26, 44, 56, 74, 75, 128, 129, 141, 187, 198, 207, 208, 222, 225, 234, 237, 243, 247, 248, 249, 313 – 321, 324, 325, 333, 389, 391 – 393, 397, 399 – 401, 417, 422, 425 (*bis*), 426 (*bis*), 458 – 460, 537, 437, 549, 555 (*bis*), 617, 619, 678, 679, 743 & 744.

in the later mediaeval period interacted; but at a basic level, it must be assumed there was a fairly high level of cultural exchange in this area.

As a result of the nature of *ḥadīth*, it is hard (if not impossible) to gain a detailed understanding of how particular beliefs developed; however, beliefs about angels appear to have been influenced by a number of different factors and at different stages. The first stage is the pre-Qur'ānic and Qur'ānic periods in which Judaism and Christianity played an important part in shaping the celestial world of seventh century Arabia. This stage seems to have been followed by a period of largely internal exegesis of the Qur'ān, during which beliefs about angels were developed with a limited amount of influence from Judaism and Christianity. This is seen particularly clearly in the development of a distinctively Islamic system of angelic nomenclature, traditions about angels that are peculiar to Islam, angels derived from the Qur'ān, and so on. However, this does not mean to say that Jewish and Christian beliefs had no influence on Islamic angelology during this period; *Isrā'īliyyāt* traditions often reflect Jewish and Christian angelology and popular beliefs must also not be underestimated. The third stage shows the return of stronger Jewish and Christian influences. It is difficult to tell whether this was a result of a greater understanding of Judaism and Christianity by the educated classes; a wish by Muslim scholars to find Jewish and Christian attitudes to certain angels or phenomena; a generally higher degree of interaction between the faiths; or, the percolation of popular folkloric beliefs into formal works. In this later period, it becomes increasingly more difficult to know which faith influenced the other; the Near East became a place where ideas, especially ones about subjects that interested

both those in the academic and popular strata of society, were freely and commonly exchanged.

The interaction between Islamic beliefs about angels and their Jewish and Christian counterparts is complex. Many commentators have simply argued that Islamic angelology has its origins in Judaism and Christianity. When looking at the Qur'ān, the influence of Judaism and Christianity is certainly unmistakable, but surely this is not surprising. However, the influence of Judaism and Christianity appears to diminish during the formative period of Islamic theology and Qur'ānic exegesis. Above all, Islamic angelology always remains distinctly *Islamic* and this distinctiveness cannot be attributed to Jewish and Christian influences. The two other Abrahamic faiths may have provided some basic core beliefs, imagery and conceptualisations, but the Muslim community developed them in their own unique way.

The Angelic World of *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī*

akhbār al-malā'ik

3. The Angelic World of *al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik*³⁵⁵

Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* is unusual when compared to other mediaeval *ḥadīth* collections concerned with visions of the heavenly world, such as al-Ghazālī's (alleged) work, *Al-Durra al-fakhīra*,³⁵⁶ °Abd al-Raḥīm al-Qāḍī's, *Daqā'iq al-akhbār fī dhikr al-janna wa-'l-nār*,³⁵⁷ other apocalyptic or eschatological works,³⁵⁸ and the accounts of Muḥammad's ascension (*mi'raj*) collected by scholars such as Ibn Ishāq in his *Sīrat Rasūl Allāh*.³⁵⁹ These eschatological and *mi'raj* works usually act as a warning against certain modes of behaviour by describing the future rewards of heaven and the punishments of hell, as Vuckovic comments: 'Through these descriptive tales, the scholars establish narratives that reiterate the moral code of the Qur'ān and convey a careful set of expectations, warnings, and exhortations for the members of Muḥammad's community.'³⁶⁰ Al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik* uses

³⁵⁵ Parts of this chapter will be published in 2009: Burge, S. R., 'The Angels' Roles in Death and Judgement' in Amanda Philips, Richard Radcliffe & Refqa Abu-Remaileh (eds.), *New Voices, New Visions: The Work of Young Scholars in British Middle East Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, forthcoming).

³⁵⁶ Al-Ghazālī, *Durra al-fakhīra fī kashf 'ulūm al-ākhirā*; Smith, Jane I. (tr.), *The Precious Pearl* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979).

³⁵⁷ Al-Qāḍī, °Abd al-Raḥīm ibn Aḥmad, *Daqā'iq al-akhbār fī dhikr al-janna wa-'l-nār*; A'isha °Abd al-Rahman at-Tarjumana (*sic*) (tr.), *Islamic Book of the Dead* (Norwich: Diwan Press, 1977).

³⁵⁸ Anon., *Kitāb aḥwal al-qiyāma*; Wolff, M., *Muhammedanische Eschatologie* (Leipzig: Commissionverlag von F. A. Brockhaus, 1872); al-Muḥāsibī, al-Ḥārith ibn Asad, *Kitāb al-tawāḥhum*; Roman, André (ed. & tr.), *Une Vision Humaine des Fins Dernières* (Paris: Librairie Klincksieck, 1978) and al-Ash'arī, Abū 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm, *Kitāb al-shajarat al-yaqīn*; Castillo Castillo, Concepción (ed. & tr.), *Kitāb Ṣayarat al-Yaqīn: Tratado de eschatología musulmana – Estudio, edición, traducción, notas y índices* (Madrid: Instituto Hispano-Arabe de Cultura, 1987) [this work is also attributed to Abū 'l-Ḥasan °Alī ibn Ismā'īl al-Ash'arī].

³⁵⁹ Ibn Ishāq, *Sīra*; Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, pp. 181 – 187; cf. al-Ghayṭī, Najm al-Dīn, *al-Mi'raj al-kabīr*; Jeffrey, A. (tr.), *A Reader on Islam* ('S-Gravenhage: Mouton & Co., 1962) pp. 621 – 639. Versions of the the *mi'raj* were important in Sufism, cf. al-Sulamī, Abū °Abd al-Raḥmān, *Mas'ala bayān laṭā'if al-mi'raj*; Colby, Frederick S. (ed. & tr.), *The Subtleties of the Ascension: Early Mystical Sayings on Muhammad's Heavenly Journey* (Louisville: Fons Vitae, 2006) and Morris, James Winston, 'The Spiritual Ascension: Ibn °Arabī asnd the Mi'raj' *JAOS* 107 (1987) pp. 629 – 652 & 108 (1988) pp. 63 – 77; it also appears in a number of different Islamate languages, e.g. Anon., *Mi'rajnama*; de Courteille, Abel Pavet (ed. & tr.), *Mirāj-Nāmeḥ: Récit de l'Ascension de Mahomet au Ciel Composé A.H. 840 (1436/1437)* (repr. Amsterdam: Philo Press, 1975).

³⁶⁰ Vockovic, *Heavenly Journeys*, p. 97; see also Lange, Christian, *Justice, Punishment, and the Medieval Muslim Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) pp. 101 – 175.

similar supra-mundane material, but approaches it from a different angle.³⁶¹ The purpose of *Al-Ḥabā'ik* is to describe the function of the angels in the universe and their intermediation between God and humans. The aim is to present an angelic world, not of the potential future (as in the eschatological and *mi'rāj* works), but of the contemporary world, to the extent that narratives about both past and future events are used to illustrate what the angels are doing in the present. For example, Isrāfīl, the angel responsible for blowing the trumpet on the Last Day, is not described as actually blowing the trumpet, but is portrayed as kneeling, waiting for the command from God to do it.³⁶² This *angelic present* is used to explain how God interacts with the human world, how humans are judged, how they die, how revelation is given and how ritual actions should be performed. This is a very different way of presenting the heavenly world and its inhabitants.

This section will comprise two main sections: the first will look at the angels' roles in the life-cycle of a human, from birth to death and beyond; and the second will look at the angels' roles in ritual law. The principal aim of this section is to present the material contained in Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's collection and to highlight its main trends.

³⁶¹ Other larger works occasionally include sections on the angels, which bear a resemblance to al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik*, such as al-Bayhaqī, Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn, *Al-Jāmi' shu'ab al-īmān* (Bombay: Al-Dār al-Salfīyyah, 1986) vol. 1, pp. 407 – 446. However, to my knowledge, *al-Ḥabā'ik* is the only ḥadīth collection devoted to angels.

³⁶² E.g. §85.

3.1 The Angels' Roles in Human Life

In *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* angels play a role in a human's life from conception in the womb until death. There are four main groups of angels that need to be considered: (i) the angels of the womb; (ii) the scribes (*al-hāfīzān al-kātibān*); (iii) the Angel of Death and (iv) various post-mortem angels. These four groups of angels amount to 207 *ḥadīth* (c. 28%). This is a significant portion, especially when a large number of the remaining *ḥadīth* play similar roles.³⁶³

3.1.1 The Angels of the Womb

The interaction between angels and humans begins before birth and al-Suyūṭī includes nine *ḥadīth* (§436 – 444) about one particular ante-natal event. Soon after conception, God sends an angel to the mother's womb, which then forms the foetus and records what God has ordained for that child. The *ḥadīth* do not provide a strict consensus about when this happens precisely, but it is said to happen at some stage between forty and seventy-two days.³⁶⁴ The majority of the *ḥadīth* say that only one

³⁶³ For example, there is an angel that records the names of those that say 'ṣalā allāh 'alayhi wa-sallam' – which is a role similar to, but separate from, that of the scribes (*al-hāfīzān*). See §445 – 447 & 449 – 457; for more on this, see Mālik, *Muwaṭṭa'* vol. 1, pp. 137 - 138; Bewley, *al-Muwaṭṭa'* §9.22.69 – 71, p. 62; Padwick, Constance E., 'The Language of Muslim Devotion I' *MW* 47 (1957) pp. 5 – 21 and de la Puente, Christina, 'The Prayer Upon the Prophet Muhammad (Tasliya): A Manifestation of Islamic Religiosity' *ME* 5 (1999) pp. 121 – 129.

³⁶⁴ 40 Days: §437, 440 & 442; 42 Days: §439; 72 Days: §441. Forty days is also an important time period in Greek Medicine (cf. Hippocratic Treatises, *On the Nature of the Child*, §18 – 19; see Lonie, Iain M., (tr. & commentary), *The Hippocratic Treatises "On Generation", "On the Nature of the Child, "Diseases IV"* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1981) pp. 9 – 11 & 190 – 194); forty days is also important in rabbinic law (probably a result of the influence of Greek medicine); for example, a woman who miscarries before forty days have passed does not have to perform the rites of ritual purity associated with miscarriages and birth, as it is not considered an embryo before forty days; see Bek. §21b, p. 140.

angel is sent to the womb,³⁶⁵ but one *ḥadīth* (§436) states that: ‘God, Most High, has made an angel responsible for the womb; [he said] that is, one responsible for the sperm, one responsible for the clot and one responsible for the embryo.’ The *ḥadīth* discuss two important ideas: the first provides an account of traditional embryology and the second concerns the issue of predestination.

Five of the nine *ḥadīth* included describe the early stages in the growth of the embryo in basic terms.³⁶⁶ These *ḥadīth* are similar to the Qur’ānic accounts, especially Q 23:12 – 14³⁶⁷ and reflect a ‘...further development of the thought found already in some Koranic passages dealing with the stage of the development of the embryo.’³⁶⁸ Here is a representative example from the *ḥadīth*: ‘...When forty-two nights have passed by the semen, God sends an angel to it, and it shapes it, and creates its ears, its eyes, its skin, its fat and its bones.’³⁶⁹ The development of the embryo and the stages outlined in this example played an important part in the classical Islamic law of torts, especially in attempting to rule when compensation is

³⁶⁵ §437 – 443.

³⁶⁶ §437, 439, 440, 441 & 443; cf. *Nid.* §31a, p. 214 & *Yom.* §95a, p. 420; for more on embryogenesis in Greek and Jewish thought Kottek, Samuel S., ‘Embryology in Talmudic and Midrashic Literature’ *JHB* 14 (1981) pp. 299 – 315; Needham, Joseph, *A History of Embryology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1934) pp. 13 – 65 and Jones, David Albert, *The Soul of the Embryo: Enquiry into the Status of the Human Embryo in the Christian Tradition* (London: Continuum, 2004) pp. 6 – 42.

³⁶⁷ ‘We created man of an extraction of clay, then We set him, a drop, in a receptacle secure, then We created of the drop a clot, the We created of the clot a tissue, then We created of the tissue bones, then We garmented the bones in flesh...’ Arberry, *Koran*, p. 343; for other accounts of embryogenesis, cf. al-Rāzī, Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ‘Umar, *Maḥāṣin al-gaḥib [Tafsīr al-kabīr]* (Cairo: s. n., 1889 - 1891) vol. 6, pp. 188 - 190 and Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’, *Rasā’il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’* (Beirut: Dār Ṣadir, n.d.) vol. 2, pp. 203 – 208. The accounts of the development of the embryo in the Qur’ān and the *ḥadīth* has been discussed frequently, see O’Shaughnessy, T., *Creation and the Teaching of the Qur’ān* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1965) pp. 10 – 29; Bakker, D., *Man in the Qur’ān* (Amsterdam: Drukkerij Holland N.V., 1965) pp. 9 – 19; Haas, Samuel S., ‘The “Creation of Man” in the Qur’ān’ *MW* 31 (1941) pp. 268 – 273; Arnaldez, R., ‘Insān’ *EF²* vol. 3, pp. 1237 – 1239 and Ebrahim, Abul Fadl Mohsin, ‘Biology as the Creation and Stages of Life’ *EQ* vol. 1, pp. 229 – 232.

³⁶⁸ Ringgren, Helmer, *Studies in Arabian Fatalism* (Uppsala: A.-B. Lundequistska Bokhandeln, 1955) p. 119

³⁶⁹ §439; Cf. Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Uthmān al-Dhabābī (attr.), *Tibb al-Nabī* §23; see Elgood, Cyril (tr.), *Tibb-ul-Nabī or Medicine of the Prophet* (Bruges: Ex Officina “De Tempel”, 1962) pp. 165 – 175. This work has been attributed incorrectly to al-Suyūṭī, and it is believed to have been compiled by al-Dhabābī; see Savage-Smith, Emilie, ‘Attitudes to Dissection in Medieval Islam’ *JHMAS* 50 (1995) pp. 67 – 110, p. 73, n. 14.

liable in cases of injury that subsequently induce a miscarriage.³⁷⁰ However, whilst the scientific understanding behind these texts is interesting in and of itself, there are greater theological points being made; birth and ante-natal development are all driven by God. The creation of human life, as well as creation more generally, only occur as a result of God's will, as Dirk Bakker comments: 'Allah's power manifested in the creation of man is not restricted to divine initiative, but is active in each stage of development. There is no phase in the process of man's origin in which Allah is not concerned creatively.'³⁷¹

God's will is equally important in the concept of predestination alluded to in these few *ḥadīth*.³⁷² The most important aspect of the Angel of the Womb is that in the womb, God preordains certain aspects of the foetus' life; take the two following *ḥadīth*:

'...The [the angel] says: 'Lord, it is male or female?' And your Lord decrees what He wills, and the angel writes. Then he says: 'Lord, what will his sustenance be?' Your Lord decrees what He wills, and the angel writes. Then the angel leaves the page on his hand, and never ceases from the command nor shakes it off.'³⁷³

³⁷⁰ See Katz, Marion Holmes, 'The Problem of Abortion in Classical Sunni *fiqh*' in Brockopp, Jonathan E. (ed.), *Islamic Ethics of Life: Abortion, War and Euthanasia* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2003) pp. 25 – 50; see especially pp. 30 – 34; for a modern Islamic perspective on these issues see, Bowen, Donna Lee, 'Abortion, Islam and the 1994 Cairo Population Conference' *IJMES* 29 (1997) pp. 161 – 184.

³⁷¹ Bakker, *Man in the Qur'an*, p. 18; the importance of birth and death is also reflected in Jewish literature, in which it is said that: 'Three keys are in the hands of the Holy One, Blessed be He! - the Keys of burial [i.e. resurrection], rain and the womb.' *GenR.* 73:4, p. 670, cf. *DeutR* 7:6, p. 137.

³⁷² Edward Salisbury's early article on predestination and freewill in Islam contains a useful survey of these themes in pre-Islamic poetry, the Qur'ān, *ḥadīth* and *kalām*; see Salisbury, Edward E., 'Materials for the History of the Muhammadan Doctrine of Predestination and Free Will; compiled from original sources' *JAOS* 8 (1866) pp. 105 – 182; for *ḥadīth*, see pp. 122 – 147.

³⁷³ §439.

‘And [the angel] says: ‘Lord, is it male or female? Lord will it be wretched or happy?’ And God decrees what He wills. Then the one responsible says: ‘What is its time?’ And God decrees what He wills. Then he closes the book and it is not opened until the Day of Resurrection.’³⁷⁴

These two *ḥadīth* show that some aspects of a human’s life are preordained: gender, sustenance (*rizq*), happiness or wretchedness,³⁷⁵ and life-span (*ajal*). Montgomery Watt calls this type of predestination ‘modified fatalism’, because the elements that are predestined for the individual are limited in scope: ‘Here not everything a man does is predetermined, but only the date of his death and the outcome or general effect of his activity.’³⁷⁶ Some of these preordained elements of life, such as the *ajal* can be found in pre-Islamic religion (cf. *dahr*),³⁷⁷ but as Smith and Haddad note, ‘...the emphasis is not on an impersonal determinism but on divine prerogative; God ascertains the life-spans of persons and of communities, and in His hands lies the fate of all that He has brought into being.’³⁷⁸ There is a strong focus on God and the juxtaposition of the statements about embryogenesis and this modified determinism seek to place God at the centre of human existence. Although Montgomery Watt doubts that the types of *ḥadīth* seen above were originally intended to be interpreted

³⁷⁴ §440.

³⁷⁵ The meaning intended here is not necessarily referring to the individual’s final destiny (i.e. Heaven or Hell), but rather to the type of life that the individual will have.

³⁷⁶ Watt, W. M., ‘Free Will and Predestination in Early Islam’ *MW* 36 (1946) pp. 124 – 152, p. 131; see also Smith and Haddad, *Death and Resurrection*, p. 5; Ringgren, *Arabian Fatalism*, pp. 117 – 121 and Watt, W. Montgomery, *Islamic Philosophy and Theology (Second Edition)* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995) pp. 25 – 31.

³⁷⁷ William Thomson argues that Muslim tradition appropriated pre-Islamic ideas into its belief system, and he concludes: ‘The characteristics of Time became in due season the characteristics of God as the Lord of Time and the Controller of History...’ Thomson, William, ‘The Concept of Human Destiny in Islam’ *MW* 35 (1945) pp. 281 – 299, p. 299; for more on pre-Islamic concepts of *dahr*, see Bravmann, M. M., *The Spiritual Background of Early Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1972) pp. 288 – 295 Goldziher, Ignaz (tr. S. M. Stern), *Muslim Studies* (repr. London: Aldine Transaction, 2006) vol. 1, pp. 209 – 238.

³⁷⁸ Smith and Haddad, *Death and Resurrection*, p. 5.

so forcefully,³⁷⁹ predestinationist *ḥadīth* such as these became important in the subsequent theological disputes over the issue,³⁸⁰ with whole chapters on *qadar* appearing in the canonical *ḥadīth* collections³⁸¹ and whole works devoted to the subject.³⁸² Above all, the *modified determinism* of these *ḥadīth* highlight God's control of and power over creation, as well as the role of the angels in the process. The angels act as God's emissaries and act on his behalf, revealing the close relationship between God, man and angels, even from the very beginnings of life.

3.1.2 The Scribes

Having been born, every human is accompanied by (two) angels (*al-hāfīzān*), usually called the 'Watchers' or the 'Scribes' in English. The function of these angels is given simply in §313: '...They record against you your livelihood (*rizq*), your deeds (*ʿamal*) and your time (*ajal*).'³⁸³ The Scribes are associated with four verses of the Qur'ān in particular: 6:61; 13:11; 50:17 – 18 and 82:10 – 12. The majority of the information about the Scribes in the mediaeval Islamic exegeses is found in the entry for Q 13:11,³⁸⁴ although more detail can be found on specific issues in the *tafsīrs* of

³⁷⁹ 'It is hardly conceivable that the words "whether he is to be miserable or happy" were originally interpreted in the way in which a Muslim would normally interpret them, as referring to Hell and Paradise.' Watt, W. Montgomery., *Free Will and Predestination in Islam* (London: Luzac, 1948) p. 25

³⁸⁰ Cf. van Ess, Josef, *Zwischen Ḥadīth und Theologie: Studien zum Entstehen prädestinationischer Überlieferung* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1975), pp. 16 & 24 – 25.

³⁸¹ E.g. al-Bukhārī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl; Abū Ṣuhayb al-Karmī (ed.), *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (Riyadh: Bayt al-Afkār al-Dawliyya, 1998) *Kitāb al-qadar*, §6594 – 6620, pp. 1261 - 1265; for a collection of different ḥadīth on the subject, see de Vlieger, A., *Kitāb al-qadr: Matériaux pour servir à l'étude de la doctrine de la prédestination dans la théologie musulman* (Leiden : Brill, 1902).

³⁸² E.g. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr, *Kitāb shifā' al-ʿalīl fī masā'il al-qadā' wa'l-qadar wa'l-ḥimah wa'l-ta'līl* (Riyadh : Maktabat al-Riyād al-Ḥadītha, 1323 / 1905).

³⁸³ Similar 'recording angels' can be found in Jewish and Christian texts: e.g. *2En.* 19:5, *OTP* vol. 1, pp. 132 – 133; *ApZeph.* 3:1 – 9 & 7:1 – 8, *OTP* vol. 1, pp. 510 – 511 & 513; *ApPaul* 7, *NTA* vol. 1, p. 718.

³⁸⁴ Cf. Al-Ṭabarī, Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad ibn Jarīr, *Jāmiʿ al-bayān ʿan ta'wīl al-Qur'ān* (Cairo: s.n., 1388/1968) vol. 7, pp. 216 – 218; vol. 13, pp. 114 – 123; vol. 26, pp. 157 – 160 and vol. 30, p. 88 and

the other three passages. The *ḥadīth* included in al-Suyūṭī's collection (§312 – 406)³⁸⁵ and the *tafsīrs* agree that the *ḥafīzān* are angels and are responsible for writing down the actions that humans take. The Scribes are the angels most closely associated with humans and the *ḥadīth* show that angels are integrated into everyday life. Despite the fact that the deeds recorded by these Scribes will affect the human's eschatological future, al-Suyūṭī presents the *ḥafīzān* as being very much part of the present throughout his collection.

The *ḥadīth* (in both the exegeses and *al-Ḥabā'ik*) differ from the Qur'ānic presentation of the material in the descriptions of the technical and practical ways in which the Scribes behave. For example, a number of *ḥadīth* state there are two sets of angels, two for the day and two for the night.³⁸⁶ The development of such technicalities can be seen particularly clearly in the exegeses of Q 50:17 – 18. The Qur'ānic verse states there are two angels 'sitting one on the right and one on the left.'³⁸⁷ The *ḥadīth* in *al-Ḥabā'ik* and the exegeses³⁸⁸ add that: 'The one on his right writes down the good deeds and the one on his left writes down the sins...'³⁸⁹ This moral distinction between left and right is not explicit in the original Qur'ānic verse; but the notion that the left is bad (and so the angel that writes down bad deeds is on the left) is a very traditional and ancient distinction that is mentioned frequently in the Qur'ān.³⁹⁰

Al-Qurṭubī, Abī ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Anṣārī, *Al-Jāmiʿ li-ahkām al-Qur'ān* (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, 1357–1369/1938–1950) vol. 7, p. 6; vol. 9, pp. 291 – 295; vol. 17, pp. 8 – 13 and vol. 19, pp. 245 – 246.

³⁸⁵ This is the longest chapter on a named angel in *al-Ḥabā'ik*.

³⁸⁶ E.g. §314, 315, 318, 319, 331.

³⁸⁷ Arberry, *Koran*, p. 540.

³⁸⁸ e.g. al-Qurṭubī, *al-Jāmiʿ*, vol. 17, p. 9.

³⁸⁹ See §319.

³⁹⁰ *yamīn* appears 16 times in the Qur'ān – see ʿAbd al-Bāqī, Muḥammad Fuʿād, *Al-Muʿjam al-mufahras li-alfāz al-Qur'ān al-karīm* (Cairo: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 1417/1996) p. 862. The opening of Sura 56 is a good example of the discourse of left and right; see Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 560 – 561. For more

The actions of the angelic scribes are further expanded by the *ḥadīth* to show God's mercy to his creations. In §335 the Scribes are said not to record any transgressions for six hours after a sin has been committed and 'If [the person] repents and seeks forgiveness from God, Most High, then He casts [the sin] away from him...' ³⁹¹ This *ḥadīth* attests to God's mercy and also encourages repentance. This same emphasis on God's mercy is repeated in §336 with a slight difference in that: 'If a servant does a good act, he writes it down ten times...' ³⁹² Here good actions are given extra weight, thereby making entrance into Paradise, technically at least, a little easier. Despite the fact that these two *ḥadīth* are different in some specific details, the general theme of the *ḥadīth* – that God is merciful and allows time for repentance – is common to a great many included in *al-Ḥabā'ik*. To a certain extent these *ḥadīth* could be described as being contradictory, ³⁹³ but the differences in detail are not problematic; rather, the underlying aim of these *ḥadīth* is to encourage repentance after the committing of a sin, as well as encouragement to act righteously in the first place. The focus on the ethical value of righteous and unrighteous actions can be seen particularly clearly in another *ḥadīth* that states: '...When a servant tells a lie, the angel [of good deeds] is separated from him by a mile from the stench which comes from him.' ³⁹⁴ Here, an unrighteous action is manifested by a (physical) smell. ³⁹⁵ In this way, the *ḥafīẓān* are no longer simply

on the left-right distinctions in Islam and religion generally, see Hertz, R., 'La prééminence de la main dextre: étude sur la polarité religieuse' *RP* 68 (1909) pp. 553 - 558 and Chelod, J., 'Contribution au problème de la prééminence de la droite, d'après le témoignage arabe' *Anthropos* 59 (1964) pp. 529 – 545.

³⁹¹ §335.

³⁹² §336.

³⁹³ Some exegetes include a *ḥadīth* that combines these two positions; e.g. al-Qurtubī, *al-Jāmi'*, vol. 17, p. 10 [on Q 50:17].

³⁹⁴ §349.

³⁹⁵ For a discussion of the concept of smell in religious thought, see Evans, Suzanne, 'The Scent of Martyr' *Numen* 49 (2002) pp. 193 - 211.

angelic ‘by-standers’ or ‘witnesses’ dispassionately recording a human’s deeds; the Scribes are being used to condition human behaviour, urging both the pursuit of righteous deeds in the first instance and repentance for those who commit unrighteous actions in the second.³⁹⁶

The *ḥadīth* in both al-Suyūṭī’s collection and the exegetical literature seen above have expanded the Qur’ānic concept of the angelic Scribes in minor and logical ways. However, some *ḥadīth* seem to move away from the Qur’ānic descriptions of the Scribes a great deal; for example, §345 says that ‘When God puts a servant to the test during an illness; he says to the companion on the left: ‘Go away!’ And He says to the companion on the right: ‘Write down for my servant the good deeds that he does.’ Not only is this further evidence of divine mercy, but it can also be viewed in terms of a legal response to a question of ethical and jurisprudential concern: is one culpable of acts committed whilst ill, including any resultant sins of omission? Are the actions of the insane counted against them? In Islamic criminal law for an individual to be culpable of a crime, the person must ‘have had the power to commit or not to commit the act (*qudra*); he must have known (*‘ilm*) that the act was an offence; and he must have acted with intent (*qaṣd*).’³⁹⁷ The same applies to ritual law and to the judgement that God gives on the Last Day, with the result that during illness (and logically by extension, madness) unrighteous ritual (and criminal) actions, as well as sins of omission are not counted against an individual.

³⁹⁶ There are further *ḥadīth* that give different details but the same concepts: e.g. ‘...when a man goes to bed virtuously, the angel anoints him.’ §373; p. 101.

³⁹⁷ Peters, Rudolph, *Crime and Punishment in Islamic Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) p. 20; see also Dols, Michael W., *Majnūn: The Madman in Medieval Islamic Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992) p. 442ff. and Powers, Paul R., *Intent in Islamic Law: Motive and Meaning in Medieval Sunnī Fiqh* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

The *ḥadīth* also include information which at first sight does not appear to be the primary intention of the Qur'ān. For example, §371 says: 'whoever uncovers his genitals, the angel [of good deeds] has turned away from him.'³⁹⁸ This is not implied by any of the descriptions of the Scribes in the Qur'ān discussed above, to the extent that Q 13:11 says: 'he has attendant angels, before him and behind him, watching over him by God's command...'³⁹⁹ and Q 50:18 says of a human '...not a word he utters but by him is an observer ready.'⁴⁰⁰ According to these verses of the Qur'ān, the Scribes are ever-present with a human, but this particular *ḥadīth* states that they are absent when a human is naked: is this contradictory? Not necessarily so; the Qur'ān does also say: 'Successful indeed are the believers.... who guard their private parts.'⁴⁰¹ Q 23:5 clearly prohibits exposing the genitals and this *ḥadīth* uses the concept of the Scribes to emphasize this position: i.e. if one exposes oneself, any good actions performed cannot be recorded; and so, it is clearly in the interest of an individual not to let his or her genitals be revealed. Although the Scribes are not referred to in the various *tafsīrs* on Q 23:5,⁴⁰² al-Qurṭubī does include a brief discussion about angels and nakedness, including a *ḥadīth* stating that: 'If a servant enters a bath without an *izār*, then his angel will curse him.'⁴⁰³ In these *ḥadīth* about nudity there is a slight difference in the way that the Scribes are employed: rather

³⁹⁸ §371; Yedida Stillman highlights the differences in attitude to nakedness between the pre-Islamic and Islamic societies: 'The new Islamic sensibilities which were in marked contrast to Jāhīlī society's easygoing attitude to nudity and very much in line with the biblical notions of propriety (cf. Exodus 20:23) would not permit the exposure of a man's genitalia...' Stillman, Yedida Kalfon, *Arab Dress: A Short History* (Leiden: Brill, 2000) p. 11.

³⁹⁹ Arberry, *Koran*, p. 240.

⁴⁰⁰ Arberry, *Koran*, p. 540.

⁴⁰¹ Arberry, *Koran*, p. 343.

⁴⁰² The *tafsīrs* on Q 23:1 – 5 are chiefly concerned with the question of nudity and marriage; see al-Tabarī, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, *Jāmi' al-bayān 'an ta'wīl al-Qur'ān [Tafsīr]* (Cairo: Muḥtafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1968), vol. 18, p. 4 and Al-Qurṭubī, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, *Al-Jāmi' li-ahkām al-Qur'ān* (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, 1948), vol. 12, pp. 102 – 111.

⁴⁰³ Al-Qurṭubī, *al-Jāmi'*, vol. 19, p. 246.

than the *ḥadīth* being used to expand and explain the roles of the Scribes, the Scribes are used to enforce and interpret a specific legal injunction against nudity. Again, the exposure of the genitals could be projected into an eschatological punishment in the future, but these *ḥadīth* are firmly rooted in the present and the habitual actions of the Scribes.

The *ḥadīth* included in al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik* regarding the Scribes are used in different ways to describe similar concepts. The main ideas contained in the *ḥadīth* are (i) the specific details regarding their location and their functions; (ii) God's mercy towards the repentant; (iii) answers to specific questions of theological and legal concern; and (iv) the use of angels in matters of (ritual) law. The *ḥadīth* show that the Scribes were not simply recorders of human deeds, but are used to encourage certain modes of righteous behaviour. The stress on the intimacy of the angels with individuals is great, as is their place in the human world. The final result of these angels' work will send the individual to Paradise or the Fire, but al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik* focuses on the present and what these angels are doing in this world, at this very moment.

3.1.3 The Angel of Death

The portrayal of 'Death' in anthropomorphic or angelomorphic terms is common to a number of belief systems and Islam is no exception.⁴⁰⁴ Despite the fact the death is an important theme of the Qur'ān,⁴⁰⁵ there is only one reference to the *Angel of*

⁴⁰⁴ See Brandon, 'Personifications of Death' and Lonetto, Richard, 'Personifications of Death' *ED* pp. 205 – 206.

⁴⁰⁵ See O'Shaughnessy, *Muhammad's Thoughts on Death*; Muhammad Abdul Haleem also comments: 'The after-life is not treated in the Qur'an in a separate chapter at the end of the book, or as

Death.⁴⁰⁶ In Islamic tradition, however, the Angel of Death became very important and was recognized as one of the four Islamic archangels (*ru'ūs al-malā'ika*).⁴⁰⁷ This is reflected in al-Suyūṭī's *al-Ḥabā'ik*, with the chapter on the Angel of Death being one of the longest, containing sixty-five *ḥadīth* (c. 9%).⁴⁰⁸ The *ḥadīth* included give a wide range of information about the angel, which can be divided into three different categories: (i) physical descriptions of the Angel of Death; (ii) the function and processes of the Angel of Death and (iii) narratives about the Angel of Death meeting various prophets. Running throughout these *ḥadīth* is the sense that death is imminent and that death is part of human existence, with eight explicitly stating that '...the Angel of Death studies every person, without exception, twice a day.'⁴⁰⁹ Death is an inescapable, inevitable and ever-present part of this world.

There are relatively few physical descriptions of the Angel of Death in *al-Ḥabā'ik*. The angel is said to have been visible in the times before the Prophet Moses, until, for various reasons, the angel became invisible and disease was 'invented' (§146 – 148); other *ḥadīth* describe the angel in human terms (e.g. §150, 168); one describes the angel as having 'two eyes in his face and two eyes on the back of his head';⁴¹⁰ the angel is also said to hold a spear (§158, 159); and some describe the angel as being huge.⁴¹¹ Three related *ḥadīth* (§120 – 122) also describe the angel as

something on its own, for its own sake, but always in relations to life in this world.' Abdel Haleem, Muhammad, 'Life and Beyond in the Qur'an' in Dan Cohn-Sherbok and Christopher Lewis (eds.), *Beyond Death: Theological and Philosophical Reflections on Life After Death* (London: MacMillan, 1995) pp. 66 - 79, p. 66.

⁴⁰⁶ Q 32:11; 'Say: "Death's angel, who has been charged with you, shall gather you, then to your Lord you shall be returned."' Arberry, *Koran*, p. 424.

⁴⁰⁷ For a basic survey see Wensinck, A. J., 'Izrā'īl' *ET*² vol. 4, pp. 292 – 293.

⁴⁰⁸ §107 – 171.

⁴⁰⁹ §111; the number of times varies, cf. §109 – 113, 115 – 119. Other *ḥadīth* in this section make similar statements, but in less explicit terms.

⁴¹⁰ §123; p. 42; another *ḥadīth* states that the angel has multiple eyes in the back and front of his head, see §120.

⁴¹¹ E.g. §126, 131 – 133 & 135.

having two forms (one for believers and one for non-believers) and one of these three (§122) gives more detail. For believers, the Angel of Death is described as looking like ‘...a young man, the most beautiful of face, the most fragrant and [wearing] a white gown;’ and for non-believers: ‘...[he was] a black man, his head reaching the sky, and flames of fire were coming out of his mouth...’⁴¹² These descriptions of the Angel of Death lack much detail, which is quite surprising as graphic descriptions of the angel can be found in other works with similar themes.⁴¹³ The absence of extended descriptions of the Angel of Death reflects the collection’s focus on the angel’s *function*, rather than the *form* of the angel.

Occasionally the Angel of Death is caricatured, for example in §118 the Angel of Death states that: ‘...if the servant, to whom he has been sent, laughs, then he says: ‘Wonderful! I have been sent to take his soul while he is laughing!’⁴¹⁴ Above all, this stresses the inescapable nature of death; even when someone is laughing, if the appointed time (*ajal*) comes, the person will die. In §112 the Angel of Death appears almost arrogant, saying to a grieving family: ‘There is no sin for me [in doing this] against you! I am one with orders. By God! I have not eaten your food (*rizq*), I have not reduced your age, and I have not shortened your appointed time (*ajal*). I am going to return to you, and I will return to you again and again until there is none of you left!’⁴¹⁵ These *hadīth* emphasise the nature of the angel’s work and the lack of compassion reflects the impersonality of ‘Death’ and its inevitability. Above all, the Angel of Death is not a judge, only a functionary of God and cannot act independently.

⁴¹² §122.

⁴¹³ Cf. Wolff, M., *Muhammedanische Eschatologie*, p. 20ff. and al-Qādī, *Daqā’iq*, pp. 32 – 35.

⁴¹⁴ §118.

⁴¹⁵ §112; notice that these are the components of Watt’s ‘modified fatalism’, and are written down by the Angel of the Womb; see above.

Many of the *ḥadīth* ask the practical question: just how does the Angel of Death collect everybody's souls? What, asks one *ḥadīth*, does the Angel of Death do '...when there is a war in the East and a famine in the West?'⁴¹⁶ The *ḥadīth* have three answers. The first is that the Angel of Death is huge, and that '...[The earth] was made like a bowl, and he takes out of it when he wants.'⁴¹⁷ The second answer is that God created helpers for the Angel of Death, who collect people's souls and then hand them over to the Angel of Death (§127). The third answer is that the Angel of Death 'calls it and the soul comes to him.'⁴¹⁸ Although each *ḥadīth* tends to suggest one way or another, these answers are sometimes combined (e.g. §125). On the actual process of death, the only descriptions in the Qur'ān are in Q 56:82, in which the soul is described as moving to the throat of the deceased and Q 6:93, which talks of the '*ghamarāt al-mawt...*' which Arberry translates as 'the agonies of death'.⁴¹⁹ However, the actual process of death is not described in great detail by the *ḥadīth* included in this particular collection and often the Angel of Death simply 'takes the soul' (*qabaḍa al-rūḥ*).⁴²⁰ As noted above, there are also two *ḥadīth* that say that the angel has a spear and that 'he cuts the vein of life with it.'⁴²¹ Again, this lack of information is quite unexpected as many texts go into great detail about the actual physical process of death.⁴²²

There are a number of *ḥadīth* that describe the way in which the Angel of Death is informed who is to be killed and when. There are two main theories: firstly,

⁴¹⁶ §123; cf. §126, 132, 133, 158 & 159.

⁴¹⁷ §123.

⁴¹⁸ §135.

⁴¹⁹ Arberry, *Koran*, p. 132.

⁴²⁰ E.g. §152.

⁴²¹ §158 – 159.

⁴²² Cf. Al-Ghazālī, Abū Ḥamīd Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, *Kitāb iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* (Cairo: Maṭba'at 'Īsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1348/1929-30) vol.4, pp. 421 – 426; Winter, T. J. (tr.), *The Remembrance of Death and the Afterlife* (Cambridge: Islamic Texts Society, 1989) pp. 121 – 132.

that God instructs the Angel of Death who is to be killed at the moment before death;⁴²³ or, the Angel of Death is informed about the deaths that are to occur during the whole year during the month of Sha^cbān.⁴²⁴ Despite these two positions, both stress the idea that it is God, and God only, who decides when an individual's life is to come to an end, as Smith and Haddad write: 'It is clear in these eschatological materials that the angel of death himself, as God's instrument, has no responsibility for determining the moment of the individual's death.'⁴²⁵ This emphasises that the Angel of Death is not acting independently, which also means that the Qur'ānic statement in Q39:42 that 'Allah takes the souls at the time of their death'⁴²⁶ remains valid. Obedience to God is a key characteristic of all angels, in all monotheist religions and disobedience is often perceived as the origin of evil.⁴²⁷ As Awn comments: '[The angels] act only in accordance with God's will, and function as His instruments. For them to rebel is unimaginable, and in fact, impossible...'⁴²⁸ This idea that the Angel of Death does not act independently is also found in Judaism, in which '...God is regarded as ultimately responsible for the individual's death, since Hebrew monotheism could not allow for the existence of an evil principle or a death-god that operated among men, contrary to the will of God.'⁴²⁹

The *ḥadīth* are, however, more explicit when it comes to a description of the differences between the Angel of Death's treatment of believers and non-believers;

⁴²³ E.g. '...the Angel of Death does not know when the appointed time of a person's death is going to happen until he is ordered to take it.' §139.

⁴²⁴ E.g. '...On the middle night of Sha^cbān, God reveals to the Angel of Death regarding the taking of every soul that he wants to be taken during that year.' §144.

⁴²⁵ Smith and Haddad, *Death and Resurrection*, p. 35.

⁴²⁶ Arberry, *Koran*, p. 476.

⁴²⁷ In Islam the obedience of angels presented a problem for understanding the failure of Iblīs to bow to Adam. If all angels obey God by their nature, why did Iblīs not bow down? These issues are discussed in Awn, *Satan's Tragedy*, pp. 24 – 33.

⁴²⁸ Awn, *Satan's Tragedy*, p. 27.

⁴²⁹ Brandon, 'Personification of Death' p. 325.

take this *ḥadīth*: ‘When the Angel of Death comes to take the soul of a believer, he says: “Your Lord says to you: Peace!”’⁴³⁰ This seems to be a reference to Q 16:32 in which God says to the *wINNERS* on the Day of Judgement: ‘Peace be on you! Enter Paradise for that you were doing.’⁴³¹ A similar statement can be found in §134:

‘...angels from amongst the angels of mercy and angels from amongst the angels of suffering are with him; when he receives a good soul, he gives it to the angels of mercy, and when he receives a wicked soul, he gives it to the angels of suffering.’⁴³²

These *ḥadīth* suggest some form of pre-figured punishment or reward for the individual, exacted before the formal judgement of the Last Day. Souls of the believers are also said to be subsequently handed over to an angel called Ramyā’īl and the souls of the unbelievers to an angel called Dūma.⁴³³

Sixteen of the *ḥadīth* about the Angel of Death included in al-Suyūṭī’s *Al-Ḥabā’ik* are part of the *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā’* tradition. These *ḥadīth* are all comparatively long and form two narrative groups: (i) the Angel of Death and its role in the creation of humans and (ii) the Angel of Death’s interaction with various prophets.⁴³⁴ These mythic tales are important for two reasons: firstly, they show Islamic interaction with the wider Judeo-Christian mythic tradition;⁴³⁵ and secondly, they reveal some important information about the role and function of the Angel of Death.

⁴³⁰ §165.

⁴³¹ Arberry, *Koran*, p. 261.

⁴³² §134; the Angel of Death is also seen to act compassionately to believers, and in one *ḥadīth* the angel says: ‘Be of good cheer and feel consoled, for I am friend to every believer.’ See §119.

⁴³³ See §300 & 301; Duma is a Jewish angel (meaning ‘silence’); in *Ḥag* 5a, the Angel of Death states: ‘I, have charge over them till they have completed the generation [i.e. their life] and then I hand them over to Dumah’ *Ḥag* 5a, p. 18; see also *San* 94a, *Shab.* 152b and *Ber.* 18b.

⁴³⁴ Creation: §107 – 108; Prophets: Enoch (§149), Abraham (§120 – 123; 150), Moses (§146), Solomon (§ 137 – 138, 167 – 168), David (§151) and Muḥammad (169 – 170).

⁴³⁵ For more on the interaction between *ḥadīth* and rabbinic literature, see Rosenblatt, Samuel, ‘Rabbinic Legends in Hadith’ *MW* 35 (1945) pp. 237 – 252.

The first two *ḥadīth* in the section on the Angel of Death do not, as one may expect, give descriptions of how the Angel of Death takes the souls of humans or how the angel looks, but begin with a story about the creation of Adam. In this story, God commands various angels to collect some mud from the Earth, out of which Adam is created. Various angels fail in their mission and only the Angel of Death succeeds.⁴³⁶ This story is important because it establishes a link between the birth and death of human life. The Angel of Death was involved in the creation of Adam and is likewise responsible for the ‘termination’ of Adam and his children; or as Haim Schwarzbbaum notes ‘...at the very moment of his birth man already carries within himself the germs of death.’⁴³⁷ This narrative was very popular in both Jewish and Muslim tradition and testifies to the high degree of interaction between Judaism and Islam in this particular mythic narrative.⁴³⁸

In Judaism and Christianity, the characterization of ‘death’ or the ‘Angel of Death’ in works such as the *Testament of Abraham* marks a further development in the personification of *Death*, in which prophets interact directly with an anthropomorphic or angelomorphic version of Death and attempt to challenge it.⁴³⁹

⁴³⁶ §107 – 108; Al-Thaʿlabī includes a version of this ḥadīth, but begins the chapter acknowledging that: ‘*qāla al-mufasssirūna bi-alfāzi mukhtalafati wa-maʿānin mutaḥaqqati*’ (‘The commentators have said in different words but similar meanings’); Al-Thaʿlabī, *Qīsas al-anbiyā* p. 26; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 43. The narrative was a popular one and is frequently included in Islamic histories; e.g. al-Ṭabarī, Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad ibn Jarīr (ed. Muḥammad Abū ʿl-Faḍl Ibrāhīm), *Taʾrīkh al-rusul wa-malūk* (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿarif bi-Miṣr, 1960) vol. 1, pp. 89 - 90; Rosenthal, Franz (tr.), *The History of Al-Ṭabarī: Volume 1 – From the Creation to the Flood* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989) pp. 258 – 259 and al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, vol. 1, pp. 35 – 36. For a fuller list of references to this narrative in Arabic literature see Jeffery, A., ‘Ibn al-ʿArabī’s *Shajarat al-Kawn* (Continued)’ *SI* 11 (1959) pp. 113 – 160, p. 113, n. 1; and for references in Jewish and Christian literature see Chipman, ‘Mythic aspects’ pp. 10 – 13.

⁴³⁷ Schwarzbbaum, Haim, ‘The overcrowded earth’ *Numen* 4 (1957) pp. 59 – 74, p. 65.

⁴³⁸ See Schwarzbbaum, Haim, ‘Jewish and Moslem Sources of a Falasha Creation Myth’ in Raphael Patai (ed.) *et. al.*, *Studies in Biblical and Jewish Folklore* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1960) pp. 41 – 58 and Ullendorf, Edward, ‘The “Death of Moses” in the Literature of the Falashas’ *BSOAS* 24 (1961) pp. 419 – 443.

⁴³⁹ *TestAbr.*, *OTP*, vol. 1, pp. 871 – 902; for a commentary on the text see Allison, Dale, C., *The Testament of Abraham* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003). See Allison, *Testament*, pp. 53 – 54 for

This challenge ultimately fails and the prophet succumbs to the authority of God and dies. This narrative theme is also prominent in Islamic tradition.

Hadīth §120 – 122 describe the Angel of Death appearing to Abraham in two different forms:⁴⁴⁰ the first, for the believers in which the Angel of Death ‘...[was] made of light and radiance, of a kind that only God, Most High knows.’⁴⁴¹ The second form for the unbelievers was, as has been seen above, terrifying; even ‘Abraham was so afraid that he trembled and his stomach clung to the Earth, and his soul was about to leave.’⁴⁴² Here, the narrative of Abraham’s meeting with Death (or rather the *Angel of Death*) is used to describe a wider ethical dimension: ease in the death for the faithful and pain in death for the unfaithful – a common idea in earlier Judaism.⁴⁴³

One common theme in these stories is the attempt by various prophets and people to escape death: Enoch, Moses, Abraham and a friend of Solomon all attempt to evade the Angel of Death and prolong their appointed time (*ajal*). Enoch and Abraham both seek confirmation from God that they are supposed to die; Moses challenges the angel directly by slapping him and gouging out his eye and Solomon’s friend asks Solomon to transport him to India, so that the Angel of Death does not know where he is.⁴⁴⁴ All these attempts are futile, as all are taken by the Angel of Death at their appointed time (*ajal*). This is part of a wider theological position in

editions of the text in its various extant languages (Greek, Coptic, Arabic, Ethiopic, Slavic and Romanian).

⁴⁴⁰ These two images are also found in the *Testament of Abraham* 17:12 – 13: ‘Then Death put off all his beauty and loveliness and all his glory and his sun-like form that he had worn. And he put on a robe of tyranny, and he made his face gloomy, more fierce than all wild beasts and more unclean than all uncleanness.’ Allison, *Testament*, p. 334; see also Ludlow, Jared W., *Abraham Meets Death: Humor in the Testament of Abraham* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002) pp. 95 – 118.

⁴⁴¹ §121.

⁴⁴² §121.

⁴⁴³ Cf. *Ket.* 104a, pp. 664 – 665; Cf. §134 – 135 & 163 – 166.

⁴⁴⁴ Enoch: §149; Abraham: §150; Moses §146; Solomon’s friend: §167 – 168.

which the moment of death and the length of a human's appointed time are conceived as being immoveable and unchangeable. Montgomery Watt comments: 'Both [*ajal* and *rizq*] are thought as determined by God, but, once they have been determined, they seem to have a certain fixity and there is no question of God's altering them.'⁴⁴⁵

If the *ḥadīth* on wine-drinking is disregarded,⁴⁴⁶ the last two *ḥadīth* of the section on the Angel of Death describe the events surrounding the death of Muḥammad. Some elements of these two *ḥadīth* can be found in the other prophets' meetings with the Angel of Death. When the Angel of Death takes Abraham's soul, the angel says: 'Your Lord has ordered me to take your soul in the most peaceful way that I have taken the soul of a believer.'⁴⁴⁷ Likewise, in the story of Muḥammad's death, the Angel of Death seeks permission to enter the Prophet's house, and the *ḥadīth* concludes: 'It reached me that the Angel of Death did not greet anyone before him, and will not greet anyone after it.'⁴⁴⁸ Although different in detail, the two *ḥadīth* use similar expressions to describe the honour in which the prophets are held. This honour is made even more explicit in §167 in which the Angel of Death is made an actual servant of Solomon.⁴⁴⁹ However, the main difference between the encounters of Muḥammad and the other prophets with the Angel of Death is that the death of Muḥammad is treated with a great deal more emotion,

⁴⁴⁵ Watt, W. Montgomery, 'Suffering in Sunnite Islam' *SI* 50 (1979) pp. 5 – 19, p. 15.

⁴⁴⁶ The section on the Angel of Death ends with a *ḥadīth* (§171) already included in the section on Michael (§84), which simply contains the *matn*: 'The one addicted to wine is an idolater.' The *ḥadīth* is included in the section on the Angel of Death, because the Angel of Death features in the *isnād*; see §84 & 171.

⁴⁴⁷ §150.

⁴⁴⁸ §168; cf. the death of Moses in Pseudo-Philo, in which the angels do not sing their heavenly hymn after his death: '...nor was there such a day from the one on which the LORD made man upon the earth, nor shall there be such forever, that the hymn of the angels should stop on account of men; because he loved him very much. And he buried him with his own hands on a high place and in the light of all the world.' *Ps.-Philo* 19:16, *OTP* vol. 2, p. 323

⁴⁴⁹ §167; cf. *Ket.* 77b, pp. 488 – 489.

where the pain and suffering of the Prophet are stressed.⁴⁵⁰ Muḥammad, when asked by Gabriel how he feels, replies: ‘Gabriel, I find myself distressed, and I find myself scared.’⁴⁵¹ Muḥammad is also one of the only prophets (save David)⁴⁵² not to challenge the Angel of Death in an attempt to live a longer life. In §170, the Angel of Death says to Muḥammad:

‘God has sent me to you, and has commanded me to obey you; if you command me to take your soul, then I will take it; but if you do not want [me to], then I will leave it.’ [Muḥammad] said: ‘Do [it], Angel of Death.’ He said: ‘Yes, as you command.’

In the *ḥadīth* there is juxtaposition between the honouring of Muḥammad as a prophet and his depiction as an ordinary human being, fearing death. In this way, Muḥammad becomes an example of human behaviour: accepting of God’s will, yet simultaneously fearful of it. Even the Prophet, the exemplar of human submission to God, experiences pain and fear of death itself; as al-Ghazālī writes:

‘Did you think that the office of Prophethood would ward off from him that which was destined? Did the Angel respect his family and relations for his sake? ...Absurd! Rather he followed that which he found inscribed upon the Tablet.’⁴⁵³

The importance of these narratives of the prophets is particularly evident in the fact that a quarter of the *ḥadīth* about the Angel of Death are in this form. What is

⁴⁵⁰ Other pseudepigraphical, apocryphal and hagiographical works also treat death with great emotion: e.g. *The History of Joseph the Carpenter* §14ff; Cowper, B. Harris (tr.), *The Apocryphal Gospels* (London: David Nutt, 1897) pp. 99 – 127, pp. 111 ff.

⁴⁵¹ §170.

⁴⁵² §151; In Jewish and Muslim tradition, David is believed to have been very pious and devout, see Pomykala, Kenneth E., *The Davidic Dynasty Tradition: Its History and Significance for Messianism* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995) and Xeravits, Géza, ‘The Figure of David in the Book of Ben Sira’ *Henoah* 23 (2001) pp. 27 – 38, especially pp. 30 – 32.

⁴⁵³ Al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā’*, vol.4, p. 399; Winter, *Remembrance of Death*, p. 58.

most interesting about the use of these mythic narratives is that many of them are not simply graphic descriptions of death and its processes. The *ḥadīth* make important statements about the subject within a rich narrative framework, allowing important concepts about death to be made more subtly.

As a whole, the section on the Angel of Death in al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik* focuses on four main areas: (i) the imminence of death; (ii) the fixed nature of the *ajal*; (iii) the treatment of humans by the Angel of Death based on belief; and (iv) the practical question of how the Angel of Death can take everyone's souls. This section is one of the longest sections in al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* and it contains much information in a variety of different formats: exegeses of the Qur'ān, simple statements, longer narratives, etc. However, much information has not been included. The *ḥadīth* do not give much detail about the physical appearance of the Angel of Death or about the physical process of death and the time spent in the grave.

3.1.4 The Post-Mortem Angels

After burial, there are a number of angels that interact with an individual after death and in the afterlife; namely, the *fattān al-qabr* (*Tempters of the Grave*, §302 – 311) and the guardians of Heaven and Hell, *Riḍwān* and *Mālik* (§229 – 242), along with their subordinates.

Soon after someone has been buried, they are visited by angels and their faith is tested; if they have been believers, they are rewarded and if they are not, they are

punished.⁴⁵⁴ Although it should be noted, as F. E. Peters comments, that ‘...the events following an individual Muslim’s death unfold in a somewhat confused fashion in the literature on the subject.’⁴⁵⁵ In Islamic tradition the two angels that come to the deceased are normally named as Munkar and Nakīr. However, some other names are given in *al-Ḥabā’ik*: Ankar, Nākūr, Rūmān⁴⁵⁶ and they are also referred to more generally in §308 as ‘...two angels from the Angels of Mercy, and one angel from the Angels of Torment.’ These angels do not appear in the Qur’ān, but became an important part of traditional Islamic beliefs about the afterlife.⁴⁵⁷ The angels are described as having a terrifying form, having blue or black skin (§302 & 305) and that:

‘Their voices are like roaring thunder, and their glance is like a flash of lightning; they walk on their hair, and they dig with their fangs; the two of them have a rod of iron; if the people of Mina were to gather together, they would not be able to lift it up.’⁴⁵⁸

⁴⁵⁴ For a basic summary, see Halevi, Leor, *Muhammad’s Grave: Death Rites and the Making of Islamic Society* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007) pp. 197 – 233 and Wensinck, A. J., ‘*Adhāb al-ḳabr*’ *EF*² vol. 1, pp. 186 – 187.

⁴⁵⁵ Peters, F. E., *Islam: A Guide for Jews and Christians* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003) pp. 256 – 257.

⁴⁵⁶ Cf. §309: ‘Abū Nu‘aym from Ḍamra ibn Ḥabīb; he said: There are three Angels of the Grave: Ankar, Nākūr and Rūmān.’ And §310: ‘Abū ‘l-Ḥassan al-Qaṭṭān in *al-Tawālāt* from Ḍamra ibn Ḥabīb; he said: There are four Angels of the Grave: Munkar, Nakīr, Nākūr and their master, Rūmān.’ It should be noted that these other names appear to be very rare, and that both §309 & §310 are attributed to the same source, Ḍamra ibn Ḥabīb.

⁴⁵⁷ Cf. *Al-Fiqh al-akbar II* §23: ‘The interrogation of the dead in the tomb by Munkar and Nakir is a reality and the reunion of the body with the spirit is a reality. The pressure and punishment in the tomb are a reality that will take place in the case of all infidels and a reality that may take place in the case of some sinners belonging to the faithful’ Wensinck, A. J., *The Muslim Creed: Its Origin and Historical Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932) pp. 195 – 196. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya also devotes much of his *Kitāb al-rūḥ* to a discussion of the trial of the grave, possibly in reaction to groups (such as the *Kharijites* and some *Mu’tazilites*) who denied the existence of Munkar and Nakīr; Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr, *Kitāb al-rūḥ* (Ḥaydarābād: Maṭba‘at Majlis Dā’irat al-Ma‘ārif al-‘Uthmāniya, 1357 / 1939). Birgit Krawietz comments that: ‘[*Kitāb al-rūḥ*] was written in response to requests for clarification, since the question of the createdness and essence of the soul, etc., had always stirred discussions.’ Krawietz, Birgit, ‘Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah: His Life and Works’ *MSR* 10 (2006) pp. 19 – 64, p. 35.

⁴⁵⁸ §307; cf. §303 & 305 where there are similar images.

This terrifying image has something in common with both the form that the Angel of Death takes for unbelievers (see above) and the forms of the anti-Christ, *al-Dajjāl*.⁴⁵⁹ Despite their form, Munkar and Nakīr are not ‘evil’ angels, nor are they devils. Their function is to test the soul of the deceased by asking simple, basic questions of the individual’s beliefs, e.g. §303: ‘The two will sit with him and ask him what he used to worship, and who his prophet was.’ These are fundamental questions, relating directly to the beliefs of the *shahāda*, rather than a judgement based on an individual’s actions. The responses to the questions asked by the two angels receive either a punishment or reward; in §302 the reward and punishment is related directly to Heaven and Hell: ‘...the door to the Garden is opened for him, and it is roomy for him in his grave’ and ‘...the door to the Fire is opened for him.’

The implication is that the period of questioning in the grave acts as a preliminary stage of judgement during which those who can never enter heaven are separated from those that can. Those that pass the test will subsequently be judged on the Day of Resurrection according to their actions, as collected by the Scribes. This would seem to highlight the primacy of belief and the punishment of disbelief; i.e. *kufīr* automatically results in punishment in Hell. However, this is not at all clear and statements such as ‘...his torment does not end until God calls him from that bed of his...’ in §302, suggest that the individual is not immediately consigned to Hell during this period, but it would seem extremely unlikely that he or she could gain admittance to Heaven.

The guardians of Heaven and Hell are also named in Islamic tradition as Mālik and Ridwān, and, although their names are derived from the Qur’ān, they are

⁴⁵⁹ See Saritopak, Z., ‘The Legend of Al-Dajjāl (Anti-Christ): The Personification of Evil in the Islamic Tradition’ *MW* 93 (2003) pp. 291 - 307 and Halperin, D. J., ‘The Ibn Sayyad Traditions and the Legend of al-Dajjāl’ *JAOS* 96 (1976) pp. 213 – 225.

not fully developed until the *ḥadīth* literature.⁴⁶⁰ They also both figure fairly prominently in the *miʿrāj* literature.⁴⁶¹ Of the few *ḥadīth* in *al-Ḥabāʾik* about post-mortem events, only §237 and §242 are explicitly about Ridwān, and only §241 about the guardians of Heaven. The majority are descriptions of the individuals responsible for Hell: (i) Mālik, the angel in charge of Hell; (ii) the guardians who punish hell's inhabitants; and (iii) the *zabāniyya*, another group of angels who are also responsible for punishments. Like the Angel of Death and Munkar and Nakīr, they are described as having a terrifying form:

[229] God, may he be praised and glorified, created Mālik, and he created as many fingers as the numbers of people in the Fire for him, no-one in the Fire is tortured without Mālik torturing him with his fingers; and by God! if Mālik were to place one of his fingers in heaven, then it would melt it.

[234] There are nineteen angels, and in the hand of every one of them is an iron rod, with two prongs, and he beats [people] vigorously with it, with it coming down on seventy thousand [people].

These descriptions are designed to make individuals aware of the consequences of their actions in this world. Such descriptions are common in both Jewish and Christian apocalyptic and eschatological texts.⁴⁶²

The *ḥadīth* included in Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūfī's collection concerning the post-mortem angels are actually very few, only amounting to twenty-four *ḥadīth* (3%).

⁴⁶⁰ Mālik: Q 43:77; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 511; Ridwān: Q 3:15; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 47.

⁴⁶¹ Cf. Wolff, *Muhammedanische Eschatologie*, p. 134ff. Vuckovic comments: '...Malik is a character that Muhammad meets occasionally, and he is the one, when asked who shows Muhammad hell.' Vuckovic, *Heavenly Journeys*, p. 37.

⁴⁶² See Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, pp. 68 – 105.

This is quite surprising as both the angels Mālik and the two tempters of the grave were extremely popular in Islamic tradition.⁴⁶³ Being angels, al-Suyūṭī could not exclude them from this collection, but their actions in the post-mortem world, that of the eschatological future, appear to jar with the immediacy and everyday focus of the rest of the *ḥadīth* in the collection.

The role of the angels in the everyday lives of humans is an important theme in Islamic tradition and many of the *ḥadīth* in *al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* deal with this issue. The *ḥadīth* show that angels are continually in contact with humans from the very beginnings of life. One *ḥadīth* shows this with particular clarity:

[304] ‘...when God, may He be praised and glorified, wanted to create him, He said to an angel: ‘Write down his blessings (*rizq*)! Write down his report (*athar*)! Write down his allotted time (*ajal*)! Write him down as damned or blessed!’ Then that angel ascends and God sends an angel, and it sustains him until he reaches puberty, then that angel ascends. Then God assigns two angels to him, who write down his good deeds and his misdeeds. When he is in the presence of death, those two angels ascend, and the Angel of Death comes to him to take his soul. When he enters his grave, the spirit returns to his body, and the two Angels of the Grave come to him and test him. Then the two ascend. When the Hour comes, the Angel of Good Deeds and the Angel of Misdeeds come down to him and they untie the bound books on his neck. Then the two are with him and one drives him and the other bears witness.’

⁴⁶³ E.g. al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*, vol. 4, pp. 426 – 430; Winter, *Remembrance of Death*, pp. 135 – 147; see also Smith and Haddad, *Death and Resurrection*, pp. 41 – 49.

There has been a tendency in Islamic (as well as Biblical and Jewish) Studies to focus on the angels' roles in eschatology. Christopher Rowland has argued that Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature is not simply about the future, but is also concerned with the present: 'Such elements point to apocalyptic being not merely a movement which was concerned primarily with the future of the world but with the world above, its secrets and its glory.'⁴⁶⁴ But it is not simply apocalyptic texts that are interested in angels and the divine world, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* is a case in point. The compilation is clearly not apocalyptic, far from it in fact; yet it is deeply interested in the angelic world. *Al-Ḥabā'ik* is not simply concerned with, as Rowland puts it, the secrets and glory of heaven, but with the interaction of the divine with the human; the relationship between the angels and people, at all times. This relationship is reciprocal: whilst the angels constantly supervise and note down human actions, a close link is also established between the human and the divine worlds and along with it a sense of protection. Whilst it is angels that are the celestial beings that interact with God, there is a constant stress in the *ḥadīth* that they are mere functionaries. All of the angels' actions originate from God.

⁴⁶⁴ Rowland, C., 'The Visions of God in Apocalyptic Literature' *JSJ* 10 (1979) pp. 138 – 154, p. 138.

3.2 Angels and Ritual

So far, angels have been seen to watch over human activity on behalf of God, recording human actions in readiness for the Day of Judgment. The angels do, however, also relate to the contemporary world (that is, the world of the *now*) in a different way. Rather than perceiving angels as coming down to the earthly realm, humans can also look up to the angels in heaven to seek guidance in the ways and forms of ritual.

The idea that the earth is a replica of the divine is an important and common concept in the ancient world and the temple in Near Eastern religion marked a place of direct connection between the human and divine realms.⁴⁶⁵ As Nicholas Wyatt comments: ‘The point of the junction is communication between the two, allowing the benefits of cult to reach the god (they were seen as being fed by their servants, like great lords), and for their power to be transmitted downwards as a blessing...’⁴⁶⁶ Associated with the precise *locus* of this divine place on earth (the *holy of holies* in the Jewish Temple) and its environs were a number of rites and rituals concerning how it should be engaged with by humans. Jewish ritual law (as well as much criminal and civil law) is associated with these regulations and came to have a profound effect on the daily lives of both the priestly and non-priestly classes. After the destruction of the two Jewish temples, but particularly after that of the Second

⁴⁶⁵ E.g. *Enûma Elish* VI:107 – 122; Heidel, Alexander (tr.), *The Babylonian Genesis: The Story of the Creation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942) p. 39.

⁴⁶⁶ Wyatt, Nicholas, *Space and Time in the Religious Life of the Near East* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001) p. 161; see also Wensinck, A. J., ‘The Significance of Ritual in the Religion of Israel’ in H. Kraemer, P. A. H. de Boer and W. C. van Unnik (eds.), *Semietische Studiën uit de Nalatenschap van Prof. Dr. A. J. Wensinck* (Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff’s Uitgeversmaatschappij NV, 1941) pp. 51 – 60.

Temple, the *locus* of this divine-human interaction was lost, but the ritual laws and the means of approach to God remained.⁴⁶⁷

In the literature of the inter-testamental and post-biblical periods the concept of heaven as the template for human action on earth became important in the description and performance of certain rituals. Texts such as the *Testament of Levi* portray earthly ritual actions being performed in heaven by angels.⁴⁶⁸ The role of the angels in these texts is to act as an exemplar for human behaviour; the way in which the angels worship God, should be how humans worship God. In these works the visionary ascends to heaven and *brings down* revelation to the rest of humanity concerning God and the rituals associated with His worship. There is also, however (as seen above with the Scribes), a movement in the opposite direction: angels are also used to deliver prayers of the faithful to God and to keep information about the ritual actions of individual humans. This movement is seen particularly clearly in the mediaeval *Exodus Rabbah*: ‘When they have all finished [praying], the angel appointed over prayers collects all the prayers that have been offered in all the Synagogues, weaves them into garlands and places them upon the head of God...’⁴⁶⁹

Ritual also forms the basis of Islamic spiritual life, and there has been much literature written about the history and development of Islamic ritual.⁴⁷⁰ However, the role of angels in ritual law and belief has yet to be tackled, which is somewhat surprising as the use of angels to encourage and discourage certain actions is neither obscure, nor solely the domain of popular, folkloric material. For example, Mālik ibn

⁴⁶⁷ See Stone, Michael E., ‘Reactions to the Destructions of the Second Temple: Theology, Perception and Conversion’ *JSJ* 12 (1981) pp. 195 – 204.

⁴⁶⁸ For a discussion of these themes, see Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*.

⁴⁶⁹ *ExodR* 21:4, pp. 262 – 263.

⁴⁷⁰ E.g. Katz, Marion Holmes, *Body of Text: The Emergence of the Sunnī Law of Ritual Purity* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002).

Anas includes a number of *ḥadīth* that use angels for these purposes in his *Muwattā'*.⁴⁷¹

There are 224 *ḥadīth* (around 30%) included in *Al-Ḥabā'ik*, which relate to ritual issues. This is a significant proportion and therefore the subject needs to be addressed comprehensively. This section will look at the roles that angels play in ritual behaviour, looking at the topic from two directions: (i) humans looking *up* towards heaven for templates of ritual action,⁴⁷² and (ii) heavenly beings coming *down* to earth, covering both the effects of certain human actions on angels⁴⁷³ and the angelic encouragement of correct behaviour.⁴⁷⁴

3.2.1 Heaven as a Template for the Performance of Ritual

One of the most important roles for angels is to show believers how they should behave, both in general terms and in specific ritual contexts. The importance of angels outside Islam is best seen in the Qumran community and their liturgical work, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*.⁴⁷⁵ At Qumran human worship replicates the angelic community and both humans and angels pray and worship simultaneously. Martha

⁴⁷¹ Cf. Mālik, *Muwattā'*; vol. 1, pp. 72, 82 – 85, 134, 141 – 142, 165 – 166 and vol. 2 p. 241; Bewley, *Al-Muwattā'* §3.2.14; 3.11.47 – 50; 9.18.54; 9.24.85; 15.7.25; 54.3.6; 54.3.8; pp. 11, 26, 47 - 50, 60, 64, 80 & 407.

⁴⁷² 62 *ḥadīth*: §7, 21, 22, 24, 34, 39, 83, 100, 101, 102, 196, 212, 275, 282, 289 – 290, 458 – 470, 475 – 477, 486, 489; 518 – 528, 549, 566, 567, 575, 609, 625, 683 – 685, 687 – 690, 708 & 736.

⁴⁷³ 69 *ḥadīth*: §58, 60 – 63, 84, 120 – 122, 145, 171, 229, 248 – 255, 302, 312, 319, 349, 355 – 361, 364 – 368, 371, 372, 386, 387, 391, 503, 512, 574, 582 – 597, 624, 650, 658, 691, 693 – 695, 698 & 715.

⁴⁷⁴ 124 *ḥadīth*: §59 - 62, 65, 119 - 122, 212, 302, 312, 319, 329, 330, 333 - 336, 341, 344 - 347, 351 - 354, 369, 370, 373, 375, 376, 382, 387, 391, 430, 445 - 470, 474 - 477, 503, 568 - 573, 576, 578 - 580, 598, 599, 604, 609, 614, 615, 617, 618, 621 - 623, 628, 634, 644, 645, 653, 665, 666, 671, 673, 676, 682, 695, 696, 698 - 701, 708, 710 - 722, 738 - 730, 732.

⁴⁷⁵ 4Q400 – 4Q407 and *MasIk*; for a translation of these texts with a commentary, see Davila, James R., *Liturgical Works* (Grand Rapids & Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2000) pp. 83 – 167.

Himmelfarb comments that: ‘The recitation of the *Sabbath Songs* with their description of the liturgy in the heavenly temple was intended to create a feeling of participation in the service on high.’⁴⁷⁶ As will be seen, this is also a key part in the understanding of the role of angels in Islamic ritual.⁴⁷⁷

Before looking at the role of angels in specific ritual actions, it is important to highlight the way in which angels are held to be exemplars of faith. In *Al-Ḥabā’ik* the angels are said to be continually praising and worshipping God. There are a number of *ḥadīth* that state: ‘There is no place in heaven without an angel, be it bowed down in worship or standing upright until the Hour comes.’⁴⁷⁸ Here Heaven is described as a world crammed full of angels, constantly praising God.⁴⁷⁹ This is seen further in another *ḥadīth*:

[22] ‘God, Most High, divided the angels into ten parts, nine parts are the Cherubim, and they are the angels who bear the Throne, and they are also those who worship God night and day, without rest. He said: The remaining angels are for God’s orders and messages.’

Of all the angels that are in existence the great majority praise and worship God, with a mere ten percent given specific tasks – the roles normally associated with angels.⁴⁸⁰

In one of the *ḥadīth* it says explicitly that the main purpose of the angels is to worship:

⁴⁷⁶ Himmelfarb, *Ascents to Heaven*, p. 49; see also Gzella, H., ‘Beobachtungen zur Angelologie der Sabbatopferlieder im Spiegel ihrer theologiegeschichtlichen Voraussetzungen’ *EphThL* 78 (2002) pp. 468 – 481.

⁴⁷⁷ See also Roff, William R., ‘Pilgrimage and the History of Religions: Theoretical Approaches to the Hajj’ in Martin (ed.), *Approaches to Islam*, pp. 78 – 86.

⁴⁷⁸ §7; cf. §8 – 12, 18, 21 and 22 - 25.

⁴⁷⁹ In *1En* 60:1, there are said to be ‘ten thousand times a million and ten million times ten million’ angels; cf. *1En* 71:8, 13; *OTP* vol. 1, pp. 40 & 50; *2En.* 18 – 19 *OTP* vol. 1, pp. 130 – 134 ; *3En.* 17 – 40 *OTP* vol. 1, pp. 269 – 292 *QuesEzra.* 27 – 30, *OTP* vol. 1, p. 598 and *LamR* 3:23, §8, p. 201

⁴⁸⁰ E.g. Andrea Pires defines angels in this way: ‘...the word “angel” applies to ranks of spiritual or heavenly beings which serve as intermediaries between the earthly and divine worlds...’ Pires, Andrea (tr. Paul Ellis), ‘Angels’ *ER²* vol. 1, pp. 343 - 349, p. 343.

[549] ‘I said to Ka^cb: ‘What is your opinion about the Word of God: ‘glorifying Him by night and in the daytime and never failing’⁴⁸¹ - particularly regarding those that are occupied with [delivering] messages and those that are occupied with [seeing to people’s] needs?’ He said: God gave them worship, just as [he gave] you souls. Have you not eaten and drunk, and stood up and sat down, and come and gone, and talked while you breathed? In that way, He created worship for them.’

The worship and praise of God is a natural function of the angel. The actual words of the angels are also important and often reflect invocations used commonly in Muslim ritual, again something seen in Jewish and Christian contexts.⁴⁸² The most important of these is the saying of the *tasbīh*,⁴⁸³ which is an integral part of Muslim devotional practices: ‘Muslim prayer-manuals show that for the Muslim worshipper too, his act of praise is a sharing in the worship of “angels and men in a wonderful order”.’⁴⁸⁴ This perpetual worship and glorification of God are personified particularly strongly in the angel *al-Rūh*:

‘The Spirit is an angel. It has seventy thousand faces, and every face has seventy thousand tongues, and every tongue has seventy thousand languages, which praise God in all of those languages; God creates an

⁴⁸¹ Q 21:20; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 324.

⁴⁸² For example, ‘3 Enoch represents the celebration of God’s holiness through the recitation of the Qeduššah (the Sanctus) as the central act of heavenly worship. 3 Enoch 35-40 is devoted entirely to this subject.’ Alexander, P., ‘3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch: Introduction’ *OTP* vol. 1, p. 245.

⁴⁸³ *Tasbīh* normally refers to the phrase: ‘*subhān allāh*’ (cf. Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *K. al-dhikr*; *B. 18 (Subhān allāh)* §6575 - 6580) but according to S. M. Zwemer in relation to the Muslim ‘rosary’, ‘[The *tasbīh*] generally consists in saying *subhān Allāh* thirty-three times, *al-hamdu-lillāhi* thirty-three times, and *Allāhu akbar* thirty-three times.’ Zwemer, S. M., ‘The Rosary in Islam’ *MW* 21 (1931) pp. 329 – 343, p. 330 and Goldziher, I., ‘Le rosaire dans l’Islam’ *GS* vol. 2, 374 – 379. For more on its use during the ritual prayers see Padwick, Constance E., *Muslim Devotions: A Study of Prayer-Manuals in Common Use* (London: SPCK, 1961) pp. 65 – 74.

⁴⁸⁴ Padwick, *Muslim Devotions*, p. 67.

angel from every praise, which flies with the angels until the Day of Resurrection.⁴⁸⁵

The image here shows the multitude of praises from one being towards one object and it is no surprise that such an image should be included by Ibn Ṭufayl in his *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān* as the ultimate goal for all those who wish to worship God.⁴⁸⁶ At a basic level, the angels are beings created to worship God and do so naturally. Indeed, many theologians saw obedience and worship of God as such an innate part of the angels' being that Iblīs' refusal to prostrate to Adam had to be reinterpreted.⁴⁸⁷ As worship of God, as well as obedience and submission to God, are part of the angelic nature, the angels then become the epitome of the way in which Muslims should worship.

Thus far, the *ḥadīth* have just outlined two basic principles: firstly, that praise and worship of God should be constant and, secondly, that certain expressions and devotions are used by the angels. However, the angels also play important roles in more technical aspects of the worship of God, especially the ritual prayers and the rites of the *ḥajj*.

One of the most important themes in Islamic tradition is the idea that there is a heavenly counterpart to the *Ka'ba*, often called the *bayt al-ma'mūr* (the 'inhabited house'). W. McKane comments that in Islamic visions of heaven, 'There is a doctrine of heavenly prototypes and earthly copies; thus a heavenly *Ka'aba*, a heavenly *mu'addin* and an angel in the form of a cock who regulates the crowing and

⁴⁸⁵ §212; see also §213 – 216.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibn Ṭufayl, Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Malik, *Risālat Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān* (Beirut: Al-Maṭbaʿat al-Kāthūlikīya, 1963) p. 85.

⁴⁸⁷ See al-Zamakhsharī, Abū ʿI-Qāsim Jārr Allāh Maḥmūd ʿUmar, *Al-Kashshāf ʿan ḥaqāʾiq al-tanzīl wa-ʿuyūn al-aqāwīl fī wujūh al-taʾwīl* (Cairo: Maṭbaʿa al-Kubrā, 1318 – 1319) vol. 3, p. 18 and al-Baydawī, ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar (ed. W. Fell), *Commentarius in Coranum* (Leizig: Vogel, 1878), vol. 2, pp. 191 - 192 [both on Q 38:75] and the discussion of these themes by Ibrahim, 'Superiority of Angels'.

silence of all earthly cocks.’⁴⁸⁸ This heavenly prototype is believed to be directly above the earthly *Ka‘ba*, or as one *ḥadīth* puts it: ‘...if it were to come down, then it would come down on top of it.’⁴⁸⁹ The Temple was the primary focus of the cult in ancient religion, generally, and particularly in Judaism because of the direct link between the one temple and God.⁴⁹⁰ Likewise, in *al-Ḥabā’ik* the earthly *Ka‘ba* is a representation of a heavenly version.⁴⁹¹ The traditions often use the *bayt al-ma‘mūr* to describe the great number of angels that worship in it, for example:

‘...It is called *The Inhabited House* because seventy thousand angels pray in it every day; then they come down, when they have spent the night [there], they circumambulate the *Ka‘ba*, then they bless the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation), then they leave and they do not have another turn until the coming of the Hour.’⁴⁹²

This does not, at first, appear to establish a model of any particular rite of the *ḥajj*; the *ḥajj* is not performed every day. However, this *ḥadīth* and others like it place the *bayt al-ma‘mūr*, and by extension the earthly *Ka‘ba*, at the heart of angelic worship. The angels are not instituting any particular rite, but are stressing the holiness and sanctity of the location.⁴⁹³ Of course, in Islam the *locus* of the ‘temple’ as the house

⁴⁸⁸ McKane, ‘Manuscript on the Mi‘raj’ p. 375; for more on the history of the *Ka‘ba*, see Rubin, Uri, ‘The *Ka‘ba*: Aspects of its ritual function and position in pre-Islamic and early Islamic times’ *JSAI* 8 (1986) pp. 97 – 131.

⁴⁸⁹ §21; see also §498 & 522. §685 states that there are fifteen ‘houses’, one for each of the seven heavens and earths, and one for God and that if one of the houses were to fall, ‘... then it would fall one of them on top of the other until the borders to the lowest earth.’

⁴⁹⁰ See Wyatt, *Space and Time*, pp. 159 – 182.

⁴⁹¹ As James Davila has commented on the heavenly temple in the Dead Sea Scrolls: ‘The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice envisions a macrocosmic Temple conceived on the model of the earthly Tabernacle and the Temple in Jerusalem. (Of course, the composers of the work would see it the other way around: the cosmic Temple is the archetype and model for the earthly sanctuaries.)’ Davila, James R., ‘The Macrocosmic Temple, Scriptural Exegesis and the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice’ *DSD* 9 (2002) pp. 1 – 19, p. 1.

⁴⁹² §489; cf. §21, 519 – 521.

⁴⁹³ Gustave von Grunebaum comments: ‘The cosmological sanctity of Muḥammad’s birth-place is underpinned, as it were, by its soteriological sanctity as the cradle of Islam.’ Von Grunebaum,

of God is a key component of the worship of God as the *qibla* is directed to the *Ka'ba*: 'The central gesture of this body language is the facing of the direction of prayer, in Arabic, *tawliyat al-wujh*, the turning of one's face (to the house of God).'⁴⁹⁴ As the angels focus their activities of worship on the *bayt al-ma'mūr*, the Muslim community looks in the same direction.⁴⁹⁵

The *Inhabited House* is also used explicitly as the template for the earthly *Ka'ba* in §519 and §687:

[519] '...The Angel took me up into the Seventh Heaven, until we reached a building. I said to the angel: 'What is that?' And he said: 'This building is His building. God has angels, seventy thousand, who enter it every day. They glorify God and praise Him, and they do not come back to it.'

[687] 'When God sent Adam down from the Garden, he said: "Adam, I have built a house for me, opposite my house which is in heaven. You can worship me in it, and your children, just as my angels worship around my Throne." So the angels came down to him, and he dug until

Gustave E., 'The Sacred Character of Islamic Cities' in Dunning S. Wilson (ed.), *Islam and Medieval Hellenism: Social and Cultural Perspectives* (London: Variorum Imprints, 1976) §5, p. 34. However, it should also be noted that Jerusalem still remained an important site in Islam, with many *faḍā'il* works written about it; cf. al-Suyūṭī, *Kitāb ithāf al-khaṣā bi-faḍā'il al-masjid al-aqṣā*; tr. Reynolds, James, *The History of the Temple of Jerusalem* (London: A. J. Valpy, 1836).

⁴⁹⁴ Neuwirth, A., 'Face of God – Face of Man: The Significance of the Direction of Prayer in Islam' in A. I. Baumgarten, J. Assmann and G. G. Stroumsa (eds.), *Self, Soul and Body in Religious Experience* (Leiden: Brill, 1998) pp. 298 – 312, p. 302; see also Ashraf, Syed Ali, 'The Inner Meaning of the Islamic Rites: Prayer, Pilgrimage, Fasting, Jihād' in Nasr (ed.), *Islamic Spirituality*, pp. 111 – 130 and Wensinck, A. J., 'Kibla: Ritual and Legal Aspects' *IEJ* vol. 5, pp. 82 – 83.

⁴⁹⁵ There are a number of works about Mecca and its merits, see Wüstenfeld, Ferdinand, *Geschichte der Stadt Mekka* (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1861); Wüstenfeld's work includes an edition of Al-Azraqī, Abū Walīd Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh, *Kitāb akhbār Makka*; Rudi Paret comments: 'Die Gebetsrichtung nach Mekka, die Qibla, symbolisiert seither die Eigengesetzlichkeit des Islam. Mekka mit seinen Heiligtümern ist das geistige Zentrum, der Richtpunkt der betenden Gemeinde.' Paret, Rudi, *Symbolik des Islam* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1958) pp. 16 – 17.

he reached the Seventh Earth, and the angels threw the rock down until it towered over the face of the earth.’⁴⁹⁶

These two *ḥadīth* both establish a direct link between the earthly and heavenly *Kaʿbas*, but they are quite different in approach. The first (§519) is part of the *mīʿrāj* genre; during Muḥammad’s ascension he sees God’s ‘house’. It is not described, but Muḥammad’s failure to understand the building that he is shown is quite unusual. Had the building been a direct replica of the earthly *Kaʿba* one would expect him to know, or at least recognise, what he has seen. Nonetheless, the building is clearly the *inhabited house*. Why does Muḥammad not recognise it? The answer probably lies in the fact that it is part of the *mīʿrāj* genre, in which the unknown is made known. The importance is not the fact that it is in the form of the earthly *Kaʿba*, but that the building is revealed to be *God’s* building. The focus is on the association of the *locus* with the divine, not on the physical form of the building. Likewise the location of the building is important in §687, in which the *Kaʿba* is associated with Adam. In his recent monograph, Brandon Wheeler comments that: ‘Adam’s role in instituting the rituals of the pilgrimage, and in particular the boundaries of the sanctuary, establishes a link between Mecca and the lineage of the prophets. The observance of the pilgrimage rites and prohibitions of the sanctuary by the prophets reiterates the association of Mecca and Eden.’⁴⁹⁷ Whilst the association with Eden (and ‘heaven’

⁴⁹⁶ See also §523 & 524; for this and other stories associated with the *Kaʿba*, see Alexander, Grant, ‘The Story of the *Kaʿba*’ *MW* 28 (1938) pp. 43 – 53; Zwemer, Samuel S. M., ‘Al-Haramain: Mecca and Medina’ *MW* 37 (1947) pp. 7 – 15; Wheeler, Brandon M., *Mecca and Eden: Ritual, Relics and Territory in Islam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006) pp. 82 – 87; Campo, Juan Eduardo, ‘Authority, Ritual and Spatial Order in Islam’ *JRS* 5 (1991) pp. 65 – 91; Lazarus-Yafeh, Hava, ‘The Religious Dialectics of the *Ḥadīj*’ in Hava Lazarus-Yafeh, *Some Religious Aspects of Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1981) pp. 17 - 37 and Pavlovitch, Pavel, ‘*Qad kunna lā naʿbudu ʿIlāha wa-lā naʿrifuhu*. On the Problem of the Pre-Islamic Lord of the *Kaʿba*’ *JAS* 2 (1998 – 1999) pp. 49 – 74.

⁴⁹⁷ Wheeler, *Mecca and Eden*, p. 85; Marion Katz argues that the association of Adam with the *Kaʿba*, gives the pilgrimage a role in the Islamic notion of salvation history, Katz, Marion, ‘The *Ḥajj* and Islamic Studies of Ritual’ *SI* 98/99 (2004) pp. 95 – 129, pp. 111 - 112. In Judaism myths associated

more generally) is important, it is the building's specific relationship with God and the fact that the *Ka'ba* / *bayt al-ma'mūr* is God's dwelling that is more important: the focus is on God, rather than Heaven. The *Ka'ba* is not 'heaven on earth' but 'God's dwelling on earth'.

The *ḥadīth* do not only describe the *bayt al-ma'mūr* in general terms, but they also show the angels performing or supporting specific rituals associated with the *Ka'ba*. The angels are said to have been the first to perform a circumambulation (*tawwāf*) of the *Ka'ba*:

‘Adam (peace be upon him) circumambulated the Holy House, and the angels said: ‘Your piety obeys [God], Adam, we have circumambulated this House before you, for two thousand years.’⁴⁹⁸

Adam, as the first man and the first to come into contact with the *Ka'ba*, is associated with its rituals. However, there is also a deeper sense that the *Ka'ba* is a form of recompense for Adam's expulsion from paradise, as Adam is not left abandoned by God. Another *ḥadīth* (§624) establishes a link between the practice of *tawwāf* in heaven and on earth:

‘And [Adam] walked around it, just as he had walked around the Throne, and he performed the prayers by it, just as he had performed them by the Throne.’⁴⁹⁹

with early prophets are also used to explain rituals, for a discussion of this theme see, Weitzman, Steven, ‘Revising Myth and Ritual in Early Judaism’ *DSD* 4 (1997) pp. 21 – 54.

⁴⁹⁸ §609; see also §683, 684 & 688.

⁴⁹⁹ Note that this *ḥadīth* uses ‘throne’: in this case the *Ka'ba* is a representation of God's Throne, rather than the *bayt al-ma'mūr*. However, in §684 it is said that ‘God, may he be praised, placed a House under the Throne, on four pillars made of green jewels, and he covered them in rubies, and he called the House “The Remote Place” (*al-ḍirāḥ*). Then God said the angels: “Circumambulate around this House and pray to the Throne.” The angels circumambulated the House, and they left the Throne...’

The angels are also said to wear the *izār* (§625), to protect the *jimār* (§461) and to circumambulate in the air above the earthly *Ka'ba* during Ramaḍān (§736), bless those who say a prayer as they pass the Yemeni column of the *Ka'ba* (§458 – 460) and surround the tomb of the prophet (§488). These *ḥadīth* validate the use of these specific ritual and devotional acts by the Muslim community.

Given the infrequency with which most Muslims have the opportunity to perform the *ḥajj*, the role of the angels in the performance of the ritual prayers is, perhaps, more important. One of the overarching themes in the *ḥadīth* is that the angels are present whenever a Muslim prays and that they support the community. The idea of God sending angels to help and support the Muslim community is an early one, found both in the Qur'ān and in *ḥadīth*.⁵⁰⁰ For example, during the Battle of Badr God sent a contingent of angels to help the outnumbered Muslims:

‘...and God most surely helped you at Badr....“Is it not enough for you that your Lord should reinforce you with three thousand angels sent down upon you? Yea if you are patient and godfearing, and the foe come against you instantly, your Lord will reinforce you with five thousand swooping angels.”’⁵⁰¹

The idea that angels support a community both in military,⁵⁰² but especially ritual and liturgical affairs, is not new and is an extremely important concept in the *Dead*

⁵⁰⁰ For early *ḥadīth* on angelic support in prayer, cf. Mālik, *Muwattā'*, pp. 72, 82 – 85, 134, 141 – 142; Bewley, *Al-Muwatta'*, 3.12.14; 3.11.47 – 50; 9.18.54; 9.24.85, pp. 11, 26, 47 - 50, 60, 64, 80 & 407.

⁵⁰¹ Q3:123 – 124; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 61; cf. Ibn Ishāq, *Sīra*, pp. 303ff.; for a discussion of the historiographical issues, see Booth, Newell S., ‘The Historical and Non-Historical In Islam’ *MW* 60 (1970) pp. 109 – 122, pp. 110 – 113.

⁵⁰² E.g. 4Q491 (*War Scroll*) l. 10: ‘Each man who is not [clean in regard to his genitals] that [nig]ht [shall] no[t g]o out with them to battle. For the holy angels are with their battle lines to[gether].’ See also Davidson, *Angels at Qumran* pp. 212 - 234 and Gleason, Randall G., ‘Angels and the Eschatology in Heb 1 – 2’ *NTS* 49 (2003) pp. 99 – 107.

Sea Scrolls.⁵⁰³ In both the Judaism of the Qumran community and in Islam the angels' participation and support of the community are crucial to understanding the relationship between God and his creations.

In *al-Habā'ik* there are a number of *ḥadīth* that reflect these themes. Some *ḥadīth* state the ritual prayers are performed in heaven, e.g.: 'When Isrāfil glorifies God, he cuts off the ritual prayers and the hearing of all the angels in heaven.'⁵⁰⁴ There are also more specific *ḥadīth* that give the role of *angelic imām* and *angelic mu'adhdhin* to specific angels: §39 states that Gabirel is *imām*, whereas in §83 Michael is *imām* and Gabriel is the *mu'adhdhin* and in §102 Isrāfil is the *mu'adhdhin*. These contradictions are not important, rather the fact that there is an *imām* and a *mu'adhdhin* in heaven shows that the earthly practices of the Muslims are a copy of those performed in heaven.⁵⁰⁵ The idea that earthly practice is a mirror of the heavenly, is seen most clearly in §83:

[83] 'The *mu'adhdhin* of the heavenly host is Gabriel, and Michael is their Imam, who leads them in the prayers in the inhabited house, and the angels of the heavens congregate and circumambulate the *Inhabited*

⁵⁰³ For a discussion of the role of angels in Qumran liturgical works, see Davidson, *Angels at Qumran*, pp. 235 – 254; Fletcher-Lewis, Crispin H. T., *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Brill: Leiden, 2002); Chazon, Esther G., 'Liturgical Communion with the Angels at Qumran' in Daniel K. Falk et. al. (eds.), *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran: Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Oslo 1998* (Leiden: Brill, 2000) pp. 95 – 105 and Chazon, Esther G., 'Human and Angelic Prayer in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls' in Esther G. Chazon (ed.), *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 19 – 23 January 2000* (Leiden: Brill, 2003) pp. 35 – 47. For similar ideas in the *Hekhalot* literature, see Elijior, Rachel, 'From Earthly Temple to Heavenly Shrines: Prayer and Sacred Song in the Hekhalot Literature and Its Relation to Temple Traditions' *JSQ* 4 (1997) pp. 217 – 267.

⁵⁰⁴ §100; see also §101 & 102 which contain the same idea.

⁵⁰⁵ There are a number of *ḥadīth* that describe the angelic *adhān*, usually witnessed by Muḥammad during his *mi'rāj*; these are often used in the arguments between different Muslim groups, especially Twelver and Sunnī *fiqh*, concerning the wording of the *adhān*; cf. Howard, I. K. A., 'The Development of the *Adhān* and *Iqāma* of the *Ṣalāt* in Early Islam' *JSS* 26 (1981) pp. 219 – 228, especially pp. 226 – 227. For the role of an angel leading the heavenly worship of God in Judaism, see Orlov, Andrei A., 'Celestial Choirmaster: The Liturgical Role of Enoch-Metatron in 2 Enoch and the Merkebah Tradition' *JSP* 14 (2004) pp. 3 – 29.

House, and they perform the prayers and pray for forgiveness. God gives their reward, their forgiveness and their praise of God to the community of Muḥammad (God bless him and grant him salvation).’

Here a whole number of Muslim ritual practices can be seen: the *ṣalāt*, the direction of the *qibla* and the circumambulation of the *house*. Furthermore, the Muslim community actually benefits from these angelic actions. The *ḥadīth* associated with the celestial cockerel (*al-Dīk*; §280 – 294) also locate the origin of the earthly *adhān* in heaven:

[§282] ‘God has a cockerel; its feet are on the Seventh Earth and its head passes through the Seven Heavens, and it praises God at the times of prayer; there is no cockerel on Earth that does not reply to it.’

The words of the angels are also important, as they often form the template of Islamic prayers and devotions. This is seen clearly in §275:

‘Dhū ‘l-Qarnayn (peace be upon him) had a friend from amongst the angels, and it is said he was Riyāfīl. He used to come to him, and visit him, and he said to him: ‘Tell me, how do you serve [God] in heaven?’ He said: ‘In heaven angels stand upright, and they never sit down; and among them [are those that are] prostrating, and they never raise their heads, and there [are those that are] kneeling down, and they never stand upright. However, there is one who raises his face, but he never looks astray. He says: ‘Praise be [to God], the King, the All-Holy,⁵⁰⁶ the Lord

⁵⁰⁶ Cf. ‘He is God; there is no god but He. He is the King, the All-holy, the All-peaceable...’ Q 59:23; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 576. The words of the angels are the basic form of the *taṣbīḥ* and ‘The last two nouns are a Qur’ānic couplet, and the *quddūs* is one of the Ninety-nine Names, but no one has traced the origin of this constantly recurring and haunting phrase.’ Padwick, *Muslim Devotions*, p. 66

of the Angels and the Spirit, Lord, we have not worshiped you, as worship of you demands. ’

In the *ḥadīth* concerned with ritual the angels are used to legitimise set forms of worship. The earthly and divine rituals are identical and performed simultaneously. This creates a sense of harmony and a deep relationship between heaven and earth in the performance of ritual. Esther Chazon has highlighted three different ways in which the angels and the community of Qumran interact: (i) humans invite angels to praise God, because of their inability to praise God as well as the angels; (ii) humans pray *like* angels, using their words and (iii) humans join the angels, and they become one choir praising God.⁵⁰⁷ All three of these positions can be seen in the *ḥadīth*: (i) prayer and worship are innate characteristics of angels, but not of humans; (ii) specific rites and invocations of the Muslim community were established by the angels; (iii) the heavenly and earthly communities praise God simultaneously. This testifies to the different types of relationship that exist between humans and angels in the sphere of ritual. Much of this is concerned with the ‘correctness’ of ritual: the correct forms of worship are those performed in heaven.

3.2.2 Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong?

Muslims’ lives are constantly regulated by the principle of *sharīʿa*, the divine law, which the *fuqāhā*’ strive to interpret and understand. *Sharīʿa* does not simply govern criminal, civil and ritual law, but it also addresses ethical and moral concerns more

⁵⁰⁷ Chazon, ‘Human and Angelic Prayer’ pp. 46 – 47. Esther Chazon implies that these three positions are discrete, but it would seem feasible for a community to hold these positions simultaneously.

generally.⁵⁰⁸ In *Al-Ḥabā'ik* there are a number of *ḥadīth* that attempt to discourage certain types of behaviour in a whole range of different situations and circumstances, ranging from people's bad habits during the ritual prayer to questions of purity. In this collection angels are used to warn believers of the consequences of certain practices in a number of ways: (i) stating that it offends the angel that writes down good deeds (with the implication that this may affect the individual's own record of good deeds); (ii) by stating that angels do not come into the presence of certain things; and (iii) stating that the angels curse individuals for certain actions.

Ritual purity is an important part of both Jewish and Islamic religious life. In Judaism the ritual purity laws of Leviticus (especially Lev. 11 – 16) were primarily directed at the priestly class, because the priests were required to be ritually clean before coming into contact with the divine in the Holy of Holies.⁵⁰⁹ However, as Judaism developed, there was an increasing trend for the laity to adopt the same, or, at the very least, similar purity regulations; as Eyal Regev has concluded: 'Purity is necessary in order to achieve holiness. Thus, we conclude that those who voluntarily observed purity in order to eat, pray and read Scripture were seeking holiness in their everyday life, outside the realm of the Temple and the priestly system.'⁵¹⁰ Impurity, or uncleanness, is derived from a whole range of different things, but the principal sources of impurity are corpses and bodily discharges (including urine, faeces and

⁵⁰⁸ There have been a number of works on Islamic ethics (both philosophical and Qur'anic), e.g. Fakhry, Majid, *Ethical Theories in Islam (Second Edition)* (Leiden: Brill, 1994); Izutsu, Toshihiko, *Ethico-Religious Concepts in the Quran* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1966) and Cook, Michael, *Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong in Islamic Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

⁵⁰⁹ See any commentary on Leviticus for a discussion of these issues, e.g. Porter, J. R., *Leviticus: A Commentary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971) and Noth, Martin, *Leviticus: A Commentary* (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1965); see also Neusner, Jacob, *Purity in Rabbinic Judaism: A Systematic Account* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994) pp. 27 – 50.

⁵¹⁰ See Regev, Eyal, 'Pure Individualism: The Idea of Non-Priestly Purity in Ancient Judaism' *JSJ* 31 (2000) pp. 176 – 202, p. 187.

menstrual blood).⁵¹¹ After coming into contact with these polluting substances ritual cleansing (in Islam *wuḍū'*, *ghusl* or *tayammum*) is required before performing ritual actions.⁵¹² Islamic notions of ritual impurity are believed to be related to either Rabbinic or Zoroastrian ideas;⁵¹³ however, what is important to note is that Islamic purity regulations are usually deemed to be less rigorous than those of Judaism and Zoroastrianism. For example, ritual impurity can be derived from both physical substances and through contact with an unclean person or place; but in Islam, impurity is derived solely from substances.⁵¹⁴ In Judaism and Zoroastrianism, ritual impurity is of major spiritual importance and the notions of purity and holiness became *sacralised*; but the concept of purity in Islam is much more basic, as Janina Safran suggests: 'The Islamic system of purity is focused on ritual worship and treats the defilement of the body, often by bodily acts and substances, as a regular circumstance of the human condition.'⁵¹⁵ It should also be stressed that the concept of purity in Islamic law is *ritual* and not *hygienic*.⁵¹⁶

⁵¹¹ Neusner, *Purity*, pp. 53 – 82 and Harrington, Hannah K., *The Impurity Systems of Qumran and the Rabbis* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993).

⁵¹² For a discussion of these terms in relation to the Qur'ān, see Burton, John, 'The Qur'ān and the Islamic Practice of *Wuḍū'*' *BSOAS* 51 (1988) pp. 21 – 58 and Maghen, Ze'ev, 'Close Encounters: Some Preliminary Observations on the Transmission of Impurity in Early Sunnī Jurisprudence' *ILS* 6 (1999) pp. 348 – 392.

⁵¹³ Cf. Wensinck, A. J., 'Die Entstehung der muslimischen Reinheitsgesetzgebung' *Der Islam* 5 (1914) pp. 62 – 80; Goldziher, Ignaz, 'Islamisme et Parsisme' *GS* vol. 4, pp. 232 – 260 and Katz, *Body of Text*, pp. 3 – 13.

⁵¹⁴ 'Sunnī Islam has in fact constructed what may be the only religious purity code extant which *does not recognize – let alone emphasize – the category of ceremonially contagious or contaminating human beings...*' Maghen, 'Close Encounters' p. 350.

⁵¹⁵ Safran, Janina M., 'Rules of Purity and Confession Boundaries: Maliki Debates about the Pollution of the Christian' *HR* 42 (2002) pp. 197 – 212.

⁵¹⁶ The idea that ritual purity laws were based on hygiene regulations was popular in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but this has largely been discredited; see Douglas *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concept of Pollution and Taboo* (Repr. London: Routledge, 2002) pp. 36 – 50; Reinhart, 'Impurity / No Danger' *HR* 30 (1990) pp. 1 – 24, p. 6; Wheeler, Brandon, 'Touching the Penis in Islamic Law' *HR* 44 (2004) pp. 89 – 119; Reinhart, Kevin A., 'Ṭahāra' *ET* vol. 10, p. 99 and Maghen, Z. 'Ablution' *ET*³; for an analysis of some modern approaches to Islamic purity, see Gauvain, Richard, 'Ritual Rewards: A Consideration of Three Recent Approaches to Sunni Purity Law' *ILS* 12 (2005) pp. 333 – 393.

What, then, do the *ḥadīth* in *al-Ḥabā'ik* add to the subject of ritual purity? The *ḥadīth* in the collection are mostly concerned with individuals in a state of ritual impurity and the effects of that pollution on human interaction with angels. Take the following *ḥadīth*: ‘...Angels do not stay in the presence of someone in a state of ritual impurity (*junub*), nor [are they in the presence of someone who has been] anointed with *khalūq* until both [types] have been washed.’⁵¹⁷ At first, this *ḥadīth* may not appear to be of great concern; however, the absence of angels does have profound effects on the person concerned. If angels are driven away from an individual, any righteous acts that the Scribe of good deeds would normally record cannot be included in the person’s ‘book’. This *ḥadīth* essentially denies those in a state of *junub* the ability to perform credited righteous actions. It is also made clear in other *ḥadīth* (e.g. §365) that this applies to only ‘one of your angels which is with you’⁵¹⁸ (i.e. the angel of good deeds); consequently, bad actions are still recorded during this state of impurity.

In *Al-Ḥabā'ik* the absence of angels is attributed to a whole range of different things, including:

- i. urine / bowls of stagnant urine (§588 & 589)
- ii. excrement (§368 & 567)
- iii. nakedness (§364 – 366; 371, 372 & 388)
- iv. those who are *junub* (§368, 592 & 595)
- v. those who have had sexual intercourse (§367 & 368)
- vi. houses with dogs (§584, 586 & 595)
- vii. houses with idols (§582 – 585 & 595)

⁵¹⁷ §592.

⁵¹⁸ §365: ‘...One of your angels which is with you gets embarrassed, just as someone gets embarrassed in front of two virtuous neighbours, who are both with him night and day.’

- viii. houses with tambourines (§590 & 591)
- ix. men anointed with *khalūq* (§592)
- x. the funerals of unbelievers (§593)
- xi. the funerals of individuals remaining *junub* (§593)
- xii. the funerals of those who have been anointed with saffron (§593)
- xiii. animals with bells (§512, 585 – 587, 596 & 597)
- xiv. those people who have severed ties from the community (§594).

There are a number of important points raised by these *ḥadīth*. Firstly, in his article on touching the penis in Islamic law, Brandon Wheeler emphasises the point that to many of the jurists simply touching the penis did not necessitate *wuḍū'*, nor was *wuḍū'* necessary, except before ritual actions.⁵¹⁹ The idea behind this is that ritual purity is only obligatory before ritual actions, such as the *ṣalāt*, are actually performed. Reinhart has also shown that *tahāra* (ritual purity) is a negative concept; someone who is in a state of *tahāra* is someone that does not have to perform an ablution. In theory, ablutions are not necessary to perform the *ṣalāt* if the individual is already in *tahāra*.⁵²⁰

The *ḥadīth* cast Islamic notions of ritual impurity in a different light, for not only is someone made impure by coming into contact with a polluting substance, but the substance can also affect the ritual purity of an entire dwelling.⁵²¹ This is at odds with the standard understanding of ritual impurity, as discussed by scholars such as

⁵¹⁹ Wheeler, 'Touching the Penis' p. 119.

⁵²⁰ See Reinhart, 'Purity / No Danger' pp. 5 – 6.

⁵²¹ In both Judaism and Zoroastrianism pollution can occur around a pollutant and through intermediaries. For example, in both religions, to remain ritually clean a set distance must be kept from a menstruating woman; cf. *Shayāst lā-Shayāst, III:1 – 35* (especially v. 13), in West, E. W., *Pahlavi Tests: The Bundahisn-Bahman Yast and Shāyast lā-Shāyast* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1860) pp. 217 - 221. For a thorough discussion of these issues in Judaism, see Neusner, Jacob, *A History of the Mishnaic Law of Purities: Part 22 – The Mishnaic System of Uncleaness* (Leiden: Brill, 1977).

Katz and Reinhart. For example, the consequences of pollution by urine would not be met until a ritual action was performed; these *ḥadīth* say otherwise, since the individual (as well as any guests and family members) are gravely affected prior to the performance of any ritual action. Being in a state of *junub*, for example, does not only mean that failure to perform the *ghusl* before a ritual makes that action invalid, it also prevents the individual from obtaining merit for any righteous deeds performed from the moment of pollution.

Whilst the absence of angels is usually associated with impure bodily substances, such as urine, semen, menstrual blood etc., animals and other objects (e.g. idols and tambourines) and certain actions (such as being naked) are *quasi*-polluting, as they have consequences for the individuals concerned equal to the angels' reactions to ritual impurity. Although in these cases, the removal of the offending item or the cessation of the action will allow the angels to return without the performance of any ritual cleansing; i.e. if an individual is naked, he is not ritually impure, but needs to be covered before the angels will return; but if an individual has had sexual intercourse, then ritual purification is required.

Some of these 'prohibitions' are quite easily understood: for example, the ritual impurity of dogs in Islam has often been seen to be a *shibboleth* to their favour in Zoroastrian culture;⁵²² the ownership of idols is clearly prohibited as *shirk*, and so on.⁵²³ The ban against playing tambourines is more obscure, but the prohibition of

⁵²² Cf. Miller, Geoffrey David, 'Attitudes to Dogs in Ancient Israel: A Reassessment' *JSOT* 32 (2008) pp. 487 – 500 and Moazami, Mahnaz, 'The dog in Zoroastrian religion: *Vidēvdād* Chapter XIII' *IJJ* 49 (2006) pp. 127 – 149. However, there are Arabic works that praise the dog, e.g. al-Jāhiz, Abī °Uthmān °Amr ibn Bahr, *Kitāb al-ḥayawān* (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1939 – 1945) and Ibn al-Marzūbān, *Kitāb faḍl al-kilāb °alā kathīr mimman labisa °l-thiyāb*; Smith, G. R. & Abdel Haleem, M. A. S. (eds. & trs.), *The Book of the Superiority of Dogs over many of those who wear clothes* (Warminster: Aris & Philips Ltd., 1978).

⁵²³ Cf. Mālik, *Muwāṭṭā'* vol. 2, p. 241; Bewley, *al-Muwāṭṭā'* §54.3.6 – 8, p. 407.

dancing and tambourines was debated in Islamic jurisprudence.⁵²⁴ Whilst saffron plays an important role in Islamic society and is not normally considered to be ‘impure’, Jamsheed Choksy notes that: ‘...[the use of saffron-dyed shrouds] was intended to prevent a Muslim’s corpse from being confused with that of a non-Muslim (Zoroastrians, Christians and Jews in particular were required by Islamic governments to wear a yellow coloured cloth during medieval and premodern times to distinguish them from the Muslim socio-political majority)...’⁵²⁵ The statement that angels do not accompany people travelling with animals with bells attached to them seems a little strange, especially as none of the *ḥadīth* provide much context. Take §512 as an example: ‘God has angels, which descend every night to experience the weariness of a cavalry horse, except a riding animal which has a bell around its neck.’ The ‘prohibition’, however, has quite a simple origin that had practical implications for the nascent Muslim community. Edward Lane includes a translation of §585 in his lexicon, with the comment: ‘...the reason is said to be, because it guides others to them; for Moḥammad liked not to let the enemy know of his approach until he came upon them suddenly.’⁵²⁶

⁵²⁴ Ibn Taymiyya is one scholar to prohibit men playing the tambourine: ‘...*rakḥaṣa li-’l-nisā’ an yuḍrabna bi-’l-daff fi al-’a’rās wa-’l-afrāh wa-ammā al-rijāl* ‘alā ‘ahdihi, fa-lam bakan ahad minhum bi-darab bi-daff wa-lā yaṣfaqu bi-kaff’ [...it was permitted for women to beat a tambourine at weddings and parties, but as for men during [the Prophet’s] time, they did not beat a tambourine or clap their hands]. Ibn Taymiyya, Taqī al-Dīn Abū ‘l-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Halīm ibn ‘Abd al-Salām, ‘Mā taqūlu al-sāda al-a’lām’ in *Majmū‘ fatāwa Shaykh al-Islām Aḥmad ibn Taymīyya* (Mecca & Riyadh: Maṭābi‘ al-Riyād, 1961 – 1967) vol. 11, pp. 558 - 586, p. 565. This is also found in his *Kitāb al-samā wa-’l-raqs*; see Michot, Jean R., *Musique et Danse selon Ibn Taymiyya: Le Livre de Samā’ et de la Danse (Kitāb al-Samā’ wa-’l-Raqs) compilé par le Shaykh Muḥammad al-Manbijī* (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1991) pp. 62 – 63. See also Shehadi, Fadlou, *Philosophies of Music in Medieval Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1995) pp. 100 – 101; Cook, *Commanding Right*, pp. 90 – 91 and Lewisohn, Leonard, ‘The Sacred Music of Islam: *Samā’* in the Persian Sufi Tradition’ *Ethnomusicology Forum* 6 (2007) pp. 1 – 33.

⁵²⁵ Choksy, Jamsheed K., ‘Funerary Practices: Iran and Afghanistan’ *EWIC*, pp. 119 - 122, p. 119; see also Halevi, *Muhammad’s Grave*, pp. 85 – 100.

⁵²⁶ Lane, *AELex*, p. 409.

Thus far, angels have been seen to react negatively to certain circumstances and objects, and will remain absent until the offending item has been removed. At first sight, this may appear to be simply a device to correct and regulate human behaviour; however, there is an important ethical aspect that needs to be considered. Brandon Wheeler discusses aspects of purity in Eden, concluding that: ‘Urination, defecation, bleeding, and other natural bodily functions require *wuḍū*’ because Adam’s and Eve’s bodies did not produce impure substances in the Garden of Eden.⁵²⁷ It was only after their expulsion from the Garden that impurity became a concern. By extension, the divine world, of which the Garden was a part, does not come into contact with impurities. This explains the behaviour of the angels in the human world, if angels are unable to come into contact with pollutants. Similar ideas can be found in Jewish texts, such as *Jubilees*, in which Adam and Eve are created outside of paradise; Martha Himmelfarb comments that: ‘One reason that *Jubilees* delays Adam and Eve’s entrance into the Garden is its discomfort with the idea of sexual relations in the Garden, which...it understands as a holy place, equivalent to the sanctuary.’⁵²⁸ The behaviour of the angels in *al-Ḥabā’ik* can be understood in this sense: angels cannot morally and physically come into the presence of certain actions and substances because of their innate nature.

The angels are not, however, just used to discourage certain behaviour by their absence, the angels are also said to be affected by individuals’ actions in other ways. There are some *ḥadīth* that describe actions as hurting or embarrassing angels.

⁵²⁷ Wheeler, ‘Touching the Penis’ p. 103; the idea that the Garden was ritually clean can be seen in al-Ṭabarī’s *Ta’rīkh* in which it is stated that: ‘It was a tree which made whoever ate from it defecate. He continued. But there must be no faeces in Paradise.’ Rosenthal (tr.), *From the Creation to the Flood*, p. 279; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, vol. 1, p. 110.

⁵²⁸ Himmelfarb, Martha, ‘Sexual Relations and Purity in the Temple Scroll and the Book of *Jubilees*’ *DSD* 6 (1999) pp. 11 – 36, p. 27.

The majority of these *ḥadīth* in *al-Ḥabā'ik* are concerned with ritual prayer. Fiddling with stones, placing sandals on the ground, spitting and resting on the *qibla* are all addressed.⁵²⁹ There is no consensus on how these misdemeanours affect the angels; for example, regarding fiddling with stones during the ritual prayer, §359 states that: ‘Fiddling with stones in the mosque [causes] pain to an angel.’ And §361: ‘Do not fiddle with stones during the ritual prayers, for that [habit] is from the devil.’ These two *ḥadīth* clearly indicate that those praying should concentrate on their actions, albeit expressed in different ways.

The *ḥadīth* discussed so far have looked at events and substances that cause a reaction from the angels. However, generally, the discouragement of certain actions is usually done in less explicit ways. The story of *Hārūt and Mārūt* is a good example of a narrative that is used to warn of the consequences of certain behaviour, particularly drinking alcohol. It is only after the angels have become drunk that they worship Zuhara’s idols, fornicate with her and commit murder. Whilst the Qur’ān focuses on the two angels and their introduction of magic,⁵³⁰ the stories of Hārūt and Mārūt are more concerned with human propensity to sin and the dangers of alcohol. Their story is used as an example of how not to behave, as Annemarie Schimmel writes: ‘The traditional Sufi leaders recognised seven gates to hell: pride, cupidity, lust, anger, envy, avarice, and hatred, and the story of the two fallen angels, Hārūt and Mārūt, as told in the Koran (Sura 2:96f.), could well illustrate the danger of followings one’s own sexual desires.’⁵³¹ The two angels are not inherently ‘evil’ (as

⁵²⁹ Stones: §359 & 361; Sandals: §356; Spitting: §355, 357, 358 & 360; Qibla: §574.

⁵³⁰ Cf. Bauckham, ‘Fall of the Angels’.

⁵³¹ Schimmel, Annemarie, “‘I take off the dress of the body’”: Eros in Sufi Literature’ in Sarah Coakley (ed.), *Religion and the Body* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) pp. 262 – 288, p. 265.

Jacques Waardenburg seems to suggest),⁵³² they simply fall foul to the problems and difficulties of human life.

The consequences of ritual impurity have often been viewed as less important in Islam than in other religions (especially Zoroastrianism and Judaism). This notion is based primarily on the fact that impurities, or more correctly, substances that cause pollution, do not cause a person to be immediately impure. The Islamic jurists also stress the fact that impurity is confined to the impure individual and that the pollution is not transferable. These *ḥadīth*, however, paint a rather different picture. Although impurity is still not transferred by contact with the polluted, anyone who comes into contact with the polluted individual *does* still suffer, albeit technically remaining clean.⁵³³ Pollution and polluting substances such as urine and excrement, therefore, do have a significant effect on others. The effect is manifested in the alienation of the angel that records the good actions of an individual: essentially, when an individual comes into contact with polluting substances or individuals, any good action that is performed cannot be recorded. The deepest effect, however, is on the polluted individual. Anyone who does not cover himself or herself, leaves urine to stagnate, or does not perform the *ghusl* after intercourse cannot perform any good actions. Whilst the individual is not *legally* impure until he or she performs a ritual action that requires ablutions (such as the *ṣalāt*), the individual remains *eschatologically disadvantaged*, as the state of pollution has clear consequences in the life to come.

There is also a clear purpose to these *ḥadīth*; they attempt to dissuade individuals from remaining in a state of ritual purity, as it not only affects their own

⁵³² ‘Among the angels only Hārūt and Mārūt (S. 2:102), because of their action in Babel, are bad...’; Waardenburg, ‘Changes of Belief’ p. 280.

⁵³³ i.e. if an individual enters a house in which there is a man in the state of *junub*, his angel would depart, but the individual remains clean when he has left the presence of the other person.

judgement, but the judgement of those that come into contact with them. The notion of *forbidding the wrong* is well known in Islam, but in these circumstances there is not necessarily any direct wrong. It is not illegal to be ritually unclean until the performance of the *ṣalāt* or other rites, but these *ḥadīth* imply that ritual impurity is morally or ethically *wrong*, or, at the very least, has negative consequences, encouraging the individual to avoid them.

If the angels are used to discourage certain types of negative behaviour, they are also used to encourage positive actions performed by a human. For example, the angel of good deeds writes down righteous deeds more often and the angel of misdeeds allows time for repentance.⁵³⁴ There are a number of other specific actions that generate a positive response from the angels, either the individual's scribes or other angels. The angels bless: pious young men (§604); those who wear turbans on Friday (§621 & 628); those that seek knowledge (§622 – 623) ; those who say 'the Lord of the Two Worlds' after someone sneezes (§634 & 635); those who perform the fast in Ramaḍān (§665 & 718); those who remember God (§666); those who put on a sword for the *jihād* (§672); those who make their way to Mecca for the *ḥajj* on foot (§676); those who pray for the deceased (§712); those who attend the Friday prayers and hear the sermon (§719 – 722 & 728); and those who circumambulate the *Ka'ba* (§671). The role of the angels is also to encourage certain positive actions through praise, support or blessing.

⁵³⁴ See §312, 319, 333 – 336, 341, 369, 382, 387, 391 & 445, as well as the discussion of this theme above; cf. §59 – 63, 503. §445 shows that it is not just the scribes that give preference to good actions, e.g. the angel that is responsible for noting who blesses Muḥammad: 'Gabriel came to me and said: 'Muḥammad, whoever blesses you from your community, God, Most High, writes a blessing for him, in it are ten good deeds, and it cancels out ten misdeeds,...

On more specific issues there are a number of *ḥadīth* that encourage Muslims to recite the Qur’ān in its entirety or on set occasions.⁵³⁵ The recitation of the Qur’ān was an important part of the ritual of the early Muslim community and there are numerous *ḥadīth* describing the merits of the Qur’ān (*faḍā’il al-Qur’ān*).⁵³⁶ The reading and recitation of the Qur’ān is important as it is the word of God, and as Frederick Denny comments: ‘Reciting the Qur’ān is akin to a sacramental act in that divine power and presence are brought near.’⁵³⁷ This divine presence is made particularly manifest in *al-Ḥabā’ik* with the presence of the angels, who are seen to aid the believers in their recitation or memorisation of the Qur’ān, e.g. §708: ‘The house in which the Qur’ān is recited comes into the view of the people of heaven, just as the stars come into the view of the people of earth.’⁵³⁸ This *ḥadīth* and others like it attempt to show a reward for reciting the Qur’ān, but whilst this just refers to the recitation of the Qur’ān in the home, §713 states that: ‘If the servant finishes the Qur’ān, sixty thousand angels pray for him...’ If there is intention to memorise the Qur’ān and an individual dies before being able to do so, §696 says that: ‘...an angel comes to him, and teaches it to him in his grave, and so he meets God, Most High, and he knows it by heart.’ An angel is also responsible for ‘correcting’ any

⁵³⁵ §692, 695, 696, 698 – 701, 708 & 713; there is also an angel that is responsible for correcting an individual who mispronounces something in the Qur’ān, §462 – 465.

⁵³⁶ Cf. al-Nawawī, Abū Zakāriyya Yaḥyā ibn Sharaf, *Al-Tibyān fī adāb ḥamalāt al-Qur’ān*; Furber, Musa (tr.), *Etiquette of the Qur’ān: Al-Tibyān fī adāb ḥamalāt al-Qur’ān* (Illinois: Starlatch, 2003) and al-Ghazālī, Abū Ḥamīd Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, *Iḥyā’ ‘ulūm al-dīn* (Cairo: Maṭba‘at ‘Īsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1348/1929-30) vol. 1, pp. 244 - 247; Abul Qaseem, Muhammad, *The Recitation and Interpretation of the Qur’ān: Al-Ghazālī’s Theory* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1979). See also Juynboll, G. H. A., ‘The Position of Qur’ān Recitation in Early Islam’ *JSS* 19 (1974) pp. 240 – 251 and Afsarrudin, Asma, ‘The Excellences of the Qur’ān: Textual Sacrality and the Organisation of Early Islamic Society’ *JAOS* 122 (2002) pp. 1 – 24. Qur’ān recitation remains an important part of Muslim devotional piety and is encouraged by the religious community through events such as Qur’ānic recitation competitions; cf. Gade, Anna M., ‘Motivating Qur’anic Practice in Indonesia by “Competing in Goodness”’ *JRS* 18 (2004) pp. 24 – 42.

⁵³⁷ Denny, Frederick M., ‘Islamic Ritual: Perspectives and Theories’ in Martin (ed.), *Approaches to Islam* pp. 63 – 77, p. 76; the story of Usayd ibn Ḥudayr and his experience of the *Sakīna* is an extreme example of this; see §297 and Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 5, pp. 82 – 83 for a fuller account.

⁵³⁸ §708; cf. §692 & 698.

misreading that a Qur'ānic reciter may make (§462 – 495), showing that the intention of reciting the Qur'ān is more important than necessarily achieving a perfect vocalisation of the text. There are also a number of *ḥadīth* that refer to specific verses and *suras* of the Qur'ān being particularly associated with angels, e.g. §699: 'The [Sura of the] Cow is the hump of the Qur'ān, and its climax. He sent down eighty angels with every verse.'⁵³⁹ All these *ḥadīth* help to encourage Muslims to read and recite the Qur'ān, by highlighting the benefits of doing so and the angels act as the mediators of these blessings.

Just as Qur'ānic recitation and knowledge of the Qur'ān are an important part of Islamic spirituality, the performance of the ritual prayers plays a central role. The prayers act as a '...bridge between the human being and God. In their essential form, the canonical prayers in Islam are an affirmation, as indeed all faith is, of God's mercy and majesty.'⁵⁴⁰ It has already been seen that the angels are used in *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* as a template for the pattern and form of earthly ritual and that individuals need to be ritually clean before performing the prayers. The angels are also seen in this collection to bless and support Muslims in the *ṣalāt*. In *Al-Ḥabā'ik*, the majority of the *ḥadīth* on this subject are positive, showing angelic support or praise for reciting the Qur'ān,⁵⁴¹ although §695 does say that: '...if he does not finish [the ritual prayers], the two [scribes] hit him on his face.' The main manifestation of this support is the presence of angels with Muslims as they pray:

'When a man stands up to perform the prayers in the desert of the Earth,
he performs the prayers with two angels behind him. If he is called to

⁵³⁹ See also §700 & 701, which say much the same about Q6 (Cattle).

⁵⁴⁰ Ayoub, Mahmoud, 'Thanksgiving and Praise in the Qur'ān and in Muslim Piety' *Islamochristiana* 15 (1989) pp. 1 – 10, p. 2.

⁵⁴¹ See §568 – 573, 576, 578 – 580, 598, 599, 614, 615, 617, 618, 716 & 717.

prayer, and stands up to perform the prayers, angels like the mountains are behind him.’⁵⁴²

The angels are also said to continue praying for an individual who has performed the ritual prayers,⁵⁴³ and to say ‘Amen’.⁵⁴⁴ One *ḥadīth* also states that the angels say ‘O God forgive him! O God, have mercy upon him’ for ‘as long as [he] is in his place of prayer’;⁵⁴⁵ encouraging Muslims to spend more time at prayer. The *ḥadīth* also praise other supererogatory acts of devotion and piety, including: blessing the Prophet;⁵⁴⁶ saying a prayer whilst passing the Yemeni corner of the Ka’ba (§458 – 460); saying ‘The Most Merciful of those that are Merciful’ (§466); and praying for the dead (§467 – 470). The idea behind all of these *ḥadīth* is not simply to encourage adherence to the prescribed regulations of ritual law (i.e. the performance of the ritual prayers), but to add to the religious and spiritual development of the individual. Above all, these actions play a key role in the daily remembrance of God (*dhikr*): ‘As long as man is occupied with the remembrance (*dhikr*) of God, he is free from worldly concerns, and thus there is little chance for Satanic insinuation and temptation (*waswās*).’⁵⁴⁷

Angels, therefore, play an important role in the encouragement and support of the community to perform both obligatory and supererogatory prayers and worship. The angels pray and worship with humans on earth, which creates harmony between divine and human devotions. Angels encourage certain types of behaviour by stating

⁵⁴² §568; see also §569 – 572; although the number of angels differs from four thousand (§571) to seventy thousand (§569), or just ‘many’ (§570).

⁵⁴³ §576, 578 – 580, 598.

⁵⁴⁴ §614, §615, 617 & 618.

⁵⁴⁵ §716.

⁵⁴⁶ §446, 447, 449 – 457; e.g. §447 ‘...Gabriel came to me and said: ‘God said: “Whoever blesses you, I will bless him, I and my angels tenfold; whoever wishes you peace, I and my angels will wish him peace tenfold.”’ See also Robson, J., ‘Blessings on the Prophet’ *MW* 26 (1936) pp. 365 – 371.

⁵⁴⁷ Nakamura, Kojiro, *Ghazali on Prayer* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo, 1973) p. 11.

that if humans behave in a certain way, the angels will pray for them. Other *ḥadīth* state that good actions are given more weight in the individual's *book*. All these indicate that certain actions give individuals a sense of *baraka*.

The notion of *commanding right and forbidding wrong* is an important and well-known concept in Islam, and the *ḥadīth* included in al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* go to some lengths to describe what behaviour should be encouraged and discouraged. The performance of ritual and the role of angels as the template or archetype for human ritual is an obvious example of *commanding right*. The visions of the heavenly world seek to authenticate the proper modes of ritual worship. The *ḥadīth* establish the sanctity of the *Ka'ba* as God's house, the necessity to constantly worship God and specific rituals associated with the pilgrimage.

If the *Ka'ba* is the *House of God*, then Muslims need to understand how they should approach it. When approaching God, it is necessary that the individual is in a state of *tahāra* and a number of different 'events' require an individual to cleanse himself or herself in preparation for encountering the divine. The rules that govern this approach to God are also applicable to the angels; the angels cannot come into contact with certain substances and states. The concept of *tahāra* has traditionally been seen as only important for the performance of the ritual prayers, but the *ḥadīth* in *al-Ḥabā'ik* clearly show that individuals are affected negatively before this. Whether or not being in a state of ritual impurity is 'wrong' (technically it is not until *tahāra* is obligatory), the *ḥadīth* clearly imply that it could be equated with a 'wrong'. The *ḥadīth* do not 'forbid' these actions or states, but they do firmly discourage them.

Just as angels are used to discourage particular actions, they are also used to encourage others. All of the actions that the angels encourage are those that focus the individual on God: recitation of the Qur'ān, the performance of the *ṣalāt*, listening to the Friday sermon, saying particular invocations *etc.* The performance of these actions generates blessings and prayers from the angels, which have clear benefits for the individual in his or her individual eschatological future.

3.3 The Purpose and Function of *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik*

The main focus of this chapter is the concept of time (or more specifically the notion of temporality) in the collection, in an attempt to understand the function of the work. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* is quite different to other eschatological works of mediaeval Islam and the reason why needs to be addressed.

The first section of this chapter has looked at the roles of the angels in the lives of every human and the second at their roles in Islamic ritual. The underlying theme is that the collection is concerned with everyday life. The work could be called *eschatological* in the sense that it is concerned with the final judgement, but it is not *eschatological* in the normal understanding. In Biblical Studies, Christopher Rowland has argued that eschatology is not simply concerned with the future, but can reflect contemporary events.⁵⁴⁸ However, even in Rowland's understanding of eschatology, the eschatology of the present still remains *eschatological*. Willem Bijlefeld, who applies the notion of eschatology in Biblical Studies to an Islamic context, comments that: 'Most scholars in this field reject this narrow interpretation of the term and see it as applicable to statements regarding the world to come and the last day(s) as well as to pronouncements regarding decisive turning points at a future date with the ongoing history of this world.'⁵⁴⁹ Even with a modified understanding of eschatology, Al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik* still remains quite distinct and cannot really be considered to be *eschatological*, despite being concerned with the divine world.

⁵⁴⁸ Rowland, 'Visions of God'.

⁵⁴⁹ Bijlefeld, 'Eschatology', p. 36.

What is important to consider is the fact that simply describing the divine world or divine creatures does not necessarily mean that a text is eschatological or apocalyptic.

This compilation is primarily focused on what angels are doing *now*, looking at what could be called the *angelic present*. This shifts the temporality of the compilation from an eschatological future to a contemporary reality. The work is not interested in the *angelic future*; there are no descriptions of the *eschaton* or the Final Day and even the post-mortem world of Munkar and Nakīr, heaven and hell *etc.* are limited to only a few *ḥadīth*. Similarly, the work is not concerned with the *angelic past*, and any references to the past, such as the creation of Adam, are cited because of their relevance to what angels do now.

What does this mean for the function of the work? Al-Suyūṭī seems to be aware of the importance of angels in human action and the work attempts to understand the angelic world and its relation to the human realm. The interaction between humans and angels occurs in a number of different ways, but is seen most clearly in the use of angels in ritual. The angels are both physically and contemporaneously *present* with the Muslim community as they perform ritual actions; the angels pray at the same time, the angels worship with individuals and so on. The collection also discusses how humans should behave given this continual contact with the angelic world. The angels react to certain types of human behaviour, both positively and negatively, and humans need to know about these, as they have important ramifications for an individual's future judgement.

It is misleading to suggest that *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* is not at all concerned with the eschatological future, as much of the information provided in the

ḥadīth is related to an individual's *eschatological future*.⁵⁵⁰ However, the compilation continually contextualises this *eschatological future* in terms of the interaction of humans and angels at this very moment in time. The *tours of hell* genre (including the *miʿrāj* literature) tend to use Heaven and Hell generally – warning Muslims of the consequences of right and wrong actions, and exhorting them to follow the *true path*. Vuckovic comments: ‘These stories of reward and punishment play an integral role in the *miʿraj* narratives and in the ongoing dialogue regarding appropriate morality, behaviour and even political allegiance.’⁵⁵¹ *Al-Ḥabāʾik* and the *miʿrāj* literature are both didactic, in that they attempt to teach and inform their readership, but they differ in their approaches. The *miʿrāj* literature tends to be parabolic; the descriptions of heaven and hell, although a future reality, are used to describe a *potential* future to which the reader must respond in order to avoid the punishments described. *Al-Ḥabāʾik* is not parabolic; rather it is *descriptive* of the current realities of *this world*, with the belief that certain actions will affect the individual's *personal eschatology*. Essentially, *al-Ḥabāʾik* informs its readers that the angels are ever present with humans in this life, at this very instant, and that human actions affect their relationship with the angels.

This chapter has focused on the interaction between humans and angels, but much of the information provided by the *ḥadīth* is encyclopaedic, explaining who the angels are, what they do, what they are called, what they look like and so on. This helps individuals to understand the angels and to identify with them, which is not the aim of the *miʿrāj* and eschatological works.

⁵⁵⁰ Cf. ‘That in the Qurʾān, and in general in Islam, the emphasis lies on individual or personal eschatology is undeniable.’ Bijlefeld, ‘Eschatology’ p. 36.

⁵⁵¹ Vuckovic, *Heavenly Journeys*, p. 120.

Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* draws together *ḥadīth* from a number of different areas of Islamic thought and practice (e.g. purity, folklore, science, law and visions of heaven and hell), seeking to understand the celestial world and the functions that the various angels perform. Beyond the specific details of the interactions between humans and angels, the *ḥadīth* make clear that the angels are intermediaries and that all of their actions are performed on behalf of God and not independently. This is essential, as the creation of individual, free angels would threaten Islamic monotheism. This focus on the *angelic present* is the main purpose and function of the work, distinguishing it from other *ḥadīth* collections about the divine world and attesting to the originality of al-Suyūṭī's approach to *ḥadīth* and their compilation.

Translation and Commentary

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وسنة تقي
 اما بعد حمد الله جاعل الملائكة رسلا اولي اجنحة مثنى وثلاث ورباع والصلوة
 والسلام على سيدنا محمد الالك الصفي الابن اعني في هذا اننا ليربط في خمسة من
 اخبار الملائكة الا بررا استوعبت فيها ثمانية الاحاديث والافان وحيث
 يفوا يدسهم بها اولو الانصار وسبته الحيات في اخبار الملائكة والله المسميا
 وعليه التكلان ذر وجوب الامانة بالملائكة قال الله تعالى من الرسول ما اترك
 اليه من ربه والمؤمنون كل امن بالله وملائكته قال البيهقي في شعب اليمان والامانة
 بالملائكة بتسليم مقاب احدها المضدين بوجودهم والثاني انزالهم منا وهو انما
 انهم عباد الله وخلقه كالانس والجن ما يورون مخلوقون لا يفقدون الا على ما تقدمهم
 الله عليه والموت عليهم جائز ولكن الله تعالى جعل لهم امداد فلا يموتون وهم يحيون
 ولا يبصقون عليهم يودي وصفهم بعباد الله تعالى لا يدعون لهم هبة
 كما دفعتم الاوائل والثالث الاعتراف بانهم حملة المرسلين منهم الصافون ومنهم
 خزنة الجنة ومنهم خزنة النار ومنهم كتبة الاعمال ومنهم الذين يسوفون الحساب فقد
 ورد القرآن بذلك كله اوبالكثره وروينا عن ابن عمر عن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم حين
 سئل عن الاعمال فقال الله تومن بالله وملائكته وكتبه ورسله من اد احق
 الملائكة والتمسك على الائمة احسنهم خلقا ليقول سفيان اخبرني
 عن عاتقة قالت قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم خلقت الملائكة من نور وخلق
 الجن من مادرج من نار وخلق ادم مما وصف لكم واخرج ابو الشيخ في كتابه
 عن ابن عمر قال خلق الله الملائكة من نور واخرج ابو الشيخ في كتاب العظمة عن
 عكرمة قال خلقت الملائكة من نور العزة واخرج ابو الشيخ عن زبير بن ربيعة
 انه بلغه ان الملائكة خلقت من روح الله كشر الملائكة جل جلاله تعالى
 وما يعلم جنود ربك الا هو واخرج الزوارق ابو الشيخ في كتابه في كتابه
 على الطهارة عن ابن عمر قال خلق الله الملائكة من نور وسفيان في ذلك ثم يقول
 ليس منكم الف الف الف فان الملائكة خلقتا اصغر من الدخان وليس في الترمذي
 الملائكة واخرج البيهقي في الشعب عن ابن سعد قال لما في السماء ما فيها
 لا عليها جهة ملك او قدماه ثم قرأوا النسخ الصافون واخرج ابو الشيخ عن سعيد
 بن جبير قال لما في السماء موضع الا وعليه ملك اما سا حذوا اما فاقم حججك فتشور
 لساعة واخرج احمد والترمذي وابن ماجه والحاكم عن ابن ابي عمير قال قال
 رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم اطت السماء وحظها ان تنظمتها موضع اربعة
 مواقع الا وعليه ملك واضم جهته واخرج ابو الشيخ عن عاتقة قال قال
 لسبي صلى الله عليه وسلم لما في السماء موضع فدم الا وعليه ملك سا حذوا فاقم ذلك

قوله

4.1 A Note on the Supporting Manuscript

University of Leiden, Or. 474(28) fol 187v – 245r (*Legatum Warnerarium*)⁵⁵²

The manuscript is a collection of forty-one texts, of which forty are attributed to Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūfī and they are all dated to 987 AH / 1579 – 1580 CE. The manuscript has had a relatively stable history, being collected by Levinus Warner (1619 - 1665), an ambassador of the Dutch Republic at the Ottoman court and held by the University of Leiden since 1669.⁵⁵³ This makes this manuscript of *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* a suitable basis for an *Urtext*.⁵⁵⁴ The Leiden MS and the modern edition edited by Abū Hājir Muḥammad al-Saʿīd ibn Basyūnī Zaghlūl are largely similar, with occasional exclusions, additions and use of synonyms.⁵⁵⁵

The text is written in a clear *nakhsh* with a text box containing thirty-one lines per folio. The text is written in black ink, with titles and the opening of each *ḥadīth* (i.e. *akhraja*) usually written in coloured ink. Throughout the text *hamza* is never written over a *kursī* but is simply marked by the long vowel, or, very occasionally, not at all. *Alif maqṣūra* is also usually written as a final-*yā'*. Most of

⁵⁵² I have been unable to study the MS personally, and the summary of the MS made below is based on observations of a facsimile copy of the text and on the information provided by Jan Just Witkam in his *Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts of the University of Leiden - Volume 1 – Manuscripts Or. 1 - Or. 1000* (Leiden: Ter Lugt Press, 2007) pp. 208 – 210. As a result, I am unable to provide details about the dimensions of the manuscript.

⁵⁵³ See Witkam, *Inventory*, p. 110; Witkam, Jan Just, 'The Oriental Manuscripts of the University of Leiden' *BJMES* 8 (1981) pp. 60 – 64.

⁵⁵⁴ The MS held by the Mingana Collection in Birmingham [MS Ar. 651i] is much later, dating to 1666 – 1667 CE; The MS held in the British Library [*Or. 9026/1*] is earlier than the Leiden MS and dates to 973 AH / 1566 CE; however, I have been unable to attain a facsimile of the MS and as the text dates to roughly the same period as the Leiden MS, I have principally used the Leiden MS as my *Urtext*.

⁵⁵⁵ This is referred to throughout as the 'DKI Edition'. A list of textual variants has been included in the Appendix.

the lines are justified, but occasionally the titles of some sections (but not all) are centrally justified with indentations. There are also occasionally added notes referring to the chapter headings in the margins, although these are fairly rare and were added later. There are no miniatures or ornamentations, apart from the occasional addition of text-stops.

Please also note the following:

(*Arabic text*) Arabic terms are occasionally added to clarify the translation.

[]^N Textual variants are shown in square brackets, with a footnote.

[] Square brackets (without a footnote) indicate phrases that have been added to clarify the translation.

.....(?) A dotted line with a question mark is used to mark places where the text appears to be corrupt.

[Nb] The numbering system of the DKI Edition has been followed. Any *ḥadīth* inserted by the Leiden MS have been marked with a ‘b’; i.e. §2b is inserted by the MS after *ḥadīth* §2 in the DKI Edition.

Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr

al-Suyūṭī al-Shāfiʿī

Al-Ḥabāʾik fī akhbār al-malāʾik

(The Arrangement of the Traditions

About Angels)

4.2.1 Preface

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.⁵⁵⁶

‘Praise belongs to God, who appointed the Angels to be messengers, having wings, two, three and four...’⁵⁵⁷ Blessings and peace upon our lord Muḥammad, and upon the House, the Companions and the Successors. I have put together this small compilation of traditions about the righteous angels. I have included in it those traditions and narrations which mention them, and I have ended it with a useful lesson, which will make those who see it glad. I have called it: *The Arrangement of the Traditions About Angels*.⁵⁵⁸ By God, the Helper!⁵⁵⁹ Trust is in him!

4.2.2 The Necessity of Belief in Angels⁵⁶⁰

God, Most High, says: ‘The Messenger believes in what was sent down to him from his Lord, and the believers; each one believes in God and His angels’⁵⁶¹ Al-Bayhaqī⁵⁶² says in *Shu‘ab al-īmān*:⁵⁶³ Belief in angels incorporates [the following] ideas: firstly, faith in their existence; secondly, [that] their being sent down [by God]

⁵⁵⁶ This introduction follows a standard format employed by al-Suyūṭī in his ḥadīth collections, consisting of: a relevant Qur’ānic quotation, laudations, a description of the work’s contents, its title and a prayer or oath; cf. his *al-Hay’a al-sanīya fī-‘l-haya’ al-sunnīya*; Heinen, *Islamic Cosmology*, p. 1.

⁵⁵⁷ Q 35:1; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 444.

⁵⁵⁸ For a discussion of the title, see Section 1.3 above.

⁵⁵⁹ cf. Q 12:18; Arberry *Koran*, p. 227.

⁵⁶⁰ The section is given the full title: *dhukira wujūb al-īmān bi-‘l-malā’ika* = What is mentioned [concerning] the necessity of belief in angels.

⁵⁶¹ Q 2:285; Arberry *Koran*, p. 43

⁵⁶² See the Appendix for notes on each of al-Suyūṭī’s sources.

⁵⁶³ The text that starts here and ends after the first ḥadīth in the collection is lifted directly from al-Bayhaqī’s *Shu‘ab al-īmān*; see al-Bayhaqī, Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī, *Al-Jāmi‘ al-shu‘ab al-īmān* (Bombay: Dār al-Salifiyya, 1986) vol. 1, pp. 405 - 406.

is their status [in the universe] and a proof that they are servants of God. He created them like humans and jinn, ordered and entrusted [with a task]. They have no authority, save that over which God gives them authority and it is right that they should die;⁵⁶⁴ but God, Most High, has given them an end in distant time; indeed, he will not receive them until they reach it.⁵⁶⁵ They are not described by anything that would, through describing them by it, lead to them being associated with God, Most High; and so they are not called *gods*, as the ancients called them.⁵⁶⁶

Thirdly: recognition that from amongst [them are messengers, which he sends to whichever human he wishes, and it is also allowed that he sends some of them to some;]⁵⁶⁷ from recognition of that, it follows that among them are the Bearers of the Throne, the Rangers, the Guardians of Paradise, the Guardians of Hell, the Recorders of Deeds, and the Cloud Drivers; indeed the Qur'an shows all of it or most of it.

[1] We related⁵⁶⁸ from Ibn 'Umar [from 'Umar]⁵⁶⁹ from the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation), when he was asked about faith; he said: Believe in God, His angels, His Book and His messengers.⁵⁷⁰

⁵⁶⁴ Lit: 'death is upon them rightly...'

⁵⁶⁵ i.e. the *ajal* of the angels is, like that of humans, fixed and immovable.

⁵⁶⁶ In the Qur'ān, the Meccans are told that their deities are not divine, but are merely angels; cf. Q 34:40 & 43:19; Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 442 & 506. See also Hawting, *The Idea of Idolatry* and Welch, 'Allah and Other Supernatural Beings' pp. 733 – 758.

⁵⁶⁷ Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 187v, l. 12.

⁵⁶⁸ Almost all of the ḥadīth begin with the Arabic *akhrāja* to introduce each ḥadīth; this has not been translated, but its absence is noted. In this case the ḥadīth is preceded by *wa-rawaynā*.

⁵⁶⁹ Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 187v, l. 14.

⁵⁷⁰ cf. Q 2:285 & 4:136; this is the end of the quotation from al-Bayhaqī's *Shu'ab al-īmān*.

4.2.3 The Origin of the Creation of the Angels and the Proof that their Substance is in Contradiction to the Philosophers⁵⁷¹

[2] [Muslim]⁵⁷² from ʿĀʾisha; she said: The Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: The angels were created out of light, the Father of the Jinn⁵⁷³ was created out of a mixture of fire and Adam was created out of what characterizes you.

[2b]⁵⁷⁴ Abū ʿl-Shaykh in his *Kitāb al-ʿazama*⁵⁷⁵ from ibn ʿAmr; he said: God created the angels out of light.

[3] Abū ʿl-Shaykh in *Kitāb al-ʿazama* from ʿIkrima; he said: The angels were created from the light of the Glorious One.

[4] Abū ʿl-Shaykh⁵⁷⁶ from Zayd ibn Rūmān; that he heard that the angels were created from the spirit of God.

⁵⁷¹ In Islamic philosophy, angels were believed to be Intellects and were incorporeal; for a discussion of this see Corbin, Henry (tr. W. R. Trask), *Avicenna and the Visionary Recital* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961) pp. 46 – 122 and Netton, *Allah Transcendent*, pp. 162 – 172.

⁵⁷² Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 187v, l. 16.

⁵⁷³ *al-Jānn*; this can be used as the collective noun for *jinn*, or as a reference to Iblīs. See Lane, *AELex* pp. 462 & 2704; al-Zabīdī, *TA* vol. 34, pp. 370 – 371 and Zbinden, Ernst, *Die Djinn des Islam und der altorientalische Geisterglaube* (Bern: Verlag Paul Haupt, 1953) pp. 3 – 8.

⁵⁷⁴ Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 187v, ll. 18 – 19.

⁵⁷⁵ Sezgin says that the *Kitāb al-ʿazama* is ‘ein mystisches Buch, in dem er sich auf den *ṣaḥābī* ʿAlī b. Salām beruft, dem die Schriften des Propheten Daniel in die Hände gefallen sin sollen.’ Sezgin, *GAS* vol. 1, p. 201.

⁵⁷⁶ Al-Suyūṭī does not cite the book from which the *ḥadīth* is taken again, unless two books have been used (as will be seen later). This *ḥadīth* is from the *Kitāb al-ʿazama*.

4.2.4 The Great Abundance of the Angels

[God] Most High said: ‘And none knows the hosts of the Lord but He.’⁵⁷⁷

[5] al-Bazzār, Abū ‘l-Shaykh and Ibn Mandah in *Kitab al-radd ‘alā al-jahamiyyah* from Ibn ‘Amr; he said: God created the angels out of light and He brought them to life out of it. Then He said: ‘Let there be a thousand thousands of you.’ A single angel is smaller than a fly⁵⁷⁸ and there is nothing more numerous than the angels.

[6] al-Bayhaqī in *Al-Shu‘ab* from Ibn Mas‘ūd; he said: There is no place in the heavens without a face of an angel or its two feet; then he recited: ‘we are the rangers (*sāfūna*).’⁵⁷⁹

[7] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Sa‘īd ibn Jubayr; he said: There is no place in heaven without an angel, be it bowed down in worship or standing upright⁵⁸⁰ until the Hour comes.

[8] Aḥmad, al-Tirmidhī, Ibn Mājah, and al-Ḥākim from Abū Dharr; he said: The Messenger of God⁵⁸¹ (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: Heaven groaned

⁵⁷⁷ Q 74:3; Arberry *Koran*, p. 617.

⁵⁷⁸ Flies are used as the generic term for something incredibly small, e.g. Q 22:73; ‘Surely those upon whom you call, apart from God, shall never create a fly...’ Arberry, *Koran*, p. 341.

⁵⁷⁹ Q 37:165; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 462.

⁵⁸⁰ This and the following ḥadīth with the same phrase could be an allusion to Q 22:26 or 39:9; Arberry *Koran*, pp. 336 and 472.

⁵⁸¹ The Leiden MS reads ‘al-nabī’; fol. 187v, l. 31.

– and it could do nothing but groan!⁵⁸² There is no place in [heaven] to set four fingers except upon the place of an angel’s forehead.⁵⁸³

[9] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from ‘Ā’isha; she said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: There is nowhere to place a foot in heaven, except upon an angel prostrating or standing upright – and so the Word [of the Most High]:⁵⁸⁴ ‘None of us is there, but has a known station; we are the rangers’.⁵⁸⁵

[10] Ibn Abī Ḥātim, al-Ṭabarānī, al-Ḍiyā’ in *al-Mukhtāra*, and Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Ḥakīm ibn Ḥizām; he said: While the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) was with his friends, he said to them: ‘Did you hear what I heard?’ They said: ‘We have not heard anything.’ He said: ‘Indeed, I heard the creaking of the heavens, and it is not to blame for its creaking; there is no place in it [for a foot],⁵⁸⁶ except upon an angel bowed down in worship or standing.’

[11] al-Ṭabarānī from Jābir ibn ‘Abd Allāh; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: There is no place for a foot in the Seven Heavens,⁵⁸⁷ nor a hand outstretched, nor a palm of the hand, without an angel standing or an angel prostrating in [that place]; when it is the Day of Resurrection,

⁵⁸² *attat / ta’itta* [’-Ṭ-Ṭ]. This is a relatively rare root meaning to groan or creak, often with particular reference to camels (be it the camel itself or a saddle &c.). This particular *ḥadīth* is usually cited as an example in the lexicons – see Ibn Manẓūr, *LA*, vol. 19, pp. 164 – 165 and Lane, *AELex*, p. 66.

⁵⁸³ This same *ḥadīth* also appears in al-Tha’labī, *QA*, p. 17; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 28.

⁵⁸⁴ Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 188r, l. 1.

⁵⁸⁵ Q 37:164 – 165; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 462.

⁵⁸⁶ Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 188r, l. 4.

⁵⁸⁷ The concept of ‘Seven Heavens’ is also important in Judaism and Christianity; see Collins, Adela Yarbo, ‘The Seven Heavens in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses’ in Collins and Fishbane, *Other Worldly Journeys*, pp. 59 - 93.

they will say [together]:⁵⁸⁸ ‘We worship you! We have only worshipped You in a manner worthy of You. We have not associated anything with You.’⁵⁸⁹

[12] al-Dīnawārī in *al-Mujālasa* from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Zayd ibn Aslam; he said: There is nothing more numerous in God’s creation than the angels: [for] none of the sons of Adam are without two angels,⁵⁹⁰ the driver who drives him, and the watcher, who watches him;⁵⁹¹ therefore, there are twice the number of the sons of Adam; then in addition to that, the heavens [and the earth]⁵⁹² are crammed full, and beyond the heavens are yet still [more]: those around the Throne⁵⁹³ are more numerous than those which are in the heavens.

[13] Abū ʿl-Shaykh from Abū Saʿīd from the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation), he said: In the Garden [there is] a river⁵⁹⁴ and Gabriel does not enter it, get out and shake himself, without God creating an angel from every drop that falls from him.⁵⁹⁵

[14] Abū ʿl-Shaykh from Wahb ibn Munnabih; he said: God has a river in the air, covering the earths, all of them. Seven times [a day] God sends into that river an

⁵⁸⁸ Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 188r, l. 6.

⁵⁸⁹ cf. al-Thaʿlabī, *QA*, p. 14; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 23.

⁵⁹⁰ § 312 – 406 deal with the Scribes in more detail.

⁵⁹¹ Cf. Q 50:21: *wa-jāʿat kullu nafsin maʿahā sāʾiqun wa-shahīdun*; ‘And every soul shall come, and with it a driver and a witness.’ Arberry, *Koran*, p. 540.

⁵⁹² Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 188r, ll. 9 – 10.

⁵⁹³ These angels are presumably additional to the *ḥamlat al-ʿarsh* (Bearers of the Throne).

⁵⁹⁴ In the pre-Islamic pantheon *Allah* was both the creator of the world and the rain-god; the Qurʾān emphasises the supremacy of *Allah* as the creator and the life-sustainer, as it is He and He alone that provides humans with water, and by extension life: ‘[Water] reveals aspects of the dependence of creation on him, his dealings with it, and its duty to serve him.’ Johns, Anthony H., ‘Water’ *EQ* vol. 5, p. 462.

⁵⁹⁵ Although containing a few ḥadīth that locate the origins of rain in heaven, al-Suyūfī’s *al-Hayʾa* does not include this ḥadīth (nor any others included in this collection); see Heinen, *Islamic Cosmology*, pp. 160 – 164.

angel from heaven, and it gets into it, immersing the whole of its body, then it washes in it; when it gets out, rain [falls] from it; rain is from light, and from every raindrop emanates⁵⁹⁶ an angel, which praises God; all of creation praises God.⁵⁹⁷

[15] Abū 'l-Shaykh from al-Awzā^cī; he said: Moses (peace be upon him) said: 'Lord, who is with you in heaven?' He said: 'My angels.' He said: 'How many are there, Lord?' He said: 'Twelve tribes.' He said: 'How many does each tribe add up to?' He said: 'The sum of the dust [of the earth].'

[16] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Ka^cb; he said: Nothing trickles from an angel's eye unless there is an angel flying from the fear of God.⁵⁹⁸

[17] Abū 'l-Shaykh from al-^cAlā' ibn Hārūn; he said: Every day, Gabriel is immersed in the al-Kawthar,⁵⁹⁹ and then he shakes himself; and so every raindrop is created from an angel.

⁵⁹⁶ The Leiden MS reads '*fa-khalaqa min kulla qatra malakan*' ['He creates an angel from every raindrop or An angel is created (*fa-khuliqa*) from every raindrop]; fol. 188r, l. 14.

⁵⁹⁷ See also §172 – 177 for ḥadīth on the Angel of the Rain. Rain was believed to come from angels, e.g. al-Shahrastānī, Abū 'l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Karīm, *Al-Milāl wa-'l-nihāl* (Tūfiq, M. (ed)), (Cairo: Matba'at Hijāzī bi-'l-Qāhira, 1948), vol. 2, p. 111; for secondary material, see Lawrence, Bruce B., 'Shahrastānī on Indian Idol Worship' *SI* 38 (1973), pp. 61 – 73, p. 67 and for this belief in modern practice, see: Başgöz, İlhan, 'Rain-Making Ceremonies and Seasonal Festivals' *JAOS* 87 (1967) pp. 304 – 306, p. 305. The Angel of the Rain is named as *Ridya* in the Babylonian Talmud; see *Ta'* 25b, p. 133 and *Yom.* 21a, p. 90. A similar ḥadīth to this appears in Al-Tha^clabī, *QA* p. 16 - 17; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 23. However, the ḥadīth is attributed to Abū Hurrayah, and Gabriel immerses himself in a *baḥr min nūr* (a sea of light). Ibn Khaldūn also includes similar imagery when describing Jesus' return at the end of time, see Ibn Khaldūn, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad al-Maghribī (ed. Muṣṭafā Fahmī al-Kutbī), *al-Muqaddima min al-kitāb al-^cibar* (Cairo: Matba'at al-Taḥaddam bi-Sharḥ Muḥammad 'Alī, n.d.) p. 259; Rosenthal, Franz (tr.), *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History (Second Edition)* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967) vol. 2, p. 194.

⁵⁹⁸ In the Qur'ān and the ḥadīth weeping is generally not discouraged; cf. Chittick, William C., 'Weeping in Classical Sufism' in Kimberley Christine Patton and John Stratton Hawley (eds.), *Holy Tears: Weeping in The Religious Imagination* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005) pp. 132 – 144, pp. 132 – 134.

⁵⁹⁹ A river in paradise, also shown to Muḥammad during the *Mi^crāj*. See Alvarado, Salustio, 'Sobre al-Kawthar y Otros Ríos del Paraíso en la Eschatología Islámica y Cristiana' *BAEO* 41 (2005) pp. 247

[18] Abū ‘l-Shaykh through the intermediary of Mujāhid from Ibn ‘Abbās from the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation); he said: There is no creation of God more numerous than the angels; there is nothing that grows without an angel being responsible for it.

[19] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from al-Ḥakam; he said: I heard that He sends down with the rain [such and such]⁶⁰⁰ from the angels, more numerous than the sons of Adam and the sons of Iblīs. [The angels] record every raindrop, where it falls and who is sustained by that plant.

[20] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Wahb; he said: The Seven Heavens are filled with angels; if you measured a hair,⁶⁰¹ you would not be able to compare it with something you had already measured;⁶⁰² amongst them one is standing still, one prostrated and one worshipping, terrified and shaking their wings in fear⁶⁰³ of God. Not even the blink of an eye disobeys him. The distance between the back and the head of one of the Bearers of the Throne is a journey of a hundred years.

– 253; Horovitz, J [-Gardet, L.], ‘Kawthwar’ *EF*² vol. 4, pp. 805 – 806; and El-Zein, Amira, ‘Water of Paradise’ *EQ* vol. 5, pp. 466 – 467; cf. *GenR* 78:1, p. 714 – 715 and *LamR* 3:2 §8, pp. 201 – 202.

⁶⁰⁰ This has been inserted on the basis of an extremely similar ḥadīth which appears in al-Suyūṭī’s *Al-Ḥay’a al-sanīya*. The ḥadīth reads: ‘...wayanzilu ma’a kadhā wa-kadhā min al-malā’ika yatukbūna ḥaythu yaqa’u dhālika ‘l-maṭar wa-man yarzuquhu wa-mā yakhruju minhu ma’a kulla qaṭra.’ §VI:27; Heinen, *Islamic Cosmology*, p. 26.

⁶⁰¹ cf. al-Tha’labī, *QA*, p. 13; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 22.

⁶⁰² i.e. the angel’s hair is immeasurable.

⁶⁰³ The Leiden MS uses the slightly stronger ‘faraqan’ (*terrified*); fol. 188r, l. 25.

[20b]⁶⁰⁴ Ibn Abī Ḥātim from Ka^cb; he said: There is no place [the size] of the eye of a needle⁶⁰⁵ without an angel being responsible for it, raising knowledge about it up to God and the angels of heaven; [the angels] are more numerous than the number of specks of dust and as small.

[21] Ibn al-Mundhir in his *Tafsīr* from ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr; it was attributed to [Muḥammad]; he said: The angels are in ten parts: nine parts are Cherubim, who glorify God night and day, without rest; and one part is responsible for everything that is hidden. There is no place in the heavens without a worshipper or an angel bowing; and the sacred place is around the Throne, and the Inhabited House⁶⁰⁶ is around the Ka^cba; if it were to come down, then it would come down on top of it. Every day seventy thousand angels pray in it;⁶⁰⁷ then they do not come back to it.

[22] Ibn al-Mundhir from ʿAmr al-Bakālī; he said: God, [Most High],⁶⁰⁸ divided the angels into ten parts, nine parts are the Cherubim, and they are the angels who bear the Throne, and they are also those who worship God night and day, without rest. He said: The remaining angels are for God's orders and messages.⁶⁰⁹

⁶⁰⁴ The Leiden MS inserts this ḥadīth; fol. 188r, ll. 26 – 28.

⁶⁰⁵ A common metaphor in Islam; cf. Q 7:40; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 147 (although the phrase is *samm al-khiyāṭ*); much has been written about this Qur'ānic phrase: cf. Bishop, Eric F. F., 'The Eye of the Needle' *MW* 31 (1941) pp. 354 – 359 and Rippin, A. 'Qur'ān 7:40: «Until a Camel Pases through the Eye of the Needle»' *Arabica* 27 (1980) pp. 107 – 113.

⁶⁰⁶ Q. 52:4; the *bayt al-ma'mur* is thought to be the seventh heaven and it is said to be located directly above the Ka^cba. See Porter, 'Muhammad's Journey p. 77 and Morris, 'The Spiritual Ascension of Ibn ʿArabī' *JAOS* 107 (1987) pp. 636, n. 35 & *JAOS* 108 (1988) p. 69 n. 169; cf. also Al-Tha^clabī, *QA* p. 16 - 17; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 27.

⁶⁰⁷ 70,000 is a traditional number in Islamic tradition for the size of an angelic army; cf. Al-Tha^clabī, *QA* p. 14; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 23.

⁶⁰⁸ Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 188v, l. 2

⁶⁰⁹ There is a scribal error in the Leiden MS with a repetition of 'and they are the angels who bear the Throne, and they are also those who worship God night and day, without rest...'; fol. 188v, ll. 4 – 5.

[23] Ibn Abī Hātim through the intermediary of Khabīb⁶¹⁰ ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Salmān Abū ʿl-Aʿīs from his father; he said: Humans and jinn are in ten parts, humans form one part and jinn nine parts; the jinn and the angels are in ten parts, the jinn are one part, the angels nine; the angels and the Spirit are ten parts, the angels are one part, the Spirit nine; the Spirit and the Cherubim are ten parts, the Spirit forms one part of it, the Cherubim are nine parts.⁶¹¹

[24] Abū ʿl-Shaykh, al-Bayhaqī in *Shuʿab al-īmān*, al-Khaṭīb and Ibn ʿAsākir thorough the intermediary of ʿUbbād ibn Maṣṣūr from ʿĀdī ibn Arṭā from one of his worthy friends - ʿUbbād said: I have forgotten his name - from the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation); he said: God has angels which tremble [in fear of Him].⁶¹² There is no angel from amongst them that does not shed a tear from its eyes, except an angel found standing, praising God. Angels were prostrating when God created the heavens and the earth and they did not raise their heads,⁶¹³ and they will not raise them until the Day of Resurrection; angels were bowing, and they did not raise their heads, and they will not raise them until the Day of Resurrection; and those that were posted, they have not left their posts, and they will not leave them until the Day of Resurrection. Thus, when it is the Day of Resurrection, it will be made manifest to them by their Lord (may He be praised and glorified) and they will look at Him, and they will say, ‘Praise be to You, we have served You just as we should.’

⁶¹⁰ Given in the Leiden MS as ‘Ibn Khabīb ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān...’; fol. 188v, l. 6.

⁶¹¹ If these numbers were read as ‘for every one human there are ten jinn’ the final number of Cherubim would be 10,000 (a myriad - which is a traditional number for counting angels, cf. Deut. 33:2 and Rev. 5:11) for every human; however, as read, the total number are 6,561 cherubim for every human.

⁶¹² Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 188v, l. 10.

⁶¹³ cf. Al-Thaʿlabī, *QA* p. 14; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 23.

[25] Ibn Mandah in *al-Maʿrifa* and Ibn ʿAsākir from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-ʿĀlāʾ from Banū Sāʿada from his father al-ʿĀlāʾ ibn Saʿd, from someone who submitted on the Day of Victory⁶¹⁴ that the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) said one day at a social gathering, ‘Did you hear what I heard?’ They said: ‘What have you heard, Messenger of God?’ He said, ‘I heard the sky groan, and it could do nothing but groan! There is no place for a foot in it without an angel standing or bowing down or prostrating in [that place]; then he recited: ‘We are the rangers,⁶¹⁵ We are they that give glory.’⁶¹⁶

[26] Ibn Jarīr from al-Rabīʿ ibn Anas concerning His Word: ‘And he taught Adam the names, all of them’⁶¹⁷ he said: The names of the angels.

4.2.5 The Four Archangels⁶¹⁸ who are in charge of the command of the World

[27] [Ibn Abī Shayba],⁶¹⁹ Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Abū ʿl-Shaykh in *al-ʿAzama*, al-Bayhaqī in *al-Shuʿab* from Ibn Sābīṭ; he said: Four are in charge of the command of this world:

⁶¹⁴ Namely, the conquest of Mecca – see *AELex* (1984) p. 2328; cf. Ibn Ishāq, *Sīra*; Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, p. 533.

⁶¹⁵ Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 188v, l. 18.

⁶¹⁶ Q 37:166; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 462.

⁶¹⁷ Q 2:31; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 5.

⁶¹⁸ Although there is no designation of ‘archangel’ in Islamic angelology as such, the Greek *αρχαγγελος* is translated into Arabic as *raʿīs malāʾika*; cf. 1Th. 4:16; *UBS* p. 703; and the Mount Sinai Codex 151 (dated to 867 C.E.), Staal, H. (ed.), *Mt. Sinai Codex 151 – I:Pauline Epistles* (Louvain: E. Peeters, 1983) p. 173. This is also the standard translation in modern translations of the Bible into Arabic: see *Kitāb al-ʿahd al-jadīd* (Cambridge: Jamʿīyat al-tawrā al-brīṭānīyya wa-ʿl-ajnaḥīyya, 1917) p. 233.

⁶¹⁹ Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 188v, ll. 20 – 21.

Gabriel, Michael, the Angel of Death and Isrāfīl.⁶²⁰ As for Gabriel, he is responsible for the winds and the army;⁶²¹ Michael⁶²² is responsible for the rain and the plants;⁶²³ the Angel of Death is responsible for the taking of the souls; and Isrāfīl, he is sent down to them with the command [of God].

[28] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Ibn Sābīṭ; he said: 'In the *Umm al-Kitāb*, everything will be in existence until the Day of Resurrection, and three of the angels are responsible for preserving [existence]: Gabriel is responsible for the Book, which he brings down to the Messengers, and Gabriel is also responsible for the acts of destruction when God has willed [Gabriel] to annihilate peoples; and he is responsible for victory in battle.⁶²⁴ Michael is responsible for preservation [of life], rain and the plants of the earth. The Angel of Death is responsible for the taking of the souls. When this world comes [to an end], they [will compare] what they have preserved to the *Umm al-Kitāb* (?),⁶²⁵ and they will find it to be the same. Ibn Abī Shayba narrated it.⁶²⁶

[29] Al-Bayhaqī, al-Ṭabarānī and Abū 'l-Shaykh from Ibn 'Abbās; he said: While the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) was with Gabriel, who

⁶²⁰ Gabriel is mentioned three times in the Qur'ān (Q 2:97, 98 and 64:4), Michael once (Q 2:98); the Angel of Death once (Q 32:11) and Isrāfīl is not mentioned.

⁶²¹ Gabriel has a similar role in the Talmud; cf. *BB* 74b, p. 297 and *San.* 19b, p. 99 & 95b, p. 644.

⁶²² The Leiden MS reads 'Isrāfīl' in error; fol. 188v, l. 22.

⁶²³ In Islamic tradition, Michael is frequently associated with nature and the sustenance of humans, cf. al-Qazwīnī, *Ajā'ib*, p. 37.

⁶²⁴ Cf. the Battle of Badr; Ibn Ishāq, *Sīra*, pp. 303ff.; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* vol. 1, pp. 56 – 57, 79 and 113.

⁶²⁵ The Leiden MS reads: '...*al-dunyā jam' bayn huḏūhim wamā fī umm al-kitāb fa-yajidūnahu siwā*' fol. 188v, l. 23. However, both the Arabic of the Leiden MS and the DKI edition are unclear, and the ḥadīth appears to be corrupted.

⁶²⁶ Ibn Abī Shayba is mentioned at the start of the ḥadīth in the Leiden MS; fol. 188v, l. 20.

was confiding in him;⁶²⁷ suddenly, the highest heaven was split open and Gabriel began to become smaller and [an angel]⁶²⁸ drew close and came nearer to the earth, and there was an angel standing directly in front of the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation), he said: ‘Muḥammad, your Lord greets you; and He gives you the choice between becoming an angelic prophet or a human prophet.’⁶²⁹ The Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: Then Gabriel beckoned to me with his hand that I should be humble,⁶³⁰ and I knew that he was my guide, so I said: ‘A human prophet.’

Then that angel ascended into heaven, and I said: ‘Gabriel, I have wanted to ask you about this, but seeing your form⁶³¹ distracted me from my asking the question. Who is this, Gabriel?’ He said: ‘This is Isrāfīl. On the day of his creation, God created him with his feet lined up directly in front of him; he does not look up; between him and the Lord are Seventy Lights; and from these there is no light close to Him, save it being consumed by fire; between his hands is the *Preserved Tablet*,⁶³² when God allows anything in heaven or in earth, that tablet ascends, [descends]⁶³³ and it hits [Isrāfīl] on the forehead. Then [Isrāfīl] sees and if there is anything for me to do, he orders me to do it; and if there is anything for Michael to do, he orders him to do it; and if there is anything for the Angel of Death to do, he orders him to do it.’

⁶²⁷ In Islamic tradition Muḥammad is often alone when he encounters Gabriel, e.g. in the narrative of the first revelation, Muḥammad seeks seclusion on Mount Ḥirā’ before meeting the angel; see al-Bukhārī, Muḥammad ibn Isma‘īl, *Ṣaḥīḥ* (Riyadh: Bayt al-Afkār al-Dawliyya, 1998), §3, pp. 3 – 4.

⁶²⁸ As Gabriel is already with Muḥammad, it must be the other angel (Isrāfīl) who is approaching.

⁶²⁹ Lit.: ‘servant prophet’.

⁶³⁰ Lit.: ‘you should be humble’ – but this does not make sense.

⁶³¹ Lit.: ‘state’ or ‘condition’ – i.e. when Gabriel became small.

⁶³² This is generally considered to be above the Seventh Heaven. Daniel Madigan notes that, ‘Taken literally, [these images of writing] are difficult to read as a whole. Alternatively, they can be read, and often are in the Islamic tradition, as complementary, symbolic representations of God’s knowledge and will.’ Madigan, Daniel A., ‘Preserved Tablet’ *EQ* vol. 4, p. 262.

⁶³³ This is not included in the text, but the Tablet needs to come back down to Isrāfīl.

I said: ‘Gabriel, What are you responsible for?’ He said: ‘For the winds and the army.’ I said: ‘What is Michael responsible for?’ He said: ‘For the plants and the rain.’ I said: ‘What is the Angel of Death responsible for?’ He said: ‘For the taking of the souls.’ [Muḥammad said]: ‘And I do not think that [Isrāfīl] will descend [to earth] until the coming of the Hour. What you have seen [in the way of my behaviour] is nothing but fear of the coming of the Hour.’

[30] Abū ‘l-Shaykh in *al-‘Azama* from Jābir ibn ‘Abd Allāh; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: The creations closest to God are Gabriel, Michael and Isrāfīl; the distance between them and God is a journey of fifty thousand years:⁶³⁴ Gabriel is on his right and Michael on the other, with Isrāfīl between them.

[31] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Wahb; he said: These four are angels:⁶³⁵ Gabriel, Michael, Isrāfīl and the Angel of Death; [they were] the first of the creations of God, [and they will be] the last whom God will cause to die; [and] the first of those whom God will bring to life; they are the ones who organize a command,⁶³⁶ and they are the ones who carry out an order.⁶³⁷

⁶³⁴ The Leiden MS reads ‘five thousand years’; fol. 189r, l. 12.

⁶³⁵ *Amlāk*: the plural of paucity (*jum‘ al-qilla*) for *malak*– i.e. referring to 3 – 10 angels. Elsewhere in the text no number is given, as it is here. For more on these plurals see Ratcliffe, Robert R., *The Broken Plural Problem in Arabic and Comparative Semitic* (Amsterdam : J. Benjamins, 1998) p. 69f. and ‘Abbās Abū ‘l-Su‘ūd, *Al-Fayṣal fī alwān al-jumū‘* (Cairo: Dar al-Ma‘ārif bi-Miṣr, 1971) pp. 33 – 44.

⁶³⁶ Cf. Q 79:5 and al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* vol. 30, pp. 30 - 31; the *mudabbirāt* are said to be angels.

⁶³⁷ Cf. Q 51:4 and al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* vol. 26, pp. 187 – 188; the *muqassimāt* are said to be angels.

[32]⁶³⁸ Abū 'l-Shaykh from Khālid ibn Abī 'Imrān; he said: Gabriel is the agent of God to His messengers, and Michael receives the Book which is sent up concerning the deeds of the people; and Isrāfīl is in the role of the gatekeeper.

[33] Abū 'l-Shaykh from 'Ikrima ibn Khālid that a man said: 'Messenger of God, which angel is the dearest to God?' He said: 'I do not know.' Gabriel came to him, so he said: 'Gabriel, which of the creations is dearest to God?' He said: 'I do not know.' So Gabriel ascended, then descended and said: 'Gabriel, Michael, Isrāfīl and the Angel of Death. As for Gabriel, he is responsible for war and the messengers; as for Michael, he is responsible every raindrop that falls, every leaf that grows and every leaf that falls; as for the Angel of Death, he is responsible for the taking of the soul of every servant on land and sea; and as for Isrāfīl, he is the intermediary of God between Him and between them.'

[34] al-Ṭabarānī and al-Ḥākim from Abū 'l-Malīḥ from his father, that he was performing the two ritual prostrations of the morning prayers with the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation), and he was praying near him; and the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) performed two lively prostrations, and I heard him say three times: 'O God, the Lord of Gabriel, Michael, Isrāfīl and Muḥammad, I take refuge in you from the Fire.'⁶³⁹

⁶³⁸ This ḥadīth is omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 189r, l. 15.

⁶³⁹ This is said as part of the prayers said during the circumambulation of the Ka'ba during the hajj; see Kamal, Ahmad, 'The Sacred Journey' in A. de L. Rush (ed.), *Records of the Hajj – Vol. 1: Prayer, Invocations and Rites* (London: Archive Editions), p. 159; it is also reminiscent of Q 11:47; 23:97 and 23:98; Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 216 and 350.

[35] Aḥmad in *al-Zuhd* from ʿĀ’isha that the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) fainted while his head was in her lap,⁶⁴⁰ and she began to stroke his face and pray for him to be cured. When he came to, he said: ‘No! Do not ask God! The highest companion is with Gabriel, Michael, Isrāfīl - peace be upon them.’

4.2.6 Gabriel (peace be upon him)⁶⁴¹

[36] Ibn Jarīr and Abū ‘l-Shaykh from ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn; he said: Gabriel’s name [means] ‘Servant (ʿ*abd*) of God’, Michael’s name [means] ‘Servant (ʿ*ubayd*)⁶⁴² of God’, and Isrāfīl [means] ‘Servant (ʿ*abd*) of the Merciful’; Everything derives from *Īl*, that is the temple of God⁶⁴³ – may He be praised and glorified.

[37] Ibn Jarīr from Ibn ʿAbbās; he said: Gabriel [means] ‘the Servant of God’; Michael [means] ‘the Servant of God’; every name has *Īl* in it, and this means ‘the Temple of God.’

[38] Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Abū ‘l-Shaykh from ʿAbd al-Azīz ibn ʿUmayr; he said; Gabriel’s name amongst the angels is ‘Servant of His Lord’ – may He be praised and glorified.

⁶⁴⁰ cf. al-Bukhārī, *Saḥīḥ* §2, p. 3.

⁶⁴¹ This and almost all of the chapters that follow, begin with the phrase ‘*mā jā’a fī...*’ = ‘what is said / found concerning...’. This has not been translated.

⁶⁴² ʿ*Ubayd* is the diminutive of ʿ*abd* (see Lane, *AELex*, p. 1935); the use of the diminutive may be being used to lower the status of Michael, who is the dominant angel in Judaism (cf. Hag 12b & Ber 4b) and promote Gabriel. This trend can be seen in other Islaimc eschatological texts, see Bowman, ‘Eschatological Fragment’ pp. 203 – 204.

⁶⁴³ From the Hebrew ‘*el*’ which is the standard word for ‘God’ not ‘temple of God’; see *BDB*, p. 41. The *TA* does not contain any of these temple etymologies, and simply states that it is a name of God; see al-Zabīdī, *TA* vol. 28, pp. 45 – 46.

[39] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Mūsā ibn Abī ‘Ā’isha; he said; I heard that Gabriel is the Imām of the people of Heaven.

[40] Al-Ṭabarānī from Ibn ‘Abbās; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: Indeed, I tell you that the best of the angels is Gabriel.

[41] Muslim from Ibn Mas‘ūd; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) saw Gabriel, in a green⁶⁴⁴ robe; he filled the space between Heaven and Earth.

[42] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from ‘Ā’isha that the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: I saw Gabriel descending and he filled the space between East and West, wearing a silk gown⁶⁴⁵ encrusted with pearls and rubies.⁶⁴⁶

[43] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from ‘Ā’isha (God be pleased with her);⁶⁴⁷ she said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said to Gabriel: ‘I would

⁶⁴⁴ *khadrā’* can also indicate blue: ‘Das Wort bezeichnet die den ganzen dunklen Farbbereich umfassende Grundfarbe, sowohl ‘grün’ als auch ‘blau’.’ Fischer, Wolfdietrich, *Farb- und Formbezeichnungen in der Sprache der altarabischen Dichtung* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1965) p. 306. It would seem more likely to be green as in the Qur’ān green is closely associated with God and paradise – see Rippin, Andrew, ‘Color’ *EQ* vol. 1, pp. 361 – 365. Ibn Khaldūn also includes a ḥadīth in which Khadijah says: ‘...green and white are the colours of goodness and the angels.’ Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddima*, p. 74; Rosenthal, *Muqaddimah*, vol. 1, p. 186.

⁶⁴⁵ Silk was very expensive and in the Qur’ān it is associated with the paradise and redemption: ‘Clearly referring to the cultural context of the qur’ānic revelation, a recurrent image presents the redeemed as garbed in silk or other fine fabrics and wearing valuable jewels.’ Golmaldez, V., ‘Silk’ *EQ* vol. 5, p. 11. Being described in this way, Gabriel is firmly rooted in the divine world. For more on silk and the development of the silk-trade in early Islamic history see: Lombard, Maurice, *Les textiles dans le monde musulman: VII^e – XII^e siècle* (Paris: Mouton Editeur, 1978) pp. 79 – 104.

⁶⁴⁶ Rubies, pearls and coral are the only precious stones mentioned in the Qur’ān and they are only used in passages about paradise; see Troupeau, Gérard, ‘Metals and Minerals’ *EQ* vol. 3, pp. 383 – 384. Pearls are also associated with the First and Seventh Heavens – see MacDonald, John, ‘Paradise’ *IS* 5 (1966), p. 344.

⁶⁴⁷ Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 189v, l. 16.

like to see you in your image.’ He said: ‘You would like that?!’ He said: ‘Yes.’ He said: ‘Your appointed time is on such and such a night at Baqī^c al-Gharqad.’⁶⁴⁸ So he met him at the appointed time, and he spread out one of his wings,⁶⁴⁹ and it blotted out the horizon until he could not see anything in the sky.

[44] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Ibn Mas‘ūd concerning His Word: ‘Indeed he saw him another time.’⁶⁵⁰ He said: The Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) saw Gabriel hanging in the air, on his feet were pearls, like raindrops on the grass.

[44b]⁶⁵¹ Al-Ṭabarānī from Ibn ‘Abbās from Waraqa al-Ansārī; he said: I said: ‘Muḥammad, how does the creature, [which comes to you],⁶⁵² come to you?’ – meaning Gabriel; He said: ‘He comes to me from the sky, his two wings are pearls and the soles of his feet are green.

[45] Abū ‘l-Shaykh and Ibn Mardawayh from Anas; he said: The Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said to Gabriel: ‘Do you see your Lord?’ He said: ‘Between me and Him there are seventy veils⁶⁵³ of fire and light, if I were to see the lowest of them, I would be consumed by fire.’

⁶⁴⁸ The oldest cemetery in Medina in the South-East of the town; for more information, see Wensinck, A. J. [-Bazmee Anasri, A. S.], ‘Baqī^c al-Gharqad’ *EF*² vol. 1, pp. 957 – 958.

⁶⁴⁹ Gabriel is also believed to have six hundred wings; cf. al-Rabghūzī, Naṣīr al-Dīn ibn Burhān al-Dīn; Boeschoten, H. E., O’Kane, J. & Vandamme, M., *Al-Rabghūzī: The Stories of the Prophets – Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā’ – An Eastern Turkish Version* (Leiden: Brill, 1995) vol. 2, p. 596.

⁶⁵⁰ Q 53:13; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 550.

⁶⁵¹ The DKI edition includes two ḥadīth with the number 44; so as to maintain the DKI numbering, the second 44 has been labelled 44b; it is not an edition of the Leiden MS.

⁶⁵² Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 189v, l. 12.

⁶⁵³ Here, as in the Qur’ān, *hijāb* refers to a dividing curtain as opposed to a face veil; see Toorawa, Shawkat M., ‘Clothing’ *EQ* vol. 1, pp. 346 – 347.

[46] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Shurayḥ ibn ‘Abd Allāh that the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) when he ascended into Heaven, saw Gabriel in [his] true form,⁶⁵⁴ his wings strung with chrysolites, pearls and rubies; he said: ‘It seemed to me that the space between his eyes filled the horizon, but I used to see him before that in a different form and more often I used to see him in the form of Diḥya al-Kalbī,⁶⁵⁵ and sometimes I used to see him just as a man sees his friend through the bottom of a sieve.’⁶⁵⁶

[47] Aḥmad, Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Ibn Mas‘ūd that the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) only saw Gabriel in his true form twice; as for the first time, he asked to see his soul, and he saw his soul, and it filled the horizon; as for the other, it was on the Night Journey ‘by the Lote-Tree.’⁶⁵⁷

[48] Abū ‘l-Shaykh the intermediary of⁶⁵⁸ ‘Aṭā’ from Ibn ‘Abbās from the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: The space between Gabriel’s shoulders is a [journey of]⁶⁵⁹ five hundred years for a quick-flying bird.

[49] Abū ‘l-Shaykh through the intermediary of Iṣḥāq al-Hāshimī⁶⁶⁰ from Ibn ‘Abbās from the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation); he said: Gabriel has six

⁶⁵⁴ This is a common theme of the *mī‘rāj* literature: cf. al-Rabghūzī, *QA*, vol. 2, pp. 595 – 596.

⁶⁵⁵ Diḥya al-Kalbī is said to have been of ‘such outstanding beauty that the Angel Gabriel took his features.’ Lammens, ‘Diḥya’ p. 274; cf. Al-Rabghūzī, *QA*, vol. 2, p. 595.

⁶⁵⁶ *Ghirbāl* can also mean a tambourine (see *TA* vol. 30, pp. 87 – 89), but the haziness of looking through the bottom of a sieve is the main idea here.

⁶⁵⁷ Q 53:14; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 550; according to Al-Tha‘labī this is the abode of Gabriel, see Al-Tha‘labī, *QA* p. 17; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 28.

⁶⁵⁸ A number of the ḥadīth include the phrase ‘*min tarīq...*’= ‘through the intermediary of...’; see Appendix E for more information on these intermediaries.

⁶⁵⁹ Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 189v, l. 23.

hundred wings [adorned] with pearls and he spread them out like peacocks' feathers.⁶⁶¹

[50] Ibn Jarīr from Ḥudhayfa, Ibn Jurayj⁶⁶² and Qatāda – the Tradition came from amongst them: Gabriel has two wings, and he has a belt strung with pearls;⁶⁶³ his front teeth shine like a bald forehead; his head is platted tightly like small pearls, and the pearls are like snow; his feet are greenish.

[51] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Wahb ibn Munnabih that he was asked about the creation of Gabriel; he reported that the space between his shoulders, from this one to that one, is [a journey]⁶⁶⁴ of seven hundred years for a bird.

[52] Ibn Sa'd and al-Bayhaqī in *al-Dalā'il* from 'Ammār ibn Abī 'Ammār that Ḥamza ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib said: 'Messenger of God, show me Gabriel in his true form.' He said: 'You are not able to see him.' He said: 'Yes, but show him to me.' He said: 'Sit down!' So he sat down; [then] Gabriel [came down and]⁶⁶⁵ was on a piece of wood in the Ka'ba. The Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation)

⁶⁶⁰ The Leiden MS gives the fuller name; fol. 189v, l. 24.

⁶⁶¹ The *Yezīdīs* (a Kurdish sect) venerated a peacock angel (*malak ta'ūs*); see Ebeid, R. Y., and Young, M. J. L., 'An Account of the History and Rituals of the Yazīdīs of Mosul' *Le Muséon* 85 (1972) pp. 481 – 522; see also Ahmed, Sami Said, *The Yazidis: Their Life and Beliefs* (Miami: Field Research Projects, 1975). For more general information on the Yezīdīs see Kreyenbroeck, Philip G., 'Religion and Religions in Kurdistan' in Philip G. Kreyenbroeck and Christine Allison (eds.), *Kurdish Culture and Identity* (London: Zed Books Ltd, 1996) pp. 85 – 110. However, the more likely influence is Byzantine / Christian, as peacocks were associated with heaven and paradise and appropriated into Islamic iconography, see al-Khamis, Ulrike, 'An early Islamic bronze ewer examined' *Muqarnas* 15 (1998) pp. 9 – 19, particularly p. 12.

⁶⁶² Given as Ibn Jarīr in the Leiden MS, but this appears to be an error; fol. 189v, l. 26.

⁶⁶³ A belt is referred to once in the Talmud, *Men.* 29a, p. 188.

⁶⁶⁴ *khafq al-tayr* = the beating of (the wings of) the bird.

⁶⁶⁵ Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 190r, l. 1.

said: 'Raise your eyes and look!' So he raised his eyes and looked and he saw his feet, like green chrysolite; and he fell down unconscious.

[53] Ibn al-Mubārak in *al-Zuhd* from Ibn Shihāb that the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) asked Gabriel to show himself to him in his true form. Gabriel said, 'You will never be able to bear it.' He said, 'I would like you to do it.' So the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) went to pray on a moonlit night and Gabriel came to him in his true form. And the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) fainted as soon as he saw him, then he came round while Gabriel supported him, placing one of his hands upon his chest and the other between his shoulder blades, and the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: 'I did not think that there could be a creation like that!' Gabriel said: 'Just imagine what it would have been like if you had seen Isrāfil! He has twelve wings, of which one is in the East and one is the West; the Throne is on the nape of his neck, and sometimes, for the glory of God, he makes himself smaller until he has become like a small sparrow⁶⁶⁶ so that only [God's] glory can carry His Throne.⁶⁶⁷

[54] Ibn Mardawayh from Ibn ʿAbbās that the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: Gabriel came to me just as a man comes to his friend in a white gown,⁶⁶⁸ hemmed with pearls and precious stones, his head is like a mountain⁶⁶⁹ and

⁶⁶⁶ *Al-waṣṣ* or *al-waṣaʿ*; a small bird, like a sparrow (*ʿuṣfūr*); see Ibn Manẓūr, *LA*, vol. 10, p. 276; Ibn Manẓūr also cites this ḥadīth.

⁶⁶⁷ This ḥadīth is also in the short section on Gabriel in al-Qazwīnī's *ʿAjāʾib*, p. 37.

⁶⁶⁸ This is a motif carried through into Islamic tradition from Judeo-Christian imagery: cf. Ezekiel 9:3; 10:2; Daniel 7:9; John 20:12 &c.

his hair like small pearls, and he is the colour of snow,⁶⁷⁰ [he has a] bald forehead [which] is [like] the glistening of the front teeth, and he [wears] two belts made of strung pearls, and his two wings are green and his feet are immersed in green, and the form which he takes fills the horizon. [The Prophet] (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: ‘I wanted to see you in your true form, Spirit of God.’⁶⁷¹ Then he transformed himself and filled the horizon.

[55] Ibn ʿAsākir in a weak chain of authority⁶⁷² from ʿĀ’isha; she said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: God created Gabriel’s skull as large as the oasis of al-Ghūta.⁶⁷³

[56] al-Ṭabarānī from Ibn ʿAbbās; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) visited a man from among the *Ansār*; when he came near to his home, he heard him talking in the doorway. After he had sought permission [to enter], he entered, but he did not see anyone. The Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said to him: ‘I heard someone other than you talking.’ He said: ‘Messenger of God, [I entered, worried by [the sound] of someone talking, which I sought sanctuary from]⁶⁷⁴ and he came to me. I have never seen a more noble man after you sitting there and there is no better narrator than him.’ He said: ‘That is

⁶⁶⁹ The Leiden MS reads ‘*ka-l-ḥubk*’ (cf. Q 51:7), but the meaning is unclear; the DKI reading is more suitable; fol. 190r, l. 12.

⁶⁷⁰ Lit.: ‘his colour is like snow...’

⁶⁷¹ Gabriel is frequently identified with the *ruh al-qadūs*; see Griffith, Sidney H., ‘Holy Spirit’ *EQ* vol. 2, pp. 442 - 444 and Webb, Gisela, ‘Gabirel’ *EQ* vol. 2, pp. 278 - 280.

⁶⁷² The ḥadīth scholar Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ defines a weak ḥadīth simply as one which is neither sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*) nor fair (*ḥasan*) i.e. any ḥadīth in which there are questions concerning the veracity of one of the authorities in the *isnād*; see Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī (tr. E. Dickinson), *An Introduction to the Science of the Ḥadīth – Kitāb maʿrifat anwāʿ ʿilm al-ḥadīth* (Reading: Garnet Publishing, 2005) p. 25.

⁶⁷³ An area of orchards and gardens in Damascus fed by the Baradā; thought to be one of the four earthly paradises; see Elisséeff, N., ‘Ghūta’ *EL*² vol. 2, pp. 1104 - 1106.

⁶⁷⁴ Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 190r, l. 20.

Gabriel. From amongst you there is a man; if one of them swears an oath by God, then [Gabriel] will fulfil it.⁶⁷⁵

[57] Abū Nu^caym in *al-Hilya* from ^cIkrima; he said: Gabriel (peace be upon him) said: ‘If my Lord sends me to do something, and I then go to it; I find the being, but He has arrived there before me.’

[58] Al-Ṭabarānī from Maymūna bint Sa^cd; she said: I said: ‘Messenger of God, can someone in a state of ritual impurity⁶⁷⁶ go to sleep?’ He said: I do not like him to go to sleep until he has performed the ritual ablutions, for I fear that if he dies, then Gabriel will not be with him.

[59] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Wahb; he said: The angel closest to God is Gabriel, then Michael. If God singled out a servant for a very good action that he did; He says so-and-so has done such-and-such a pious act, My blessings are upon him; then Michael asks Gabriel: ‘What did our Lord say?’ And he says: ‘So-and-so was singled out for a very good action that he did, and the blessings of God are upon him.’ Then Michael asks: ‘Which of the people of heaven can see him?’ They say: ‘What did our Lord say?’ And he says: ‘So-and-so was singled out for a very good action that he did, and the blessings of God are upon him.’ And it continues to descend from heaven to heaven until it reaches the earth. If God singled out a servant for a very bad action that he did; he says: ‘My servant, so-and-so, has done such-and-such a disobedient act, my curse is upon him.’ Then Michael asks Gabriel: ‘What did our Lord say?’

⁶⁷⁵ In the DKI Edition, this is marked as a Qur’ānic quotation, but it is not.

⁶⁷⁶ Particularly ritual impurity after sexual intercourse, after which ablutions are necessary; for more on ritual purity laws see Burton, ‘Practice of *wuḍū‘*’.

And he says: ‘So-and-so was singled out for a very disobedient action that he did, and the curse of God is upon him.’ And it continues to descend from heaven to heaven until it reaches the earth.⁶⁷⁷

[60] al-Ṣābūnī in *al-Mi’atayn* and al-Bayhaqī in *Shu‘ab al-īmān* from Jābir ibn ‘Abd Allāh, from the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation); he said: Gabriel is responsible for the human desires. If a believer prays, then [God]⁶⁷⁸ says: ‘Gabriel withhold from my servant what he wants,⁶⁷⁹ for I love him and I love his voice.’ If a non-believer prays, God says: ‘Gabriel, give my servant what he wants, for I hate him and I hate his voice.’

[61] al-Bayhaqī from Thābit, he said; we heard that God, Most High, made Gabriel (peace be upon him) responsible for the needs of the people. When a believer asks for something, He says: ‘Gabriel, withhold from my servant what he wants, for I love his prayer.’ If a non-believer asks for something, God says: ‘Gabriel, give my servant what he wants, for I hate his prayer.’ Al-Bayhaqī said this is how it was given [to me] (*maḥfūz*).

[62] Ibn Abī Shayba through the intermediary of Thābit from ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Umar;⁶⁸⁰ he said: Gabriel is responsible for needs; if a believer asks his Lord for something, He says: ‘Hold back! Hold back out of love for his prayer, so that [his

⁶⁷⁷ A similar ḥadīth to this appears in the *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyyā’* – see Al-Tha‘labī, *QA* p. 153 - 154; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 255.

⁶⁷⁸ Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 190v, l. 5.

⁶⁷⁹ Lit.: ‘Hold back the need of my servant’ and ‘Fulfill the need of my servant’. In Islamic belief, having ones needs fulfilled can lead to faithlessness in God; cf. ‘Sometimes He gives while depriving you, and sometimes He deprives you in giving.’ Ibn ‘Atā’ Allāh, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, *Kitāb al-Hikām*; Victor Danner (tr.), *Ibn ‘Atā’illāh’s Sūfī Aphorisms* (Leiden: Brill, 1973) §83, p. 36.

⁶⁸⁰ Given as ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Umayr in the Leiden MS; fol. 190v, l. 10.

prayer] may increase.’ If an unbeliever asks for something, He says: ‘Give it [to him]! Give it [to him] out of hatred for his prayer.’

[63] al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī from Abū Dharr; he said; When God says: ‘Gabriel, take away from the believing heart of my servant the sweetness which I used to find. He said: ‘The faithful servant has become a confused disciple, whose soul used to be protected. I have sent him misfortune, the like of which had never been sent to him before.’ When God saw him in that state, he said: ‘Gabriel, go back to the heart of my servant. I did not take it away from him. Indeed, I have put him to the test, and I find him truthful, and I will help him increasingly from my heart.

[64] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from °Amr ibn Murra; he said: Gabriel is on the South Wind.

[65] Ibn °Asākir in his *Ta’rīkh* from °Alī; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: I did not choose to see Gabriel (peace be upon him) perched on the curtains of the Ka’ba, as he said: ‘O the one who finds, O illustrious one; you never cease from blessing me; yet you bestow it upon me, without having seen Him.’

[66] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from °Abd al-Azīz ibn Abī Ruwād; he said: God looked at Gabriel and Michael, and the two of them were crying; so God said: ‘What has made you cry? You know that I have not committed an outrage.’ The two said: ‘Lord, we

do not feel safe from your devising.’ And He said this, and they were affected by it: ‘The only ones who feel safe from my devising are all the losers.’⁶⁸¹

[67] Imām Aḥmad in *al-Zuhd* from Abū ʿImrān al-Jawni that he heard that Gabriel came to the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) crying and the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said to him: ‘What is making you cry?’ He said: ‘Why should the mouth of God not make me cry? I did not dry my eyes when God created the Fire; for fear that I might disobey him, he threw me into it.’

[68]⁶⁸² al-Bayhaqī in *Shuʿab al-īmān*, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh ibn Yūsuf al-Iṣfahānī⁶⁸³ informed us, Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Saʿīd ibn Farḍakh al-Akhmīmī informed me in Mecca; al-Walīd ibn Ḥamād told us; [Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Faḍl ibn ʿĀsim ibn ʿUmar ibn Qatāda ibn al-Nuʿmān al-Anṣārī; Abū ʿl-Faḍl narrated it from his father ʿĀsim from his father ʿUmar from Qatāda ibn al-Nuʿmān; he said: The Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said:]⁶⁸⁴ ‘God sent Gabriel (peace be upon him) down in the most beautiful form of what had come to me in form, and he said: ‘God salutes you, Muḥammad, and He says to you: “I revealed to the world, in such a way that [the world] should be bitter, troubling, oppressive and that it should act harshly towards my close associates, so that they

⁶⁸¹ This is almost a direct quotation of Q 6:99 ‘None feels secure against God’s devising but the people of the lost.’ Arberry, *Koran*, p. 155.

⁶⁸² In both the DKI edition and Leiden MS, there is no ‘*akhrāja*’ at the beginning of this ḥadīth; fol. 190v, l. 26.

⁶⁸³ Al-Suyūṭī occasionally includes the whole *isnād*, if there is some concern over the *isnād* (see the end of this ḥadīth).

⁶⁸⁴ The Leiden MS gives a slightly different version of the section of the *isnād*: Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Faḍl ibn ʿĀsim from ʿAmr ibn Qatāda ibn ʿUmar ibn Qatāda ibn al-Nuʿmān al-Anṣārī from his father, Qatāda ibn al-Nuʿmān; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said...’; fol. 190v, ll. 27 – 29.

want to meet me; and that [the world] should be [made comfortable, agreeable, and good for my enemies, so that they are loathe to meet me].⁶⁸⁵ Indeed, I created it as a prison for my friends and a paradise for my enemies.’ Al-Bayhaqī said: We only write it with this *isnād* and there are unknown⁶⁸⁶ things in it(?).⁶⁸⁷

[69] Ibn ʿAsākir from Wāthila ibn al-Asqaʿ; he said: the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) came to a curly-haired,⁶⁸⁸ cross-eyed, short-necked, feet-deformed, small-eared,⁶⁸⁹ left-handed, emaciated Yemeni who walked with his legs apart, he said: ‘Messenger of God, explain to me what God has given me.’ When he told him, he said: ‘I swear to God that I will not do any more religious duties.’ He said: ‘Why [do] that?’ He said: ‘Because he created me, and created me deformed.’ Then he ran away. So Gabriel came to [Muhammad] and said: ‘Muhammad, where is the one who rebuked [God]? He rebuked a beautiful Lord, so He has castigated him. [God] said: ‘Say to him: Truly, [Messenger of God],⁶⁹⁰ he should be happy that God will send him in the image of Gabriel on the Day of Resurrection.’ So he said [this] to him; and he said: ‘Yes, Messenger of God, I am rebuking God for not making my body sufficiently strong to do any of the duties that please God except what the deeds

⁶⁸⁵ Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 191r, l. 1.

⁶⁸⁶ The validity of a ḥadīth that includes an unknown transmitter (*majhūl*) is disputed in Ḥadīth scholarship; see Ibn al-Ṣalāh, *Kitāb maʿrifāt*, p. 85; however the Arabic text does not appear to be referring to *isnād*.

⁶⁸⁷ This appears to refer to the various *isnāds*, but one would normally expect *-hā* instead of *-hum*.

⁶⁸⁸ Evil is traditionally portrayed by ugliness, for example the Antichrist (*al-Dajjāl*) is described as a human with a number of deformities, so much so that ‘...even a Jewish man named Ibn Sayyād (d. 683) was believed to be the Antichrist and was nearly killed by Omar...’ Saritoprak, ‘Legend of al-Dajjāl’ p. 292. However, this ḥadīth is more likely to simply be describing someone with the most afflictions possible, rather than portraying him as being evil.

⁶⁸⁹ The Leiden MS reads ‘*adjam*’, which according to Lane is ‘...having a nose that inclines towards one side of the face.’ (i.e. a crooked nose), see Lane, *AELex*, p. 1770; fol. 191r, l. 3.

⁶⁹⁰ Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 191r, l. 7.

that I have done for him.’ On this [*ḥadīth*] al-°Alā ibn Kathir said: al-Bukhārī did not accept this *ḥadīth*.⁶⁹¹

[70]⁶⁹² Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Sa°id ibn Jubayr concerning His Word: ‘Save only to such a messenger as He is well-pleased with: then He despatches before him and behind him watchers.’⁶⁹³ He said: He only sends down Gabriel for the Revelation, and with him are four angelic *ḥuḥfaẓa*.

[71] al-Ṭabarānī in a chain of trusted authorities (*bi-‘snād rijālihi thiqāt*)⁶⁹⁴ from Umm Salama that the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: In Heaven there are two angels; one of the two is responsible for misery and the other is responsible for tenderness; the appropriate ones responsible are Gabriel and Michael. And there are two Prophets, one of the two is responsible for tenderness and the other is responsible for misery, the appropriate ones are responsible, [and he said that these are Abraham and Noah. I have two companions; one of the two is responsible for tenderness and the other for misery.]⁶⁹⁵ The appropriate one is responsible and he mentioned Abū Bakr and °Umar.⁶⁹⁶

⁶⁹¹ *Munkar* is used both of rejected and unfamiliar ḥadīth; many ḥadīth scholars rejected ḥadīth attributed to transmitters designated *munkar*, e.g. Muslim, Ibn al-Ḥajjāj al-Qushayrī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim bi-sharḥ al-Nawawī* (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-°Arabī) vol. 1, pp. 55 - 56; however some ḥadīth scholars did accept these ḥadīth, see Ibn Ṣalāḥ, *Kitāb ma°rifāt*, p. 59, n. 1. See also, Juynboll, G. H. A., ‘Muslim’s Introduction to his *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Translated and Annotated with an excursus on the chronology of the *fitna* and *bid’a*’ *JSAI* 5 (1984) pp. 263 – 302, p. 269, n. 9.

⁶⁹² In the Leiden MS there is an empty space left between *akhraja* and Abū ‘l-Shaykh, an author’s name may be missing; fol. 191r, l. 9.

⁶⁹³ Q 72:27; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 613.

⁶⁹⁴ *Thiqāt* is the technical term for reliable authorities, as opposed to an unreliable authorities (*ḍu°afā*’); various ḥadīth scholars collected volumes listing reliable and unreliable authorities, e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-ḍu°afā’ al-saghīr* (Aleppo: Dār al-Wā°ī, 1976).

⁶⁹⁵ Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 191r, l. 14.

⁶⁹⁶ For a discussion of Abū Bakr and °Umar, cf. Al-Suyūṭī (ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn °Abd al-Ḥamīd), *Ta°rīkh al-khulafā’* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Tajarīyya al-Kubrā, 1389 / 1969) pp. 44 – 48; Jarret, H. S. (tr.), *History of the Caliphs* (repr. Karachi: Krimsons, 1977) pp. 40 – 41.

[72] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Ibn Mas‘ūd; he said: Gabriel came to the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) and he said: ‘Gabriel, I think that I have good standing with you.’ He said: ‘Of course – by the One who sent you in Truth! I have not been sent to a prophet whom I have loved more than you.’ He said: ‘I would like you to tell me about my standing with you here.’ He said: ‘I am able to do that.’ He said: ‘By the One who sent you in truth! I was drawn unprecendently close to my Lord [regarding my standing], and I have never approached the like of him before. And He had decreed that I could approach Him. It was a journey of five hundred years. The closest creation of God (may he be praised and glorified) is Isrāfīl. And [Isrāfīl] decreed that [Muḥammad] could approach [Isrāfīl]; the distance [between Isrāfīl and God(?)]⁶⁹⁷ is a journey of seventy years; among them are seventy lights and the lowest light blinds the eyes, so how could I have come to know what is beyond that? But it appeared to me on the Tablet;⁶⁹⁸ then he called us and then sent us away.

[73] Aḥmad in *al-Zuhd* from Rabbāḥ; he said: I narrated that the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) said to Gabriel: ‘You only come to me looking like you are grieving.’⁶⁹⁹ He said: ‘I have not laughed since the Fire was created.’⁷⁰⁰

[74] al-Firyābī⁷⁰¹ and Ibn Mardawayh from Anas; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: ‘For the trumpet⁷⁰² shall be blown and

⁶⁹⁷ The text is unclear here.

⁶⁹⁸ i.e. Muḥammad approaches God, but can only go as far as Isrāfīl, the angel nearest to God. Muḥammad is told what exists beyond Isrāfīl by the Tablet.

⁶⁹⁹ See Lane for a discussion of this idiomatic expression, *AELex*, p. 1673.

⁷⁰⁰ This ḥadīth appears again with Michael and Isrāfīl being the angels who do not laugh; see §79 & 97.

whosoever is in the heavens and whosoever is in the earth shall swoon, save whom God wills.’⁷⁰³ They said: ‘Messenger of God, who are these whom God, may he be praised and glorified, will exclude?’ He said: ‘Gabriel, Michael, the Angel of Death, Isrāfīl and the Bearers of the Throne. For when God grasps the souls of the created beings, he will say to the Angel of Death: ‘Who remains?’ And he will say: ‘I praise you, my Lord, and I extol the One of Glory and Generosity. Gabriel, Michael, Isrāfīl and the Angel of Death remain.’ And he will say: ‘Take the soul of Isrāfīl!’ So he will take the soul of Isrāfīl. And God will say to the Angel of Death: ‘Who remains?’ And he will say: ‘I praise you and I bless my Lord and extol the One of Glory and Generosity. Gabriel, Michael and the Angel of Death remain.’ And He will say: ‘Take the soul of Michael!’ So he will take the soul of Michael, and he will fall down like a great mountain. And He will say: ‘Angel of Death, who remains?’ He will say: ‘Gabriel [and]’⁷⁰⁴ the Angel of Death.’ And He will say: ‘Die, Angel of Death!’ and he will die. Then He will say: ‘Gabriel, who remains?’ And he will say: ‘Your eternal and everlasting face remains.’ And Gabriel is about to die and pass away. He said: it was necessary for him to die, and he fell down prostrating, his wings flapping.

He said; the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said that he preferred his creation over the creation of Michael as a great mountain.

⁷⁰¹ This could be either Abū Bakr Ja‘far ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥassan al-Firyābī (d. 301 / 913) or Abū ‘Alī Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Wāqīd al-Firyābī (d. 212 / 827). Abū Bakr was a ḥadīth collector and Abū ‘Alī was an exegete; as this is an exegetical ḥadīth it is difficult to ascertain which al-Firyābī is meant; See Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 40 & 166.

⁷⁰² For more on the trumpet that heralds the resurrection see: Smith, Jane I., ‘Eschatology’ *EQ* vol. 2, pp. 47 – 48.

⁷⁰³ Q 39:68; Arberry. *Koran*, p. 479.

⁷⁰⁴ This appears to be an error in the text and ‘wa-’ has been added following earlier examples above.

[75] Ibn Mardawayh and al-Bayhaqī in *al-Ba^ʿth* from a *ḥadīth* attributed to Anas concerning His Word: ‘For the trumpet shall be blown...’⁷⁰⁵ (and the rest of the verse); he said: From these God, may He be praised and glorified, will exclude three: Gabriel, Michael and the Angel of Death. God, the most knowledgeable, will say: ‘Angel of Death, who remains?’ And he will say: ‘Your eternal and compassionate face remains and your servant Gabriel, and Michael and the Angel of Death.’ He will say: ‘Take the soul of Michael.’ Then God, the most knowledgeable, will say: ‘Angel of Death, who remains?’ And he will say: ‘Your eternal face remains and your servant Gabriel and the Angel of Death.’ He will say: ‘Take the soul of Gabriel.’ Then He, the most knowledgeable, will say: ‘Angel of Death, who remains?’ And he will say: ‘Your eternal and generous face remains and your servant the Angel of Death.’ When he is about to die, he will say: ‘Die!’ Then he will proclaim: ‘I began the creation then I take it back.’

[76] Ibn Abī Ḥātim from ‘Atā’ ibn al-Sā’ib; he said: The first among those who are held to account is Gabriel because he is the faith of God to His messengers.

[77] Ibn Jarīr from Ḥudhayfa; he said: The one responsible for the Scales⁷⁰⁶ on the Day of Resurrection is Gabriel (peace be upon him).

⁷⁰⁵ Q 39:68; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 479.

⁷⁰⁶ Cf. Q 42:17 & 55:7-9, Arberry; *Koran*, pp. 500 & 557.

4.2.7 Michael (Peace be upon him)

[78] Ibn al-Mundhir⁷⁰⁷ from ʿIkrima; he said: Gabriel’s name [means] Servant (ʿ*abd*) of God, Michael’s name [means] Servant (ʿ*ubayd*) of God.⁷⁰⁸

[79] Aḥmad and Abū ʿl-Shaykh from Anas that the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said to Gabriel: ‘Why have I never seen Michael laughing?’⁷⁰⁹ He said: ‘Michael has not laughed since the Fire was created.’

[80] al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī in *Nawādir al-uṣūl* from Zayd ibn Rafīʿ; he said: Gabriel and Michael came to the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) while he was cleaning his teeth and the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) gave Gabriel the toothpick.⁷¹⁰ He said: Gabriel said, ‘God is Great!’ Al-Ḥakīm said: that is, [Muḥammad] gave [it] to Michael and then [Gabriel] said: ‘God is Great!’

[81] al-Ḥakīm from Abū Saʿīd; he said; the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: My two ministers from the heavenly world are Gabriel and Michael and from the earthly world are Abū Bakr and ʿUmar.⁷¹¹

⁷⁰⁷ Given as Ibn ʿAbd al-Mundhir in the Leiden MS, this seems to be an error; fol. 191v, l. 10.

⁷⁰⁸ See §36 for a discussion of the use of ʿ*abd* and ʿ*ubayd*.

⁷⁰⁹ For the negative attitude to laughing in the Qurʾān and ḥadīth, see Chittick, ‘Weeping in Classical Sufism’ pp. 133 – 134.

⁷¹⁰ Teeth-cleaning is an important part of Islamic ritual purity, cf. al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* §244 – 245; p. 69; and Mālik, *Muwāṭṭaʿ*, vol. 1, pp. 64 - 65 (Bewley, *Al-Muwāṭṭaʿ*, §2.32.115—117, p. 23). For more secondary sources on this see: Risplet-Chaim, Vardit, ‘The siwāk: A Medieval Islamic Contribution to Dental Care’ *JRAS* 2 (1992) pp. 13 – 20 and Janot, Francis, Vezie, Philippe & Bottero-Cornillac, Marie-Jeanne, ‘Le siwāk (bâtonnet frotte-dents), instrument à usages religieux et médical’ *AI* 32 (1998) pp. 101 – 123.

⁷¹¹ Cf. Al-Rabghūzī, *QA*, vol. 2, pp. 569 – 572.

[82] al-Bazzār, al-Ṭabarānī, and Abū Nuʿaym in *al-Ḥilya* from Ibn ʿAbbās; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: God supports me with four ministers: the two from the heavenly world are Gabriel and Michael, the two from earthly world are Abū Bakr and ʿUmar.

[83] al-Daylāmī⁷¹² through the intermediary of al-Sarī ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Sulamī from ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Kanāna from Abū Umāma from ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib; ascribing it to the Prophet, [he said]: The muezzin of the heavenly host is Gabriel and Michael is their Imam,⁷¹³ who leads them in the prayers in the *Inhabited House*. The angels of the heavens congregate and circumambulate the *Inhabited House* and they perform the ritual prayers and pray for forgiveness. God gives their reward, their forgiveness and their praise of God to the community of Muḥammad (God bless him and grant him salvation).

[84] Ibn al-Najjār said in his *Taʾrīkh*: I swear by God that Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Adīb related to me an oral tradition in Isfahan from Abu Ṭāhir ibn Abī Naṣr al-Tājir that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Iṣḥāq ibn Mandah related to him; he said: I swear by God that Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Dīnawarī⁷¹⁴ informed him; he said: I swear by God that Abū ʿl-Qāsim ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ibrāhīm al-Jurjānī informed him; he said: Abū ʿl-Ḥassan Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-

⁷¹² There are a number of authors with the name al-Daylāmī, but the reference to al-Sulamī indicates that this is Shams al-Dīn al-Daylāmī, as he made a commentary on al-Sarī ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Sulamī's *al-Sirr fī anfās al-ṣūfiyya*; see Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 647 – 648; Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, p. 207 and Arberry, A. J., 'The Works of Shams al-Dīn al-Dailamī' *BSOAS* 29 (1966) pp. 49 – 56.

⁷¹³ Cf. ḥadīth §39, which says that Gabriel is the Imām of heaven.

⁷¹⁴ Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 191v, l. 25.

Ḥusayn ibn al-Qāsim ibn al-Ḥassan ibn Zayd ibn °Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn °Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib informed him; he said: I swear by God that Aḥmad ibn °Abd Allāh al-Shu°abī al-Baghdādī told him; he said: I swear by God that al-Ḥassan ibn °Alī al-°Askarī told him; he said: I swear by God that Abū °Alī ibn Muḥammad told me; he said: I swear by God that Muḥammad ibn °Alī ibn Mūsā [told me; he said: I swear by God that Abū °Alī ibn Mūsā]⁷¹⁵ [told me; he said: I swear by God that Abū Mūsā ibn Ja°far]⁷¹⁶ told me; he said: I swear by God that Ja°far ibn Muḥammad told me; he said: I swear by God that Abū Muḥammad ibn °Alī told me; he said: I swear that Abū °Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn [told me; he said: I swear by God that Abū °Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib]⁷¹⁷ told me; he said: I swear by God that Muḥammad, the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) [told me; he said: I swear by God that Gabriel]⁷¹⁸ told me; he said: I swear by God that Michael told me; he said: I swear by God that Israfil told me from the Preserved Tablet that God the Blest and the Most High said: The wine-drinker is like the idolater.

The *ḥafīz* Ibn Hajar said in his *Lisān al-mīzān*: This *matn* with this aforementioned *isnād* is [attributed] to °Alī ibn Mūsā; Abu Nu°aym excludes him from his *isnād* in *al-Ḥilya*. Whoever does not know its status [see] al-Ḥasan al-°Askarī as well, but he only mentions Gabriel; Muḥammad said: ‘The wine addict is like the idolater.’⁷¹⁹ Ibn Ḥibbān attributed the *matn* in his *Ṣaḥīḥ* to a *ḥadīth* of Ibn °Abbās.

⁷¹⁵ Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 191v, l. 30.

⁷¹⁶ Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 191v, l. 30.

⁷¹⁷ Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 191v, l. 32.

⁷¹⁸ Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 191v, l. 32 – fol. 192r, l. 1.

⁷¹⁹ This *ḥadīth* is well-known, although the following *matn* is more common: *wa-man shariba al-khamr fi-°l-dunyā, fa-māta, wa-huwa yudumnuhā*; see Wensinek, *CTM*, vol. 2, p. 144. The *matn* found here (and in §171) is found in Ibn Māja, Abu °Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Yazīd al-Qazwīnī (ed. Muḥammad Fu°ād °Abd al-Baqī), *Sunan Ibn Māja* (Cairo: Bābī al-Ḥalabī, s.d.) vol. 2, p. 1120, §3375.

4.2.8 Isrāfīl (peace be upon him)

[85] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Wahb; he said: God, Most High, created the Trumpet⁷²⁰ out of white pearls with the purity of glass; then he said to the Throne: ‘Take the trumpet and keep hold of it.’ Then He said: ‘Be!’ And Isrāfīl came into being, and He ordered him to take the Trumpet, so he took it and it had a hole for the number of every created soul (*rūh*) and spirit (*nafs*) that is born; two souls do not go through one hole. In the middle of the Trumpet there is an aperture like the roundness of the Heaven and the Earth. And Isrāfīl placed his mouth over that aperture. Then the Lord said to him: ‘I have made you responsible for the Trumpet, and yours is the blowing and the shouting.’⁷²¹ And Isrāfīl came before the Throne, placed his right foot under the Throne and his left foot; he has not looked away since God created him, so that he can wait for what He commands him [to do].

[86] al-Tirmidhī and declared it to be fair (*ḥasan*), al-Ḥākim and al-Bayhaqī in *al-Ba‘th* from Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: ‘How can I be happy when the possessor of the trumpet has already put the mouthpiece to his mouth, tilted his head and inclined his ear? He will wait until he is commanded to blow it.’ They said: ‘What should we say?’ He

However, the *isnād* is different: Abū Bakr ibn Abī Shayba & Muḥammad ibn al-Sabbāḥ – Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān al-Aṣbahānī - Suhayl – Abū Suhayl – Abū Hurayrah.

⁷²⁰ This is the trumpet that announces the end of the world; it is mentioned ten times in the Qur’ān (Q 6:73; 18:99; 20:102; 23:101; 27:87; 36:51; 39:68; 50:20; 69:13 and 78:18); a description of Isrāfīl can also be found in al-Rabghūzī, *QA*, vol. 2, p. 596.

⁷²¹ Cf. Q 36:50 – 55; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 453.

said: ‘Say: “God is sufficient for us; an excellent Guardian is he”⁷²² “In God have we put our trust.”⁷²³

[87] al-Ḥākim and he declared it to be sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*), Abū ‘l-Shaykh and Ibn Mardawayh from Abū Hurayra; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: The Possessor of the Trumpet looks fixedly whilst he is responsible for it. Prepared, he looks towards the Throne, fearing that [if he were to look away], he would be ordered to let out a cry before he [could] return his gaze; his eyes are two milky stars.⁷²⁴

[88] Ibn Abi Ḥātim from Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī;⁷²⁵ he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: The two Possessors of the Trumpet⁷²⁶ do not stop holding onto the trumpet, waiting until they are ordered [to blow it].

[89] al-Daylāmī from Abū Umāma; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: Gabriel’s name [means] servant (*‘abd*) of God;⁷²⁷ Michael’s name [means] servant (*‘ubayd*) of God; and Isrāfīl’s name [means] servant (*‘abd*) of the Merciful.

[90] al-Ṭabarānī, Abū Nu‘aym in *al-Hilya* and Ibn Mardawayh from Abū Hurayra; that a Jew said: ‘Messenger of God, tell me about the angel of God which is near

⁷²² Q 3:173; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 67.

⁷²³ Q 7:89 and 10:85; Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 154 and 207.

⁷²⁴ Milk, like pearls, is used to represent holiness; see Rippin, ‘Color’ *EQ* vol. 1, pp. 361 – 365.

⁷²⁵ Given as ‘al-Khudhrī’ in the Leiden MS; fol. 192r, l. 18.

⁷²⁶ This ḥadīth and others do not explain who the two angels of the trumpet are. Isrāfīl is normally the only angel associated with the Trumpet, but occasionally others are also associated with it – see §99.

⁷²⁷ As before, see §36, 37 & 87 above.

him.’ [He said: ‘The angel which is near Him is]⁷²⁸ Isrāfīl, then Gabriel, then Michael, then the Angel of Death.’

[91] Aḥmad, al-Ḥākim [and Ibn Mardawayh]⁷²⁹ from Abu Saʿīd; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: Isrāfīl is the Possessor of the Trumpet and Gabriel is on his right and Michael is on his left.⁷³⁰

[92] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī; he said: No created thing is closer to God than Isrāfīl, and between him and between God are seven veils. And he has a wing in the East, and a wing in the West; a wing on the Seventh Earth and a wing on his head. His head is placed between his two wings. When God gives him an order, the tablets (*alwāḥ*) are lowered down to Isrāfīl with God’s command [written] on them, then Isrāfīl will look at them; Gabriel then calls out and [Isrāfīl] answers him. As none of the angels can hear his voice without being made unconscious, when they come round, they say: ‘What [was that]?’ [Isrāfīl] says: ‘[It was] your Lord.’ They will say: ‘The Truth, and He is the All-High, the All-Great.’⁷³¹ The Angel of the Trumpet (who is the one responsible for it)⁷³² [has] one of his feet on the Seventh Earth, whilst he kneels on his knees, staring fixedly at Isrāfīl. He has not looked up since God made him; he will look when he is given the signal and then he will blow the Trumpet.

⁷²⁸ Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 192r, l. 23.

⁷²⁹ Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 192r, l. 23.

⁷³⁰ cf. Al-Thaʿlabī, *QA* p. 29; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 47. In this section of the *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyyā’* Adam ascends to heaven on the horse al-Maymūn: Gabriel takes the reins, Michael is on the right and Isrāfīl is on the left. This is a different context but it does highlight the fact that these three angels are often mentioned together and that their positions vary. See also Al-Thaʿlabī, *QA* p. 103; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 175.

⁷³¹ Q 34:23; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 440.

⁷³² Note that in this ḥadīth the Angel of the Trumpet is not Isrāfīl, as elsewhere.

[93] Ibn Abī Zamanīn in *al-Sunna* from Ka^ʿb; he said: The closest of the angels to God is Isrāfīl; he has four wings: a wing in the East, a wing in the West, he is covered⁷³³ by the third [wing] and the fourth is between him and the Preserved Tablet (*al-lawḥ al-maḥfūz*). If God wants to reveal a command, the Preserved Tablet comes down until it slams into Isrāfīl’s forehead; and he raises his head and looks; when the command is written, he calls out to Gabriel and he responds. And he says: ‘You are commanded to do such and such an order.’ Gabriel does not descend from one heaven to another without its people becoming terrified with fear of the Hour, until Gabriel says: ‘the Truth is from the Truth!’⁷³⁴ And he descends to the Prophet and gives the revelation to him.

[94] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥarīth;⁷³⁵ he said: I was with ‘Ā’isha, while Ka^ʿb was with her and she said: ‘Ka^ʿb, tell us about Isrāfīl.’ And he said: ‘He is the Angel of God. There is nothing in his presence. He has a wing in the East and he has a wing in the West, and a wing is on the nape of his neck and the Throne is on the nape of his neck.’ ‘Ā’isha said: ‘I heard the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) say the same.’ Ka^ʿb said: ‘The Tablet is on his forehead, so when God wants to give a command, he writes it on the Tablet.’

⁷³³ The *sarawīl* is an undergarment used to cover male and female genitalia; see Stillman, *Arab Dress*, pp. 10 – 11, and for pictures of earlier and later *sarawīl* see Scarce, Jennifer, *Women’s Costume of the Near and Middle East* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), pp. 33 & 74 - 75. Although normally referring to ‘trousers’ specifically, *sarāwīl* can have a more general meaning, e.g. the *TA* describes a *sirwāl* as a *qamīṣ*, *darʿ* or ‘*kulla mā lubisa*’ Al-Zabīdī, *TA*, vol. 29, p. 196. The association of the *sarāwīl* with personal modesty implies that the wing is being used to cover the Isrāfīl’s genitalia, in the same way that the seraphim in Is. 6:3 ‘cover their feet’. The same ḥadīth, with a slightly different *isnād* and *matn*, appears below (§99), but Isrāfīl’s wing is said to be ‘clothed’ (*tasarbala* [Form II *srbl*]) as opposed to ‘trouser-ed’ (*tasarwala* [Form II *srwl*]).

⁷³⁴ cf. Q 8:32; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 172.

⁷³⁵ The Leiden MS gives the name as ‘Abd al-Ḥarḥ’; fol. 192r, l. 11.

[95] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥārith that Ka‘b said to ‘Ā’isha: ‘Did you hear the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) [say anything about Isrāfīl?’ She said: ‘Yes, I heard the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation)]⁷³⁶ saying, “He has four wings, [and] from them are two wings, one of which is in the East, and the other of which is in the West; and the Tablet is between his eyes, so if God wants to write a revelation, He inscribes it between his eyes.”’

[96] Abū ‘l-Shaykh and Abū Nu‘aym in *al-Hilya* from Ibn ‘Abbās that the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: It is said that one of the Bearers of the Throne⁷³⁷ [is Isrāfīl]; and that Isrāfīl has one of the corners of the Throne on the nape of his neck; his feet go down to the lowest part of the Seventh Heaven and his head passes through the highest part of the Seventh Heaven.

[97] Al-Bayhaqī in *Shu‘ab al-īmān* from al-Muṭṭalib that the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: I said to Gabriel: ‘Gabriel, why have I not seen Isrāfīl laughing? None of the angels have come to me without me seeing them laughing.’ Gabriel said: ‘We have not seen that angel laughing since the Fire was created.’⁷³⁸

⁷³⁶ Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 192r, l. 12.

⁷³⁷ The Bearers of the Throne are referred to in Q 40:7; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 481; see also Elias, Jamal, ‘Throne of God’ *EQ* vol. 5, p. 276 – 278.

⁷³⁸ This is almost identical to §79.

[98] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Ibn ‘Abbās; he said: the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) heard a crash,⁷³⁹ and he said: ‘Gabriel, is the hour coming?’ He said: ‘No, this is Isrāfīl coming to earth.’

[99] ‘Abd ibn Ḥamīd, al-Ṭabarānī in *al-Awsaṭ* and Abū ‘l-Shaykh from ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Hārith; he said: I was with ‘Ā’isha while Ka‘b al-Ḥabr⁷⁴⁰ was at her house, and he mentioned Isrāfīl. ‘Ā’isha said: ‘Tell me about Isrāfīl.’ Ka‘b said: ‘Feel free to ask.’⁷⁴¹ She said: ‘By all means! So tell me.’ Ka‘b said: ‘He has four wings; two wings are in the air, a wing, with which he is clothed,⁷⁴² and one wing is in the nape of his neck; the Pen is on his ear; when He sends down revelation, the Pen writes, then the angels wipe it off [the Tablet]. The Angel of the Trumpet is lower than him, and he genuflects on one of his knees and he raises the other; and he puts the Trumpet to his mouth, bending his back and his side towards Isrāfīl. When he has been ordered, he will look at Isrāfīl, and when [Isrāfīl’s] two wings are closed, [the Angel of the Trumpet] will blow into the Trumpet. ‘Ā’isha said: I heard the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) [talking]⁷⁴³ in this way.

[100] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from al-Awzā‘ī; he said: When Isrāfīl glorifies God, he cuts off the ritual prayers and the hearing of all the angels in heaven.

⁷³⁹ This appears to be related the various ‘I heard the heavens groaning’ ḥadīth above (§10 & 25).

⁷⁴⁰ i.e. Ka‘b al-Aḥbār; *aḥbār* is the plural *ḥibr* / *ḥabr* and is used as a compliment; the word is derived from the Hebrew *ḥāber*, a title of an Jewish scholar below that of Rabbi; see Schmitz, M., ‘Ka‘b al-Aḥbār, Abū Ishāq b. Mātī’ b. Haysu’ / Haynū’” *ET* vol. 4, p. 316; for more on the Jewish *ḥāber*, see Spiro, Solomon J., ‘Who was the *Ḥaber*? A New Approach to an Ancient Institution’ *JSJ* 11 (1980) pp. 186 – 216.

⁷⁴¹ Lit: ‘The knowledge is yours’ – an Arabic idiom.

⁷⁴² cf. §93; see note above.

⁷⁴³ Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 192v, l. 29.

[101] Also from him;⁷⁴⁴ he said: None of God's creations have a better voice than Isrāfīl; when he begins to glorify God, he cuts off the ritual prayers and praising of the people of the Seven Heavens.

[102] [Abū 'l-Shaykh] through the intermediary of al-Layth; Khālid told me from Sa'īd; he said: I was told that Isrāfīl is the muezzin of the people of heaven,⁷⁴⁵ and he makes the call to prayer [twelve times during the day]⁷⁴⁶ and twelve times at night; and at every hour's proclamation, whoever is in the Seven Heavens and whoever is in the Seven Earths hears his proclamation, except jinn and humans. Then he, the greatest of the angels, goes to the front of them and performs the ritual prayer for them. [Sa'īd] said it reached me that Michael leads the angels in the *Inhabited House*.

[103] Ibn al-Mubārak in *al-Zuhd* from Ibn Abī Jabala in his *Isnād*; he said: The first of those to be called on the Day of Resurrection is Isrāfīl; God will say, 'Have you delivered my covenant?' And he will say, 'Yes, Lord, I delivered it to Gabriel.' And he will summon Gabriel, and it is said: 'Did Isrāfīl deliver my covenant to you?' He will say, 'Yes.' So he will leave Isrāfīl. And he will say to Gabriel, 'What did you do with my covenant?' And he will say, 'Lord, I delivered it to the Messengers.' So he will summon the Messengers, and it will be said to them: 'Did Gabriel deliver my covenant to you?' And they will say, 'Yes.' So he will leave Gabriel.

[104] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Abū Sinān; he said: The created thing closest to God is the Tablet, and it is suspended from the Throne; and if God wants to reveal something,

⁷⁴⁴ i.e. Abū 'l-Shaykh from al-Awzā'ī.

⁷⁴⁵ This is said to be Gabriel in §83.

⁷⁴⁶ Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 193r, l. 2.

He writes on the [Preserved] Tablet [and the Tablet moves]⁷⁴⁷, and the Tablet goes [down] until it hits Isrāfil's forehead;⁷⁴⁸ Isrāfil covers his head with his wings so that he does not raise his eyes to the majesty of God and looks at [the Tablet]; if it is [a command] for the people of the heaven, then he hands it over [to Michael; if it is [a command] for the people of the earth, then he hands it over]⁷⁴⁹ to Gabriel. The first to be called to account on the Day of Resurrection is the [Tablet. It is called by Him. Its whole body trembles in fear, and it will be said to it: 'Did you send out [my commands]?' It will say: 'Yes.' It will be said: 'Who saw you?' And it will say, 'Isrāfil.' Then Isrāfil]⁷⁵⁰ will be called and his body will tremble with fear. And it will be said to him: 'Did the Tablet send [my commands to] you?' When he has said 'yes' the Tablet says: 'Praise be to God, who saved me⁷⁵¹ from evil reckoning.⁷⁵² Then like that.'

[105] Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Abū 'l-Shaykh from Ḍamra; he said: I heard that the first to bow down to Adam⁷⁵³ (peace be upon him) was Isrāfil; God rewarded him by putting the Qur'ān on his forehead.

[106] al-Ṭabarānī in *al-Awsaṭ*, al-Bayhaqī in *al-Asmā' wa-'l-sifāt* and al-Bazzār from Ibn 'Amr; he said: A group of people came to the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) and they said: 'Messenger of God, Abū Bakr claimed that

⁷⁴⁷ Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 193r, l. 10.

⁷⁴⁸ The Leiden MS reads '*wajh*' for '*ra's*'; fol. 193r, l. 11.

⁷⁴⁹ Omitted in the Leiden MS, but is an error; fol. 193r, l. 12.

⁷⁵⁰ Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 193r, l. 12.

⁷⁵¹ cf. Q 23:28; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 345.

⁷⁵² Q 13:18; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 242.

⁷⁵³ The principal Qur'anic narratives of the prostration to Adam can be found at Q 2:29 – 34 & 38:71 – 75; Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 5 & 469. See also Jung, *Fallen Angels* for a discussion of the narrative's origins. Some texts say that Gabriel or Michael were the first to bow down – see Tottoli, Roberto 'Muslim Attitudes to Prostration' p. 30, n. 96.

righteous actions are from God and unrighteous actions are from humans, but ʿUmar has said that both righteous actions and unrighteous actions come from God, and a group follows this one and a group follows that one.’⁷⁵⁴ The Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: ‘The judgment between you both is [found] in the judgment of Isrāfīl between Gabriel and Michael: Michael said the words of Abū Bakr; and Gabriel the words of ʿUmar; Gabriel said to Michael: “When the people of the heavens differ, [or] the people of the earth differ, we should seek a legal ruling from Isrāfīl.” And so the two of them went to seek a legal ruling from him and he made a ruling between the two of them concerning the truth about predestination: “His kindness, His wickedness, His sweetness and His bitterness, all of them come from God.” Then [Muḥammad] said: ‘Abū Bakr, if God did not want disobedience then he would not have had created Iblīs.’ Abū Bakr said: ‘God and His Prophet have spoken the truth.’

4.2.9 The Angel of Death⁷⁵⁵ (peace be upon him)

[107] Saʿīd ibn Maṣṣūr, Ibn al-Mundhir and Ibn Abī Ḥātim from Abū Hurayrah; he said: When God, may He be praised and glorified, wanted to create Adam,⁷⁵⁶ He sent an angel from the Bearers of the Throne to fetch some dust from the earth.⁷⁵⁷ When

⁷⁵⁴ This is a famous ḥadīth; see van Ess *Zwischen Ḥadīth und Theologie*, pp. 160 – 178.

⁷⁵⁵ For basic information on the Angel of Death, see Wensinck, ‘Izrāʿīl’ *EI¹ & EI²*; cf. the short section on the angel in al-Qazwīnī, *ʿAjāʾib*, pp. 37 – 38.

⁷⁵⁶ This and the next ḥadīth have different *mitān* but are essentially the same story. Al-Thaʿlabī includes a different version, but begins the chapter acknowledging that: ‘*qāla al-mufasssirūna bi-alfāzi mukhtalafati wa-maʿānin mutafaqati*’ (‘The commentators have said in different words but similar meanings’); Al-Thaʿlabī, *QA* p. 26; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 43. The narrative was a popular one and is frequently included in Islamic histories; e.g. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, vol. 1, pp. 35 – 36.

⁷⁵⁷ The Qurʾān includes many references to Adam being made of earth: e.g. Q 2:264; 3:59; 16:59; 18:37; 22:5; 30:20; 35:11; 40:67 &c. For an analysis of these narratives and their relation to Jewish and Christian literature see, Chipman, ‘Mythic Aspects’.

[the angel] came down to take [it], the Earth said: ‘I implore you, by the One who sent you, not to take anything from me today, part of which is to be for the Fire tomorrow.’ So [the angel] left it, and when he ascended to his Lord; He said: ‘What prevented you from fetching what I ordered you to fetch?’ He said: ‘The Earth sought Your [protection] and I was worried about bringing back something that had been protected [by You].’ So He despatched another [angel] to [the Earth], and it said the same thing until He had sent all of them,⁷⁵⁸ and so He sent out the Angel of Death and [the Earth] said the same to him; so [the Angel of Death] said: ‘The One who sent me is more deserving of obedience than you.’ So he took [mud] from the face of the whole Earth, from its goodness and its wickedness, and took it to his Lord, and He poured water of the Garden onto it and it became moulded mud⁷⁵⁹ and he created Adam from it.

[108] Ibn Jarīr, al-Bayhaqī in *al-Asmā’ wa-l-ṣifāt* and Ibn ʿAsākir through the intermediary of al-Suddī from Abū Mālik, Abū Sāliḥ, Ibn ʿAbbās, Murra, Ibn Masʿūd and some of the Companions,⁷⁶⁰ they said: God sent Gabriel to the Earth to fetch some clay from it. The Earth said: ‘God protect me from you from [mud] being taken away⁷⁶¹ from me!’ So [Gabriel] returned without taking anything; and he said: ‘O Lord, [the Earth] took your protection, so I respected [the protection that it sought].’ So He sent Michael and it was as before; and so He sent the Angel of Death, and [the Earth] sought protection from him; but he said: ‘I seek God’s protection that I may

⁷⁵⁸ i.e. all of the Bearers of the Throne.

⁷⁵⁹ See Q 15:26, 27 & 33; Arberry translates this as ‘mud moulded’, *Koran*, pp. 254 – 255; Adam is also said to have been made from a clot (ʿ*alaq*) in Q 96:2; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 651. However, the ʿ*alaq* is not prominent in these narratives of Angel of Death and the creation of Adam.

⁷⁶⁰ i.e. this is not an *isnād* but a ḥadīth with multiple narrators.

⁷⁶¹ The Leiden MS reads *yunaqqiṣu* (fol. 193v, l. 2).

return, without not having carried out His command.’ And he took [mud] from the face of the Earth.

[109] al-Daylamī from Zayd ibn Thābit; he said: The Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: If you were to learn of the moment of [your] death (*ajal*),⁷⁶² and know how far it were away, then you would come to hate hope and its deception; there is no-one of any family without the Angel of Death coming to them twice every day; and whoever senses him, then indeed the moment of death has come. He takes his soul (*rūh*),⁷⁶³ and if his family cries and mourns, he says: ‘Do not cry and do not mourn! By God! I have not lessened your age, nor have I kept your livelihood from you, and there is no sin⁷⁶⁴ for me [in doing this], and I will return to you again and again, until there are none of you left.’

[110] ʿAbd al-Razzāq, Aḥmad in *al-Zuhd*, Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abi Ḥātim and Abū ʿl-Shaykh from Mujāhid; he said: There is no tent,⁷⁶⁵ nor any mud-brick house on the surface of the Earth, without the Angel of Death circumambulating it twice a day.

⁷⁶² The concept of *dahr* [fate] was important in the pre-Islamic concept of death; Jacques Waardenburg notes that ‘In the Qurʾān it is not *dahr* [fate] but God who decides the appointed time (*ajal*) of each individual and who causes the person to die...’ Jacques Waardenburg, ‘Death and the Dead’ *EQ* vol. 1, p. 508. See also Goldziher, I., *Muslim Studies*, p. 230; Goldziher, I., ‘Ajal’ *EI*¹ Vol 1, p. 140; Watt, ‘Suffering in Sunnite Islam’ pp. 14 – 15; O’Shaughnessy, *Muhammad’s Thoughts on Death* and Smith & Haddad, *Death and Resurrection*; cf. also *MK* 28a, p. 183.

⁷⁶³ *Nafs* and *rūh* are usually seen as being synonymous (e.g. Calverly, ‘Doctrines of the Soul’ p. 254 and Tritton, A. S., ‘Man, *Nafs*, *Rūh*, ʿ*Aql*’ *BSOAS* 34 (1971) pp. 491 - 495, p. 491). The ḥadīth in this collection, particularly in this section, uses the terms both as synonyms and as terms applying to different parts of soul (e.g. §124); see also Smith and Haddad, *Death and Resurrection*, pp. 17 – 21.

⁷⁶⁴ For a discussion of the different meanings of Arabic words for ‘sin’, see Padwick, Constance E., ‘The Language of Muslim Devotion III’ *MW* 47 (1957) pp. 194 – 209.

⁷⁶⁵ *Bayt shaʿr* = house of hair; this is a Bedouin tent.

[111] Ibn Abī Shayba in *al-Muṣannaḡ* and ʿAbd Allāh ibn Aḡmad in *Zawāʿid al-Zuḡd* from ʿAbd al-ʿAlā al-Tamīmī; he said: There is no inhabitant of a house, without the Angel of Death studying them twice a day.

[112] Ibn Abī ʿl-Dunyā in *Dhikr al-mawt* and Abū ʿl-Shakyh from al-Ḥasan; he said: Every day without exception, the Angel of Death studies every house three times, and if one of them senses him, then his life (*rizq*) has indeed come to an end, and his appointed time of death (*ajal*) has come; [the Angel of Death] takes his soul (*rūḡ*) and [when he has taken his soul],⁷⁶⁶ his family draws near to him wailing and crying; and the Angel of Death takes hold of two posts of the doorframe and says: ‘There is no sin for me [in doing this] against you!’⁷⁶⁷ I am one with orders. By God! I have not eaten your⁷⁶⁸ food (*rizq*), I have not reduced your age, and I have not shortened your appointed time (*ajal*). I am going to return to you, and I will return to you again and again until there are none of you left!’ Al-Ḥasan said: By God! If they were to see his place or hear his words, then they would forget their dead and cry for their own souls.

[113] Ibn Abī ʿl-Dunyā and Abū ʿl-Shaykh from Zayd ibn Aslam; he said: The Angel of Death watches every house five times every day and he studies the face of the sons of Adam every day. He said: And from [this experience] is the terror which hits people, meaning⁷⁶⁹ shaking and shuddering.⁷⁷⁰

⁷⁶⁶ Added by the Leiden MS (fol. 193v, l. 14).

⁷⁶⁷ If read as *dhanab* (dependant) rather than *dhanb* (sin, misdeed) this would mean: ‘Why should I care about your family?’ [Lit: ‘What are your dependents to me?’].

⁷⁶⁸ The Leiden MS reads *la-hā* for *li-kum* throughout; (see fol. 193v, l. 16).

⁷⁶⁹ The Leiden MS reads: *wa-min-hā* instead of *yaʿnī*; see fol. 193v, l. 20.

⁷⁷⁰ The Leiden MS reads: *al-inqibād* (depression, gloom) for *al-intifād*; see fol. 193v, l. 20.

[114] Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Abū ‘l-Shakhyh from ‘Ikrima; he said: Every day without exception, the Angel of Death studies the Book of people’s lives.⁷⁷¹ Some say [‘Ikrima] said three times, and some say he said five times.

[115]⁷⁷² Ibn Abī Ḥātim from Ka‘b; he said: There is no-one in any house,⁷⁷³ without the Angel of Death being at his door seven times every day,⁷⁷⁴ looking to see whether there is anyone in it, whom He has ordered to be taken [up to God].

[116] Sa‘īd ibn Maṣṣūr and Aḥmad in *al-Zuhd* from ‘Aṭā’ ibn Yisār; he said: There is no person in a house, without the Angel of Death studying them five times every day [to see] if he has been commanded to take anyone from among them.

[117] Abū Nu‘aym in *al-Ḥilya* from Thābit al-Banānī; he said: Night and day, [all] twenty four hours, there is not a single hour that passes one who breathes,⁷⁷⁵ without the Angel of the Death standing over [the soul]; if he has been ordered to take [a soul],⁷⁷⁶ he takes it; otherwise he goes away.

[118] Ibn al-Najjār in his *Ta’rīkh* from a ḥadīth attributed to the Prophet⁷⁷⁷ given by Anas that the Angel of Death looks upon the faces of the servants of God seventy

⁷⁷¹ There are a number of different things to which ‘*al-kitāb*’ can apply, here it is the book of an individual’s deeds, as recorded by the scribes; see Berg, Herbert, ‘Ṭabārī’s Exegesis of the Qur’ānic Term *al-Kitāb*’ *JAAR* 63 (1995) pp. 761 – 724, p. 763.

⁷⁷² In the Leiden MS §115 comes after §116; fol. 193v, ll. 22 – 24.

⁷⁷³ Lit: ‘There is not in any house anyone...’

⁷⁷⁴ The Leiden MS omits *kulla yawm*; fol 193v, l. 25.

⁷⁷⁵ *dhū rūḥ* = ‘one who has *rūḥ*.’

⁷⁷⁶ Or: ‘If He [i.e. God] has ordered the taking of [a soul]...’

⁷⁷⁷ *marfū‘* = ‘raised’. This is a ḥadīth that is attributable to the Prophet; see Ibn Ṣalāḥ, *Ma‘rifat*, p. 31.

times a day; if the servant [of God], to whom he has been sent, laughs, then he says: ‘Wonderful! I have been sent to him to take his soul (*rūḥ*) while he is laughing!’

[119] Al-Ṭabarānī in *al-Kabīr*, Abū Nuʿaym, Ibn Mandah, both of them in their works called *al-Maʿrifā* through the intermediary of Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad from his father, from al-Ḥārith ibn al-Khazraj [from his father];⁷⁷⁸ he said: I heard the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) say, as he looked at the Angel of Death while he was [standing by] the head of one of the *anṣār*: ‘Angel of Death, be kind to my friend, he is a believer.’ The Angel of Death said: ‘Be of good cheer! Be happy! I am kind to every believer, and know, Muḥammad, that I am going to take the soul of [every] son of Adam! If he gives out a great shout; then I come to the house, and his soul (*rūḥ*) is mine. And I say: “What is this cry? By God! We have not wronged him,⁷⁷⁹ and we have not [taken his soul] before his appointed time (*ajal*), nor have we hastened his destiny (*qadar*). There is no sin for us in taking his soul.” If they are pleased by what God has arranged [for them], then they are rewarded; if they are displeased, then they are sinning and transgressing. We will return to you, again and again, so be on your guard! There is no person who lives in a tent, or in a mud house, on the land, or on the plain, or on the mountain, without me studying them every day and night until I know the trivialities and the great things in

⁷⁷⁸ Added by the Leiden MS; fol. 193v, l. 32.

⁷⁷⁹ Cf. Q 7:101; ‘And We wronged them not, they have wronged themselves...’ Arberry, *Koran*, p. 223; in this case the third person plural verb appears to refer to the Angel of Death; the use of plural may indicate the Angel of Death’s helpers (cf. §127), especially considering the Angel of Death has already used the first person singular in this ḥadīth.

their souls; by God! If I wanted to take a soul of a mosquito,⁷⁸⁰ I could not do it until God had let it be – He is the One who orders its taking.’

Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad said: I heard that when [the Angel of Death] studies [people] during the appointed times for the ritual prayer, if [someone] is about to die,⁷⁸¹ and if he is one of those who remembers the ritual prayers, then the angel approaches him and drives Satan away from him, and the angel whispers the *talqīn*⁷⁸² to him at that great moment: ‘There is no god, but God, and Muḥammad is the Messenger of God.’

[120] Ibn Abī ‘l-Dunyā in his *Kitāb dhikr al-mawt* from ‘Ubayd ibn ‘Umayr; he said: While Abraham (peace be upon him) was in his house one day, suddenly a man of beautiful appearance came into his presence, and [Abraham] said: ‘Servant of God, who admitted you into my house?’ He said: ‘Its Lord admitted me into it.’ He said: ‘Its Lord is the most right [to do] that. Who are you?’ He said: ‘The Angel of Death.’ He said: ‘Things have been described to me about you [that I cannot see in you]’⁷⁸³. [Abraham] said: ‘Turn around.’ And so he turned around, and there were eyes at the front and eyes at the back and every one of his hairs were like people standing on end. So Abraham begged God for protection against that and said: ‘Return to your first form.’ He said: ‘Abraham, when God sends me to someone He wants to meet, He sends me in the form which you saw first.’⁷⁸⁴

⁷⁸⁰ Cf. Q 2:26: ‘God is not ashamed to strike a similitude even of a gnat, or aught above it.’ Arberry, *Koran*, p. 4.

⁷⁸¹ The Leiden MS reads: *fa-idhā nazara* (see fol. 194r, l. 8); = ‘if he sees Death with him...’

⁷⁸² It was *sunna* to whisper the *shahāda* in the ear of a dying man whose face is turned towards Mecca.’ Tritton, A. S., ‘Djanāza’ *EF* vol. 2, pp. 441 – 442, p. 441.

⁷⁸³ Omitted in the Leiden MS; see fol. 194r, l. 13.

⁷⁸⁴ Al-Suyūṭī also includes other accounts of the death of Abraham in his *Faḍā’il al-masjid al-aqṣā*, pp. 346 – 352.

[121] Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā from Ka[°]b; he said: Abraham (peace be upon him) saw a man in his house, and he said: 'Who are you?' He said: 'I am the Angel of Death.' Abraham said: 'If you are right, then show me a sign so that I might know that you are the Angel of Death.' The Angel of Death said: 'I shall appear before you.' And he appeared, then [Abraham] looked and he saw [the Angel of Death] in the form in which he takes the believers; he saw that he was made of light and dazzlement, which only God, Most High, could have told him about. Then [the Angel of Death] said: 'I will appear before you.' And he appeared before him, then [Abraham] looked and the Angel of Death showed him the form in which he takes unbelievers and adulterers; and Abraham was so afraid that he trembled and his stomach clung to the Earth, and his soul (*nafs*) was about to leave.

[122] [Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā] from Ibn Mas[°]ūd and Ibn 'Abbās; the two said: When God, Most High, took Abraham as a friend, the Angel of Death asked his Lord for permission to send [Abraham] the good news [about it].⁷⁸⁵ And so he came to Abraham and gave him the good news about it, and he said: 'Praise be to God!' Then he said: 'Angel of Death, show me how you take the souls of the unbelievers.' He said: 'Abraham, you will not be able to bear it.' He said: 'On the contrary!' He said: 'I will come before you.' And [the Angel of Death] came before him, then [Abraham] looked [and there was] a black man, his head reaching the sky, and flames of fire were coming out of him; there were no hairs on his body, except it being in the form of a man coming out of him, with flames of fire coming out of his ears. Abraham fainted. When he came round, the Angel of Death had changed back

⁷⁸⁵ Omitted in the Leiden MS; see fol. 194r, l. 23.

into his previous form. Then he said: ‘Angel of Death, if an unbeliever, in his grief and distress, saw only your form, then that would be enough for him! Show me how you take the believers.’ [The Angel of Death] said: ‘I will come before you.’ And he came before him, then [Abraham] looked and he was a young man, whose face was very beautiful, the most pleasing of odour, [wearing] a white gown. [Abraham] said: ‘Angel of Death, if a believer at the moment of death saw in the way of happiness and kindness only this face of yours, then that would suffice!’

[123] Ibn Abī ‘l-Dunyā and Abū ‘l-Shaykh in *al-^cAzama* from Ash^cath ibn Aslam; he said: Abraham (peace be upon him) asked the Angel of Death, whose name is Azrā’īl,⁷⁸⁶ and who has two eyes in his face and two eyes on the back of his head;⁷⁸⁷ [Abraham] said: ‘Angel of Death, what do you do if there is a soul (*nafs*) in the East and a soul in the West, whilst a plague⁷⁸⁸ strikes a [particular place on] earth and two armies meet – how do you deal with them?’ He said: ‘I call the spirits (*arwāḥ*), by the permission of God, and they are between these two fingers of mine.’ He said: The earth is flattened for him, it was made like a basin,⁷⁸⁹ and [the Angel of Death] takes out of it when He wants.

[124] Ibn Abī ‘l-Dunyā from al-Ḥakam that Jacob (peace be upon him) said: ‘Angel of Death, is [it right that] from every person’s soul (*nafs*) without exception, you take

⁷⁸⁶ Both spellings ^c*Azrā’īl* and ^c*Izrā’īl* can be found; see al-Zabīdī, *TA*, vol. 13, p. 27 and Lane, *AELex*, p. 2035.

⁷⁸⁷ *qifāhu* – more precisely the ‘back of the neck’. See *AELex*, pp. 2991 – 2292.

⁷⁸⁸ *wabā’* is used as a general major epidemic, as opposed to *tā’ūn* which is used for the plague specifically; see Conrad, Lawrence I., ‘*Tā’ūn* and *Wabā’*: Conceptions of Plague and Pestilence in Early Islam’ *JESHO* 25 (1981) pp. 268 – 307, p. 271.

⁷⁸⁹ *tast*: a large basin, which is used by al-Kindī for the preparation of musk and according to Lane is used for washing hands before a meal; see al-Kindī, Ya^cqūb ibn Ishāq, *Kitāb fī kīmīyā’ al-^citr wa-‘l-taṣ^cīdāt* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1948) p. 5 and Lane, E. W., *Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (repr. London: Constable, 1973) pp. 142 – 143.

its spirit (*rūḥ*)?’ He said: ‘Yes.’ He said: ‘How? While you are here with me, souls (*anfus*) are in the outermost parts of the Earth?’ He said: ‘God has flattened the Earth for me, and it is like a bowl placed in front of one of you, and He takes whoever is at its outermost parts [that He] wants.’⁷⁹⁰ That is how the world is for me.’

[125] °Abd al-Razzāq, Aḥmad in *al-Zuhd*, Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir, Abū ‘l-Shaykh in *al-ʿAzama* and Abū Nuʿaym in *al-Ḥilya* from Mujāhid; he said: The Earth was created for the Angel of Death like a bowl; [God] takes from it whenever He wishes, and He created helpers for [the Angel of Death], who receive the souls; then [the Angel of Death] takes [the souls] from [the helpers].

[126] Ibn Jarīr and Abū ‘l-Shaykh from al-Rabīʿ ibn Anas that it was asked of the Angel of Death whether it is he alone who takes the souls (*arwāḥ*). He said he is the one who is responsible for the [fulfilment of the] command of the souls (*arwāḥ*)⁷⁹¹ but he has helpers for that; however, the Angel of Death is in charge and every stride of his [goes] from the East to the West.

[127] Ibn Abī Shayba, Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Abū ‘l-Shaykh in his *Tafsīr* from Ibn ʿAbbās concerning His Word, Most High: ‘Our messengers take him.’⁷⁹² He said: The helpers of the Angel of Death are from the angels.

⁷⁹⁰ The ḥadīth could either be referring to God or to the metaphorical person (i.e. one of you) with the bowl between his legs.

⁷⁹¹ Note that *arwāḥ* is used both of human ‘souls’ or ‘spirit’ and the (angelic) spirits that aid the Angel of Death.

⁷⁹² Q. 6:61; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 128.

[128] ^cAbd ibn Ḥamīd, Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Abū ‘l-Shaykh in his *Tafsīr* from Ibrāhīm al-Nakha^cī concerning His Word: ‘Our messengers take him.’⁷⁹³ He said the angels take the souls (*anfus*), then the Angel of Death takes [the souls] from [the angels] afterwards.

[129] ^cAbd al-Razzāq, Ibn Jarīr and Abū ‘l-Shaykh in *al-^cAzama* from Qatāda concerning His Word: ‘Our messengers take him.’⁷⁹⁴ He said: The Angel of Death has messengers, and he makes the messengers responsible for taking [the souls] then they hand them over to the Angel of Death.

[130] Abū ‘l-Shaykh in *al-^cAzama* from Wahb in Munabbih; he said that the angels who are associated with the people⁷⁹⁵ are the ones who receive them and they write their time [of death]; when they take the soul [to God], they hand them over to the Angel of Death, who is like the one who comes after⁷⁹⁶ - meaning the tax collector,⁷⁹⁷ who draws up to himself what is beneath him.

⁷⁹³ Q. 6:61; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 128.

⁷⁹⁴ Q. 6:61; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 128.

⁷⁹⁵ i.e. the Scribes; see §312 – 406.

⁷⁹⁶ *al-^cĀqib* (in the sense of ‘follower’ or ‘successor’) is a significant title: in a ḥadīth Muḥammad says that it is one of his five names; see Al-Bukhārī, *Sahīh*, §3532, p. 679; the epithet is also used in devotional literature, cf. al-Jazūlī, Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān, *Dalā’il al-khayrāt* (si.: s. n, s.d) p. 23 and Ebeid, R. Y. and Young, M. J. L., ‘A List of the Appellations of the Prophet Muḥammad’ *MW* 66 (1976) pp. 259 – 262, p. 260.

⁷⁹⁷ The *ashār* was the collector of the *ushr* land tax, which was paid by Muslims; non-Muslims paid the *kharāj* land tax; see Løkkegaard, Frede, *Islamic Taxation in the Classical Period* (repr. Philadelphia: Porcupine Press, 1978) p. 78; for more details on these two land taxes see Yaḥyā ibn Adām, *Kitāb al-kharāj* (Cairo: al-Maṭba^cat al-Salafiyya wa-Maktabtumā, 1347 / 1928/9) pp. 24 – 31; and Duri, ‘Abdal ‘Aziz, ‘Notes on Taxation in Early Islam’ *JESHO* 17 (1974) pp. 136 – 144. Although the use of this term for the Angel of Death is rare (cf. Wensinck, *CTM*, vol. 4, pp. 224), it is reminiscent the Qur’ānic use of metaphors derived from commerce and daily life; see Rippin, A. J., ‘The Commerce of Eschatology’ in Stefan Wild (ed.), *The Qur’an as Text* (Leiden: Brill, 1996) pp. 125 – 135.

[131] Ibn Abī ‘l-Dunyā, Abū ‘l-Shaykh and Abū Nu‘aym in *al-Hilya* from Shāhar ibn Ḥawshab; he said: The Angel of Death is sitting and the world is between his knees, and the Tablet is in his hands, on which is [written] the appointed times of death of the sons of Adam; with angels standing in front of him, he studies the Tablet, not raising his eyes. And when he comes to an appointed time of a servant [of God],⁷⁹⁸ he says: ‘Take this one!’

[132] Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Ibn ‘Abbās that it was asked about [a situation in which] two souls that came to die in the twinkling of an eye, one in the East and the other in the West; how is the Angel of Death in a position to deal with them both? [Ibn ‘Abbās] said: The ability of the Angel of Death to [deal with] creatures in the East and the West, in darkness, in the air and in the seas is always like a man with a table in front of him, taking from it whatever he wishes.

[133] Ibn Abī Ḥātim from Zuhayr ibn Muḥammad; he said: It was said: ‘Messenger of God, the Angel of Death is alone; but [there are] two armies meeting between the East and the West, and in the area between that there are the fallen and the dead?’ He said: ‘God, may He be praised and glorified, made the Angel of Death able [to cope]: He made [the Earth] like a bowl between one of your hands, and [the Angel of Death] can pass over anything in it.’

[134] Juwaybir from Ibn ‘Abbās; he said: The Angel of Death is the one who takes all of the souls [to God]; indeed he has power over what is on the earth, just as one of

⁷⁹⁸ Or: ‘When it comes to an appointed time of a servant [of God]...’

you has power over his leisure; angels from amongst the angels of mercy and angels from amongst the angels of suffering are with him; when he receives a good soul, he gives it to the angels of mercy; when he receives a wicked soul, he gives it to the angels of suffering.

[135] Ibn Abī ‘l-Dunyā and Abū ‘l-Shakyh from Abū ‘l-Muthannā al-Ḥimṣī; he said: The world, with its lowlands and its mountains, is between the thighs of the Angel of Death, and with him are angels of mercy and angels of suffering. When he takes the souls (*arwāḥ*), these hand over to these, and those over to those, meaning the angels of mercy and the angels of suffering. It is said [that] if there is a fierce battle and the sword is like lightning, then [he said], he summons them and the souls come to him.

[136] al-Dīnawārī in *al-Mujālasa* from Abū Qays al-Azdī; he said; It was said to the Angel of Death: ‘How do you take the souls?’ He said: ‘I summon them, and they come to me.’

[137] Ibn Abī Shayba from Khaythama; he said: The Angel of Death came to Solomon, son of David,⁷⁹⁹ while he had a friend with him and Solomon said to him: ‘Why is it that you either come to a household and take them all together, or you go away from a household, leaving them alone, without taking anyone from them?’ He said: ‘I do not know what I take from them, rather I am under the Throne, and He sends down the deeds⁸⁰⁰ on which are the names.

⁷⁹⁹ For the death of Solomon in the *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiya*’ see Al-Tha‘labī, *QA* pp. 326 - 328; Brinner, *Lives*, pp. 544 – 548; a similar story appears in *Shab.* 30a, p. 133.

⁸⁰⁰ *sikāk* (plural of *sakk*) – derived from the Persian *chak* [see Steingass, F., *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary* (London: W. H. Allen & Co., 1892) p. 386] – are normally used in

[138] Ibn ʿAsākir from Khaythama; he said: Solomon, son of David, said to the Angel of Death: ‘When you want to take my soul (*rūḥ*), would you let me know about it?’ He said: ‘I do not know when it is your [time].’⁸⁰¹ It is something written that comes down to me, which names who is going to die.’

[139] Aḥmad in *al-Zuhd* and Ibn Abī ‘l-Dunyā from Maʿmar; he said: It reached me that the Angel of Death does not know when the appointed time of a person’s death is going to happen until he is ordered to take it.

[140] Ibn Abī ‘l-Dunyā from Ibn Jarīr; he said: It reached me that it is said to the Angel of Death: ‘Take so-and-so at a certain time on a certain day!’

[141] Ibn Abī Ḥātim from ʿIkrima concerning His Word, Most High: ‘It is He who recalls you by night...’⁸⁰² He said: He receives souls during sleep; there is no night - by God! - without Him grasping souls – all of them; and He asks every soul about what its owner did during the day, then He calls the Angel of Death, and he says: ‘Take this one! Take this one!’

connection with legal documents and pensions; however Lane notes that the middle of Shaʿbān was also called *laylat al-ṣakk*, and on this day God allots the *rizq* for every human being; see Lane, *AELex*, p. 1709.

⁸⁰¹ *Mā anā uʿlimu bi-dhālika min-ka* = I do not know about that concerning you.

⁸⁰² Q. 6:60; Arberry, Koran, p. 128.

[142] Ibn Abī ‘I-Dunyā from ‘Aṭā’ ibn Yisār; he said: When it is the middle night of Sha‘bān,⁸⁰³ He hands over a page to the Angel of Death, and it is said: ‘Take from those on this page!’ If the servant is lying in bed, or couples marry, or someone builds a building,⁸⁰⁴ [he does so] while his name has already been copied into the [book of the] dead.

[143] Ibn Jarīr from ‘Umar Mawlā Ghafara; he said: [The names of] whoever is going to die on the Night of Power⁸⁰⁵ until the following one⁸⁰⁶ is copied to the Angel of Death; and [the Angel] will find the man who has married a woman, and the man who has planted the plant; but [only] when the name is amongst the dead.

[144] al-Dīnawarī in *al-Mujālasa* from Rāshid ibn Sa‘īd that the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: On the middle night of Sha‘bān, God reveals to the Angel of Death [information] regarding the taking of every soul that He wants to be taken during that year.

[145] al-Khaṭīb and Ibn al-Najjār from ‘Ā’isha; she said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) used to abstain⁸⁰⁷ during the whole of Sha‘bān

⁸⁰³ i.e. 15th Sha‘bān. Some scholars have considered that this night may have been influenced by a pre-Islamic New Year festival; Wensinck also notes that ‘According to the ḥadīth, Muḥammad practised superogatory fasting by preference in Sha‘bān.’ Wensinck, ‘Sha‘bān’ *ET*², vol. 9, p. 154. See also von Grunebaum, G. E., *Muhammadan Festivals* (London: Curzon Press, 1976) pp. 52 – 53.

⁸⁰⁴ In a Prophetic ḥadīth about another unnamed prophet, people who have married, built a house and acquired new livestock are exempted from fighting in battle (see Al-Tha‘labī, *QA*, p. 249; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 412); here these people are not exempted from death.

⁸⁰⁵ Note that there is not any consensus on the date when this happens (cf. §142). The Night of Power is the evening of 27th Ramaḍān – see Plessner, M., ‘Ramaḍān’ *ET*² vol. 8, pp. 417 – 418 and Marcotte, Roxanne D., ‘Night of Power’ *EQ* vol. 3, pp. 537 – 539.

⁸⁰⁶ Lit.: ‘...until its likeness.’

⁸⁰⁷ Sheila McDonough comments that ‘Drawing close to God requires abstaining or fleeing from all that might inhibit the human response to the divine initiate.’ McDonough, Sheila, ‘Abstinence’ *EQ* vol. 1, p. 19. Cf. Q 66:1, Arberry, *Koran*, p. 593.

until Ramaḍān; but he only fasted for a whole month during Sha^ʿbān.⁸⁰⁸ She said: ‘Messenger of God, is it because Sha^ʿbān is the dearest month for you that you fast during it?’ He said: ‘Yes, ^ʿĀ’isha, the taking [of souls] is written for the Angel of Death during it; I do not want my name to be deleted, so I fast.

[146] Aḥmad, al-Bazzār and al-Ḥākīm and he declared the ḥadīth to be authentic (*ṣaḥīḥ*) from Abū Hurayrah from the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation); he said: The Angel of Death used to come to people manifestly, but he came to Moses and he [Moses] slapped him and gouged out his eye, and [the Angel of Death] went to his Lord; and he said: ‘Lord, your servant Moses has gouged out my eye. Unless you favour him, tear him open.’ He said to him: ‘Go to my servant [Moses] and say to him that he should place his hand on a skin of an ox, and then he will have a year for every hair that his hand has covered.’ So he came to him and [Moses] said: ‘What is after this?’ He said: ‘Death.’ And he said: ‘Let it be now.’ And so [the Angel of Death] smelt [Moses], took his soul and God gave him back his eye. After that he came to people in stealth.⁸⁰⁹

[147] Abū Nu^ʿaym from al-A^ʿmash; he said: The Angel of Death used to be visible to people, but he came to [one particular] man, saying: ‘Finish your business, for I

⁸⁰⁸ i.e. Sha^ʿbān was the only month during which he performed superogatory fasting for its entirety.

⁸⁰⁹ This ḥadīth is found in many Arabic sources; see Al-Tha^ʿlabī, *QA*, p. 247; Brinner, *Lives*, p. 409; cf. al-Kisā’ī, *QA*, pp. 237 – 240; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, vol. 1, p. 434; Brinner, W. M. (tr.), *The History of al-Ṭabarī: Volume III – The Children of Israel*, pp. 87 – 88. This popularity of this tradition can be seen in its influence on the Falsahas of Ethiopia, see Ullendorf, Edward, ‘Literature of the Falashas’. There are many examples in extra-Biblical Jewish and Christian literature of Prophets (particularly figures such as Abraham, Moses, David and Solomon) meeting the Angel of Death before they die. The *Testament of Abraham* is a good example of this genre (see Ludlow, *Abraham Meets Death*). Narratives including highly anthropomorphised and comic depictions of the Angel of Death are still found in Arab folktales, cf. El-Shamy, Hasan M., *Folktales of Egypt* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1980) pp. 117 – 122 and Hanauer, J. E., *Folk-Lore of the Holy Land: Moslem, Christian and Jewish* (London: The Sheldon Press, 1935) pp. 32, 36 – 39.

want to take your soul.’ And [the man] made a complaint; consequently, [God] then sent down disease and made death a secret.

[148] al-Marwazī in *al-Janā’iz*, Ibn Abī ‘l-Dunyā and Abū ‘l-Shakyh from al-Sha^cthā’ Jābir ibn Zayd that the Angel of Death used to take souls without pain, but the people cursed him and worried about him, so he complained to his Lord. Consequently, God established diseases and they forgot about the Angel of Death. It is said someone dies like this or like that.⁸¹⁰

[149] Ibn Abī Ḥātim from Ibn ‘Abbās that an angel sought permission from his Lord to go down to Enoch,⁸¹¹ and he came to him and greeted him, and Enoch said to him: ‘Is there anything between you and the Angel of Death?’ He said: ‘He is one of my brother angels.’ He said: ‘Are you able to help me with something concerning him?’ He said: ‘[If you want to] delay [death] any [amount of time],⁸¹² or hasten it, then no, but I will ask him for you, and he will treat you kindly concerning death.’ He said: ‘Ride between my wings!’ So Enoch rode and ascended into the highest heaven, and he met the Angel of Death, with Enoch between his wings; and the angel said to him: ‘I have need of you.’ He said: ‘I already know about your need; you spoke to me about Enoch, [and what remains of his age,]⁸¹³ but his name has been wiped out, and

⁸¹⁰ Lit: it was said that so-and-so died in that way and in that way.

⁸¹¹ Al-Tha^clabī includes one continuous narrative of Enoch; this ḥadīth contains a number of similar elements, but some differences too; see al-Tha^clabī, *QA*, pp. 49 - 50; Brinner, *Lives*, pp. 83 – 85; cf. al-Kisā’ī, *QA*, pp. 81 – 85 and al-Rabghūzī, *QA*, vol. 2, pp. 49 – 52.

⁸¹² *Ammā an yu’khiru shay’an aw yuqdamuhu fa-lā* = (lit.) ‘As for delaying anything or arriving at it, then no.’

⁸¹³ This is added in the Leiden MS; fol. 195v, l. 13,

none of his appointed term⁸¹⁴ remains, save half the blinking of an eye, and then Enoch died between the wings of the angel.

[150] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Muḥammad ibn al-Munkadir that the Angel of Death said to Abraham (peace be upon him):⁸¹⁵ ‘Your Lord has ordered me to take your soul in the most peaceful way that I have taken the soul of a believer.’ He said: ‘I ask you in the truth of the One who sent you that you consult Him about me.’ He said: ‘Your friend⁸¹⁶ asked that I consult with you about him.’ [God] said: ‘Go to him and say to him: Your Lord says: the Friend wants to meet His friend.’ So he came to him, and he said: ‘I was in pain when you ordered him [to take my soul].’ He said: ‘Abraham, have you drunk wine?’⁸¹⁷ He said: ‘No.’ Then [the Angel of Death] asked him to breathe over him⁸¹⁸ [and] he took his soul (*nafs*) in that way.

[151] Aḥmad from Abū Hurayrah that the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: David⁸¹⁹ (peace be upon him) was extremely jealous,⁸²⁰ and he had the habit that when he went out, the doors [of his harem] would be shut. No-one would go into his family until he returned. One day he went out and returned,

⁸¹⁴ *Ajal* refers to both the appointed moment of death, and the total time allotted for life.

⁸¹⁵ For a different account of the death of Abraham, see al-Tha‘labī, *QA*, pp. 97 - 98; Brinner, *Lives*, pp. 164 – 165.

⁸¹⁶ Abraham is designated the *khalīl allāh* and the portrayal of Abraham as the ‘friend of God’ is important in Judaism, Christianity and Islam; see Guthrie, A., ‘The Importance of Abraham’ *MW* 45 (1955) pp. 113 – 120; p. 118 and Bishop, Eric F. F., ‘The Qumran Scrolls and the Qur’an’ *MW* 48 (1958) pp. 223 – 236, pp. 225 – 226.

⁸¹⁷ *sharāb* is used by jurists to indicate wine; see Lane, *AELex*, p. 1528; cf. §171.

⁸¹⁸ *istankaha* (X) is relatively rare and refers to the action of breathing over someone’s nose so that they can smell the individual’s breath; see Hava, J. G., *Farā’id al-durīya* (Beirut: Catholic Press, 1964) p. 799.

⁸¹⁹ For the death of David in the *Qiṣas al-Anbiya*, which is relatively similar, see al-Tha‘labī, *QA* p. 292; Brinner, *Lives*, pp. 489 – 490; al-Kisā’ī, *QA*, pp. 277 – 278; al-Rabghūzī, *QA*, vol. 2, p. 397.

⁸²⁰ *ghayra* refers to sexual jealousy specifically; see Lane, *AELex*, p. 2316. For analysis of a similar story in the *Qiṣas al-anbiyā*’ see Wagtendonk, ‘The Stories of David’ p. 349. This tradition is also told of Abraham; see al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā*’, vol. 4, p. 395; Winter (tr.), *Remembrance of Death*, p. 44 – 45.

and there was a man standing in doorway of his house. [David] said to him: ‘Who are you?’ He said: ‘I am the one who does not revere kings, and the one who is not prevented from passing through the veil.’ David said: ‘You, therefore, by God! - are the Angel of Death. [I] welcome the command of God!’ And David hurried⁸²¹ to his place [before the Angel of Death] and his soul was taken.

[152] Ibn Mājah from Abū Umāma; I heard the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) saying: God, may He be praised and glorified, made the Angel of Death responsible for the taking of the souls (*arwāḥ*) except those martyred at sea – He takes charge of the taking their souls Himself.⁸²²

[153] Juwaybir from Ibn ʿAbbās; he said: The Angel of Death is responsible for the taking of human souls, and he is the one who orders the taking of their souls; and [there is] an angel for the *Jinn*, an angel for the *Shaytāns*, and an angel for the birds, wild animals, the predatory animals, the large fish and the ant; so there are four angels. Angels die in the first strike of the lightning. The Angel of Death is responsible for taking of their souls, then [the angel] dies. As for those who are martyred at sea, God is responsible for the taking of their souls; He does not give the responsibility for that to the Angel of Death, for their honour is with Him when they travel through the depths of the sea for His sake.

⁸²¹ *zamala*: ‘He was as though he limped, by reason of his briskness, or sprightliness...’ Lane, *AELex*, p. 1252; see also Ibn Manẓūr, *LA*, vol. 13, p. 328 and al-Zabidī, *TA*, vol. 29, p. 135.

⁸²² Although sea trade routes existed before and after the advent of Islam, the Arabs relied on land trade most heavily; however, sea-trade and naval forces did develop – see Hourani, George Fadlo, *Arab Seafaring* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951) pp. 53 – 55.

[154] Ibn Abī ‘l-Dunyā from Muḥammad ibn Ka‘b al-Qurzī; he said: It reached me that the last to die is the Angel of Death; it is said to him: ‘Angel of Death, die!’ So with that he will let out a cry, (if the creatures of the heavens and the earth were to hear it, they would die of fright); then he will die.⁸²³

[155] Ibn Abī ‘l-Dunyā from Ziyād al-Numayrī; he said: I have read in a certain book that death is harder for the Angel of Death than it is for the rest of the creations.

[156] al-‘Uqaylī in *al-Du‘afā’*, Abū ‘l-Shaykh in *al-‘Azama* and al-Daylamī from Anas; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: The allotted time (*ajal*) for all livestock and insects of the earth is [devoted to] the worship of God. When their glorification of God is completed, God takes their souls and there is nothing for the Angel of Death [to do] in that.

[157] al-Khaṭīb in *Ruwāt Mālik* from Sulaymān ibn Ma‘mar al-Kilābī; he said: I was with Mālik ibn Anas, when a man asked him about fleas: ‘Does the Angel of Death take their souls (*arwāḥ*)?’ He bowed his head for a long while and then said: ‘Do they have a soul (*naḥs*)?’ He said: ‘Yes.’ He said: ‘Then the Angel of Death takes their souls (*arwāḥ*) [and] God receives their souls (*anfus*) in full when they die.’

⁸²³ The Leiden MS may read *lam* for *thumma*, but the writing is not clear (fol. 196r, l. 1); *thumma* makes more sense here.

[158] Abū Nu^ʿaym in *al-Hilya* from Mu^ʿādh ibn Jabal; he said: The Angel of Death has a spear,⁸²⁴ which has the space from the East to the West in its reach, and when the appointed time of death of a servant of the world comes, he hits his head with that spear and he says: ‘Now the army of death is called upon you.’

[159] Ibn ^ʿAsākir from Ibn ^ʿAbbās which is traceable to the Prophet (*marfūʿ*); that the Angel of Death has a poisoned spear, which has one end in the East, and another end in the West, and he cuts the vein of life with it.⁸²⁵

[160] Ibn Abī Ḥātim from Zuhayr ibn Muḥammad; he said: The Angel of Death sits on a ladder between Heaven and Earth and he has messengers⁸²⁶ from amongst the angels. When the soul (*nafs*) is in the throat⁸²⁷ the Angel of Death sees him from his ladder, and he looks intently at him, then another which dies sees him.

[161] Ibn Abī ʿI-Dunyā from al-Ḥakam ibn Ubān; he said: ʿIkrima was asked: ‘Does a blind man see the Angel of Death when he comes to take his soul (*rūḥ*)?’ He said: ‘Yes.’

[162] Abū Nu^ʿaym in *al-Hilya* from Mujāhid; he said: A servant does not get ill from any illness without the messenger of the Angel of Death being with him until there is

⁸²⁴ The Angel of Death is said to have a spear (*ʿidrāʾ*) in *CantR.* 4:7, although the exact meaning of *ʿidrāʾ* is disputed. Cf. Cohen (tr.), p. 117 and Bender, A. P., ‘Belief, Rites and Customs of the Jews, Connected with Death, Burial and Mourning’ *JQR* 6 (1894) pp. 317 – 347, p. 323.

⁸²⁵ The way in which the Angel of Death kills humans is similar to the way in which humans kill animals in ritual slaughter (*dhabḥ*); see Bousquet, G.-H., ‘Dhabīḥa’ *EF*², vol. 2, pp. 213 – 214.

⁸²⁶ The Leiden MS reads *rusul* for *rasūl*; fol. 196r, l. 13. A large number of angelic helpers would seem more appropriate; cf. § 125, 127 – 129 & 135.

⁸²⁷ *Thughrat al-naḥr* = *fossa jugularis*; see Fonahn, A., *Arabic and Latin Anatomical Terminology* (Kristiana: Jacob Dybwad, 1922) §3282, p. 152; cf. Q 50:16 ‘....and We are nearer to him than the jugular vein.’ Arberry, *Koran*, p. 540.

another illness which the servant gets ill from; the Angel of Death comes to him, and says: Messenger after messenger has come to you, but you did not care about them, and now a messenger has come to you, who will cut your ties⁸²⁸ with this world!’

[163] Abū ‘l-Ḥusayn Ibn al-^cArīf in his *Fawā'id*, and Abū ‘l-Rabī^c al-Mas^cūdī in his *Fawā'id* from Anas ibn Mālik; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: When the Angel of Death comes to a friend of God, Most High, he greets him and his greeting is to say: ‘Peace be upon you, friend of God. Rise and leave your house, which you have left in ruin,⁸²⁹ [and go] to your house which you have built [with your good deeds].’⁸³⁰ When it is not a friend of God, he says to him: ‘Rise and leave your house, which you have made comfortable, and [go] into your house, which you have ruined [with your misdeeds].’⁸³¹

[164] Abū ‘l-Qāsim ibn Mandah in *Kitāb al-ahwāl wa-‘l-īmān* concerning a question from Ibn Mas^cūd; he said: When God, may He be praised and glorified, wants to take a soul of a believer, He reveals to the Angel of Death: ‘Recite to him from me: “Peace!”’ And when the Angel of Death comes to take his soul, he recites: ‘Your Lord says to you: Peace!’

⁸²⁸ Lit. ‘footprint’.

⁸²⁹ The text could read ‘which I have left in ruin etc.’ However, this ḥadīth appears to express the idea that a pious Muslim should be paying more attention to remembering God, than making their home comfortable; and that the good actions of an individual prepares their place in heaven.

⁸³⁰ *amara* carries positive meanings (e.g. flourishing, full of camels etc.); see Lane, *AELex*, p. 2153 – 2154.

⁸³¹ Cf. *Ket.* 104a, pp. 664 – 665: ‘When a righteous man departs from the world he is welcomed by three companies of angels. One exclaims, ‘Come into peace’; the other exclaims, *He who walketh in his uprightness*, while the third exclaims, *He shall enter into peace; they shall rest on their beds*’. When a wicked man perishes from the world he is met by three groups of angels of destruction. One announces, *There is no peace, saith the Lord, unto the wicked*, the other tells him, *He shall lie in sorrow*, while the third tells him, *Go down and be thou laid with the uncircumcised*’. See also *Shab.* 152b, p. 779.

[165] al-Marwazī in *al-Janā'iz*, Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā and Abū 'l-Shaykh in his *Tafsīr* from Ibn Mas'ūd; he said: When the Angel of Death comes to take the soul of a believer, he says: 'Your Lord says to you: Peace!'

[166]⁸³² Ibn Abī Shayba, Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, al-Hākim and he declared it to be sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*) and al-Bayhaqī in *Shu'ab al-īmān* from al-Barā' ibn 'Āzab concerning the Word, Most High: '[Their greeting], on the day that they shall meet Him, will be "Peace!"'⁸³³ He said: On that day, they will meet the Angel of Death; whoever is a believer, [the Angel of the Death] will take their soul more peacefully for him.

[166b] Ibn al-Mubārak in *al-Zuhd*, Abū 'l-Shaykh in *al-Āzama*, Abū 'l-Qāsim ibn Mandah in *Kitāb al-ahwāl* and al-Bayhaqī in *Shu'ab al-īmān* from Muḥammad ibn Ka'b al-Qurayzī he said: When the soul of the believing servant is spent, the Angel of Death comes to him and says to him: 'Peace be upon you, Friend of God! God says to you: Peace!' Then he recites this verse: '...whom the angels take while they are godly saying, 'Peace be on you!'⁸³⁴

Al-Silafī said in *al-Mashyakha al-Baghdādiyya*: I heard Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī al-Wā'iz saying; [I heard Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan saying;]⁸³⁵ I heard my father saying: I saw in a book that God, Most High, makes the phrase 'In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful' appear on the palm of the Angel of Death

⁸³² This follows the Leiden MS fol. 196r, l. 27f. In the DKI edition, the *isnād* of §166 used with the *matn* of 166b.

⁸³³ Q. 33:44; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 432.

⁸³⁴ Q. 16:32; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 261.

⁸³⁵ This is included in the *isnād* in the Leiden MS; fol. 196v, l. 3.

in writing of light; then He commands [the Angel of Death] to stretch out his hand to the Knower⁸³⁶ at the time his death, and that writing is shown to him; when the soul of the one who knows sees it, it flies towards Him⁸³⁷ more quickly than a blink of an eye.

[167] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Dā'ūd ibn Abī Hind; he said: It reached me that the Angel of Death was made responsible for Solomon (peace be upon him), and he was told: 'Go into his presence every day, and ask what he needs; then do not leave him until you have performed it.'⁸³⁸ He used to enter upon him in the image of a man, and he would ask him how he was. Then he would say: 'Messenger of God, do you need anything?' If he said: 'Yes', then he did not leave him until he had done it; and if he said: 'No', then he left him until the following morning. One day he entered upon him while there was an old man with him. [Solomon] stood up, and greeted [him], then [the Angel of Death] said: 'Do you need anything, Messenger of God?' He said: 'No.' The [angel] glanced at [the old man] and the old man trembled; the Angel of Death left and the old man stood up and said to Solomon: 'I beg you, by the truth of God! to command the wind⁸³⁹ to carry me and throw me down on the furthest lump of mud in the land of India!' So [Solomon] commanded it and it carried him [there]. The Angel of Death came into Solomon the next morning and asked him about the

⁸³⁶ *Al-Ārif* is not a name of God, but is commonly used to refer to Sufi mystics; see Shah-Kazemi, Reza, 'The notion and significance of *ma'rifa* in Sufism' *JIS* 13 (2002) pp. 155 – 181, p. 157.

⁸³⁷ Or 'to the Angel of Death'.

⁸³⁸ i.e. until he had fulfilled Solomon's needs.

⁸³⁹ Solomon is believed to have had magic powers, including the command of the winds, which were given to him by God. See Johns, Anthony H., 'Air and Wind' *EQ* vol. 1, pp. 51 – 55; Soucek, Priscilla, 'Solomon' *EQ* vol. 5, pp. 76 – 78 and Walker, J., [-P. Fenton], 'Sulaymān b. Dāwūd' *EF* vol. 9, pp. 822 – 824. This power is mentioned in the Qur'ān; cf. Q 21:81; 34:12 and 38:36; Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 329, 438 & 467.

old man. [The Angel of Death] said: ‘His book⁸⁴⁰ came down to me yesterday, [saying] that I should take his soul tomorrow at the rising of dawn in the furthest lump of mud in the land of India; but when I came down, and thinking that he was there, I then found him with you. I was astonished and could not think of [anything] other than him;⁸⁴¹ I came down to him today at the break of dawn and found him on the highest lump of mud in the land of India, and he trembled, and I took his soul (*rūh*).’

[168] Ibn Abī Shayba from Khaythama; he said: The Angel of Death went into Solomon and began to look at one of his companions who continued to look at him. When he left, the man said: ‘Who was that?’ He said: ‘That was the Angel of Death.’ He said: ‘I saw him looking at me as if he wanted me.’ He said: ‘What do you want [me to do]?’ He said: ‘I want to you to carry me on the wind until you put me down in India.’ So [Solomon] called the wind and he carried him upon it, and he put him down in India. Then the Angel of Death came to Solomon, and [Solomon] said to him: ‘You were looking at the man from my companions.’ He said: ‘I was astonished by him. I was ordered to take him in India and he was with you!’

[169] al-Ṭabarānī from Ibn ʿAbbās; he said: The Angel of Death went to the Prophet during the illness which he contracted⁸⁴² and he sought permission to enter [his

⁸⁴⁰ This is the book that contains the details of the individual’s *ajal*; see Berg, ‘Ṭabarī’s Exegesis’ p. 763.

⁸⁴¹ Lit.: *mā lī hammun ghayrihi* ‘I had no concerns other than him.’

⁸⁴² This ḥadīth and the following do not appear in the *Sīra* (see Guillaume, A., *The Life of Muhammad* pp. 678 – 683) nor al-Ṭabarī’s account of the Prophet’s death (see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, vol. 3, pp. 183 – 199; Poonawala, Ismail K. (tr.), *The History of al-Ṭabarī: Vol. IX – The Last Years of the Prophet* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1990) pp. 162 – 183). The death of Muḥammad became important in Muslim spirituality as Muḥammad accepted death willingly; cf. al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā’*

presence] while his head was in ʿAlī’s lap.⁸⁴³ He said: ‘Peace be upon you, and the mercy of God and his blessings.’ ʿAlī said: ‘Come back again [at another time]! We are too busy⁸⁴⁴ to deal with you.’ The Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: ‘Do you know who this is, Abū ‘l-Ḥasan? This is the Angel of Death. Bring him in, in good faith.’ When [the Angel of Death] entered, he said: ‘Your Lord says to you: Peace!’ [Muḥammad] said: ‘Where is Gabriel?’ He said: ‘He is not near me, but he is coming.’ The Angel of Death left until Gabriel came down to him. And Gabriel said to him while he was standing at the door: ‘Why did he expel you, Angel of Death!’ He said: ‘Muḥammad asked for you.’ When the two sat down, Gabriel said: ‘Peace be upon you, Abū ‘l-Qāsim!’⁸⁴⁵ This is a farewell for you and for me.’ It reached me that the Angel of Death did not greet anyone from a household before him, and will not greet [anyone]⁸⁴⁶ after it.

[170] al-Ṭabarānī from al-Ḥusayn that Gabriel came down to the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) on the day of his death, and he said: ‘How do you find yourself?’ He said: ‘Gabriel, I find myself distressed and I find myself scared.’ The Angel of Death sought permission to enter from the door. Gabriel said: ‘Muhammad, this is the Angel of Death, who is seeking permission to enter your house. He has not sought permission from me [to come to] a human before you, and he will not seek permission from me [to come to] a human after you.’ [Muḥammad] said: ‘Give him

vol. 4, p. 399; Winter, *Remembrance of Death*, p. 58. Al-Rabghūzī’s *Qīṣas al-anbiyā’* includes similar material to these ḥadīth, see al-Rabghūzī, *QA*, vol. 2, pp. 671 – 679, especially pp. 673 – 678.

⁸⁴³ Some ḥadīth say that this was ʿĀ’isha; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, vol. 3, p. 199; Poonwawala, *Last Years of the Prophet*, p. 183 al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā’*, vol. 4, p. 403; Winter, *Remembrance of Death*, p. 65.

⁸⁴⁴ *mashāghīl* in the *mafā’īl* form is a broken plural of *mashghūl*; see Wright, W., *A Grammar of the Arabic Language* (repr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) vol. 1, §305a, p. 229.

⁸⁴⁵ Qāsim was one of Muḥammad’s sons by Khadīja, and Abū ‘l-Qāsim was his *kunya*; see Déclais, Jean-Louis, ‘Names of the Prophet’ *EQ* vol. 3, pp. 501 – 505, p. 501.

⁸⁴⁶ Omitted by the Leiden MS; fol. 196v, l. 29.

permission!’ So [Gabriel] let him in. [The Angel of Death] approached until he stood before [Muḥammad] and said: ‘God has sent me to you and has commanded me to obey you; if you command me to take your soul (*nafs*), then I will take it; if you do not want [me to take it], then I will leave it.’ He said: ‘Do [it], Angel of Death.’ He said: ‘Yes, as you command.’ Gabriel said to [Muḥammad]: ‘God indeed desires to meet you.’ Then the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: ‘Carry out what you have been commanded [to do] by Him’

[171] Ibn al-Najjār in his *Ta’rīkh* said: Yusūf ibn al-Mubārak ibn al-Ḥāmil al-Khafāf told me; he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that Muḥammad ibn °Abd al-Bāqī al-Anṣārī told me; he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn °Alī ibn Thābit al-Khaṭīb told me; he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that al-Qādī Abū al-°Alā Muḥammad ibn °Alī al-Wāsiṭī told me;⁸⁴⁷ he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that Abū Muḥammad °Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn °Abd Allāh⁸⁴⁸ ibn al-Mulīḥ al-Sajazī told me; I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that °Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Haruwī told me; I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that °Abd al-Salām ibn Ṣaliḥ told me; I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that °Alī ibn Mūsā al-Raḍī told me; he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that Abū Mūsā ibn Ja°far told me; he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that Abū Ja°far ibn Muḥammad told me;⁸⁴⁹ he said: I bear witness by

⁸⁴⁷ Omitted from the *isnād* in the Leiden MS; fol. 197r, l. 6.

⁸⁴⁸ °Ibn °Abd Allāh is missing from this person’s name in the Leiden MS, however the rest of the name is present; fol. 197r, l. 7.

⁸⁴⁹ Omitted from the *isnād* in the Leiden MS; fol. 197r, l. 9

God and I bear witness to God that Abū Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī told me;⁸⁵⁰ he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that Abū ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn told me; he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that Abū ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib told me; he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) told me; he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that Gabriel told me; he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that Michael told me;⁸⁵¹ he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that ʿAzrāʾīl told me; he said: he said: I bear witness by God and I bear witness to God that God, Most High, told me; he said: The one addicted to wine is like the slave of an idol.⁸⁵²

4.2.10 The Bearers of the Throne⁸⁵³ (peace be upon them)

The Most High said: ‘eight shall carry above them the Throne of thy Lord...’⁸⁵⁴

[179] ʿAbd ibn Ḥamīd, ʿUthmān ibn Saʿīd al-Dārimī in *Kitāb al-radd ʿalā al-jahmīya*,⁸⁵⁵ Abū Yaʿlā, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Khuzayma, Ibn Mardawayh and al-

⁸⁵⁰ The DKI edition includes Abū Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī twice in the *isnād*; the Leiden MS does not include him at all; see fol 197r, l. 10.

⁸⁵¹ Michael is omitted from the *isnād* in the Leiden MS; fol. 197r, l. 14.

⁸⁵² This ḥadīth has already appeared above (§84) in the section on the Angel Michael; the *isnād* is different in each of the ḥadīth, but they have a *common link* in Abū Mūsā ibn Jaʿfar. The ‘angelic *isnād*’ is also different, with the chain going through Isrāfīl in §84 and ʿAzrāʾīl in §171.

⁸⁵³ In the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha the angels that carry God’s Throne are given as Gabriel, Michael, Rafael / Rufael and Fanuel / Penuel (cf. *1 En.* 40:2, 9-10; 71:7- 13; *OTP*, vol. 1, pp. 32 & 50 and *Sib. Or.* 2:215; *OTP*, vol. 1, p. 350); in the Qurʾān and Islamic tradition, however, the Throne Angels are distinct from other named angels, which bears a closer resemblance to later Jewish exegesis in which aspects of God’s Throne become angelic (e.g. the *opannīm* and the *galgallīm* are derived from the wheels of the Throne); see Olyan, *A Thousand Thousands* pp. 31 – 69 and Barton, ‘Names of Angels and Demons’ pp. 156 – 159.

⁸⁵⁴ Q. 69:17; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 604.

⁸⁵⁵ Added by the Leiden MS; fol. 197v, l. 22.

Ḥākīm who declared to be sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*) [in *al-Kitāb al-radd ʿalā al-jaḥmiyyah*]⁸⁵⁶ from al-ʿAbbās⁸⁵⁷ ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib concerning His Word: ‘[eight] shall carry above them the Throne of thy Lord’ – Eight angels in the form of goats.⁸⁵⁸

[180] ʿUthmān ibn Saʿīd from Ibn ʿAbbās: The Bearers of the Throne have horns, which have corners like the corners of spears. The space between one of their balls of their feet to their ankles is the distance that it would take to travel five hundred years; and the space between the tip of his nose to his collarbone is the distance that it would take to travel five hundred years; and the distance from the tip of his nose to the earlobe is five hundred years.⁸⁵⁹

[181] ʿUthmān ibn Saʿīd and Abū Yaʿlā in a sound chain of authorities from Abū Hurayrah; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: Listen to me! I was told about an angel whose two legs pass through the Seven Earths and that the Throne was on his shoulders, [this angel] says: ‘I worship you, where you are and where you will be.’

[181b]⁸⁶⁰ Abū Dāʾūd, Abū ʿl-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī in *al-Asmāʾ wa-l-ṣifāt* from Jābir that the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: Listen to me! I

⁸⁵⁶ Omitted by the Leiden MS; fol. 197v, l. 23.

⁸⁵⁷ Given as ‘Ibn ʿAbbās’ in the Leiden MS; fol. 197v, l. 23.

⁸⁵⁸ The origin of the belief that the bearers are in the form of goats is unclear, see Halperin, *Faces of the Chariot*, p. 470.

⁸⁵⁹ ‘The vast size of angels is a theme of 3En. ... In the Hekalot texts size conveys the idea of majesty and sublimity. It is found not only in the motif of the measurements of the angels, but in Šiʿur Qomah, the measurements of the body of God, and in the motif of the dimensions of the heavens.’ Alexander, ‘3 Enoch – Introduction’, p. 263 n. 9c. See also the discussion about the size of the angels in Chapter 3.

⁸⁶⁰ This ḥadīth is added in the Leiden MS; fol. 197v, l. 30 - 198r, l. 1.

was told about one of the angels who carry the Throne; the distance between his earlobe to the shoulder is a distance of seven hundred years.

[182] Abū Dā'ūd, Abū 'l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī in *al-Asmā' wa-'l-sifāt* from Jābir that the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: Hear me, that I was told about one of the angels who carry the Throne: his two feet are on the lowest Earth and the Throne is on his horn; and [the space] between his earlobe and his shoulder is the distance it would take a bird to fly for seven hundred years. That angel says: 'I worship you wherever⁸⁶¹ you are!'

[183] Abū 'l-Shaykh through the intermediary of Abū Qabīl that he heard 'Abd Allāh say: The Bearers of the Throne; the space that is between the inner corner of one of their eyes to the outer corner of his eye is the distance of five hundred years.

[184] 'Uthmān ibn Sa'īd, Ibn al-Mundhir and Abū 'l-Shaykh from Ḥassān ibn 'Aṭiyya; he said: The Bearers of the Throne are eight. Their feet are firmly fixed on the Seventh Earth, their heads pass through the Seventh Heaven, their horns are the same as their height and on top of [their horns] is the Throne.

[185] Abū 'l-Shaykh from Zādhān;⁸⁶² he said: The Bearers of the Throne; their feet are on the limits [of the universe]. They are not able to look up because of the beams of light.⁸⁶³

⁸⁶¹ The Leiden MS reads '*ayna*' for '*haythu*'; '*haythu*' seems more appropriate; fol. 198r, l. 4.

⁸⁶² Given as 'Zādān' in the Leiden MS; fol. 198r, l. 8.

⁸⁶³ God is often described in these terms in Islam; cf. The Light Verse; Q 24:35; Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 356 - 357.

[186] Ibn al-Mundhir, Abū 'l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī in *Shu'ab al-īmān* from Hārūn ibn Ri'āb, he said: The Bearers of the Throne are eight and they call back to each other in merciful voices; four of them saying: 'We worship You and [we are] in praise of You for Your clemency after Your knowledge [of sins committed]!'; and [the other] four saying: 'We worship You and [we are] in praise of You for Your forgiveness of sins, according to Your decree!'

[187] 'Abd ibn Ḥamīd from al-Rabī^c concerning His Word: 'eight shall carry above them the Throne of thy Lord.'⁸⁶⁴ [Eight]⁸⁶⁵ from the angels.

[188] Ibn Jarīr from Ibn Zayd; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: Four carry him today, eight [will carry him] on the Day of Resurrection.⁸⁶⁶

[189] 'Abd al-Razzāq, 'Abd ibn Ḥamīd, Ibn al-Mundhir and Abū 'l-Shaykh from Wahb; he said: The Bearers of the Throne: the ones that carry him are four angels, and each angel has four faces and four wings, with two wings on its face, which [prevent it from]⁸⁶⁷ looking at the Throne, [for if it were to look] it would be struck unconscious, and two [other] wings, with which they fly. Their feet are on the ground

⁸⁶⁴ Q. 69:17; Arberrry, *Koran*, p. 604; cf. Rev. 4:6, where there are four bearers of the Throne.

⁸⁶⁵ Added by the Leiden MS, fol 198r, l. 13.

⁸⁶⁶ Cf. Q 69:17: '...and the angels shall stand upon its borders, and upon that day eight shall carry above them the Throne of thy Lord.' Arberrry, *Koran*, p. 604. There is some debate in the exegetical literature about what this meant exactly, e.g. al-Qurṭubī, *Al-Jāmi' li-aḥkām al-Qur'ān* (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, 1948) vol. 12, pp. 266 – 267; al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān 'an ta'wīl al-Qur'ān [Tafsīr]* (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1968), vol. 29, pp. 58 – 59; and al-Rāzī, Fakh al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Umar, *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb [Tafsīr]* (Cairo: Maṭba'at al-'Amīra al-Sharafiyya, c. 1906) vol. 8, p. 200.

⁸⁶⁷ Omitted in the the Leiden MS; fol. 198r, ll. 15 – 16.

and the Throne is on their shoulders. Each one of them has a face of a bull, a face of a lion, a face of a human and a face of an eagle.⁸⁶⁸ They do not say a word, except that they say: ‘Holy! God Almighty, your glory fills the heaven and the earth!’⁸⁶⁹

[190] Abū ‘l-Shaykh through the intermediary of al-Suddī from Abū Mālik; he said: The rock which is under the Earths⁸⁷⁰ is the extent of creation and on its limits are four angels; each one of them has four faces: a face of a man, a face of a lion, a face of an eagle and a face of a bull; while they are standing on it, they encompass the heavens and the earth and their heads are under the Throne.

[191] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Wahb; he said: The Bearers of the Throne: today they are four, but when the Day of Resurrection comes, they will be supported by four others. An angel from amongst them has the likeness of a human, which intercedes for the children of Adam in their need; an angel has the likeness of an eagle, which intercedes for birds in their need;⁸⁷¹ an angel has the likeness of a bull, which intercedes for livestock in their need and an angel has the likeness of a lion, which intercedes for predatory animals in their need. Each angel has four faces: a face of a human, a face of an eagle, a face of a bull and a face of a lion; and when they carry

⁸⁶⁸ Cf. Ezk. 1:10 and Rev. 4:8; this Arabic text is very close to Ezekiel’s first Throne Vision (Ezekiel 1:1 – 2:11). The four different faces represent creation as a whole rather than just humans; cf. Richard Bauckham on Rev. 4:9: ‘Their representative function is to worship on behalf of all creatures, and therefore it is fulfilled when the circle of worship expands to include not only humans, but “every creature in heaven and on earth and under earth and in the sea” (5:13).’ Bauckham, Richard, *The Theology of the Book of Revelation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) pp. 33 – 34.

⁸⁶⁹ This is almost a direct translation of the *trisagion* of the Seraphim in Is. 6:3.

⁸⁷⁰ The Leiden MS reads ‘*arḍīn*’; fol. 198r, l. 22. For a discussion of the rock under the earth, see al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, p. 194 (on Q 2:29); see also Mahmoud, Muhammad, ‘The Creation Story in *Sūrat al-Baqara*, with Special Reference to Al-Ṭabarī’s Material: An Analysis’ *JAL* 26 (1995) pp. 201 – 214, pp. 202 – 203. The idea of the earth being diving into seven layers, with a rock and a sea below is also found in Judaism; see Gaster, T. H., ‘Earth’ *EJ* vol. 6, coll. 338 – 340 and Lane-Poole, Stanley, ‘Cosmogony and Cosmology (Muhammadan) *ERE* vol. 4, p. 174.

⁸⁷¹ See Halperin, *Faces of the Chariot*, pp. 471 – 472.

the Throne, they fall down onto their kness because of the glory of God. They whisper: ‘There is no power and no strength save in God.’ And standing up on their feet they are the same height.

[192] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Makhūl; the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: There are four angels amongst the Bearers of the Throne; an angel is in charge of the forms and he is the human,⁸⁷² an angel has the likeness of the master of the predatory animals, and he is the lion; an angel is in the likeness of livestock, he is the bull (and he has been angry since the day of [the worship of]⁸⁷³ the calf⁸⁷⁴ until now),⁸⁷⁵ and an angel has the likeness of the master of the birds, and he is an eagle.

[193] ‘Uthmān ibn Sa‘īd al-Dārimī and al-Bayhaqī in *al-Asmā’ wa-‘l-ṣifāt* from ‘Urwa; he said: The Bearers of the Throne – one of their forms is in the likeness of a man; one of their forms is in the likeness of an eagle; one of their forms is in the likeness of a bull and one of their forms is in the likeness of a lion.

⁸⁷² This alludes to the human dominion over animals.

⁸⁷³ Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 198r, l. 30.

⁸⁷⁴ Cf. ‘...he said, “and I seized a handful of dust from the messenger’s track, and cast it into the thing [i.e. the calf]. So my soul prompted me.”’ Q 20:96; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 318. A tradition of Ibn Mas‘ūd interprets the phrase *athar al-rasūl* as *athar faras al-rasūl*; David Halperin argues that this could be related to a Jewish tradition, in which the dust from the footstep of the ox-*ḥayyah* was added to the image of the calf (see Halperin, *Faces of the Chariot*, pp. 176 – 187 and 478 – 479), and concerning the original Jewish tradition comments: ‘The Israelites draw the living essence of the *merkevah* ox, through the dust of its footprint, into the molten calf that they have made.’ Halperin, *Faces of the Chariot*, p. 178.

⁸⁷⁵ ‘this hour of mine’, i.e. the time of the Prophet.

[194] Ibn Abī Hātim from Ibn Zayd; he said: There is no-one higher amongst the Bearers of the Throne, save Isrāfīl. He said: Michael is not one of the Bearers of the Throne.

[195] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Ibn ‘Abbās that the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) came up to his friends and said: ‘Why are you meeting?’ And they said: ‘We have come together to remember our Lord and we are contemplating his glory.’ He said: ‘You will never [be able to] continue meditating on his glory, unless I tell you about something of the glory of your Lord.’ They said: ‘Indeed, Messenger of God!’ He said: ‘An angel from amongst the Bearers of the Throne, it is said Isrāfīl, has one of the corners of the Throne on the nape of his neck, his feet pierce the lowest Seventh Earth and his head pierces the highest Seventh Heaven; the created world of your Lord is in his likeness.

[196] al-Daylamī from ‘Alī; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: When the month of Ramaḍān begins, [God, Most High,]⁸⁷⁶ orders the Bearers of the Throne to refrain from saying the *tasbīh* and they ask [God’s] forgiveness for the community of Muḥammad and the believers.

[197] al-Dīnawarī in *al-Mujālasa* from Mālik ibn Dīnār; he said: I heard that in a part of the heavens there is an angel which has eyes the number of little pebbles [on earth];⁸⁷⁷ there is no eye among them that does not have a tongue and two lips

⁸⁷⁶ Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 198v, l. 9.

⁸⁷⁷ In Jewish tradition the Cherubim and the *Ḥayyōt* are said to have many eyes: cf. *2En* 21:1, *OTP*, vol. 1, pp. 134 – 135; *ApAbr.* 18:3 – 7. *OTP*, vol. 1, p. 698; *3En* 22, *OTP*, vol. 1, p. 278; these images are largely based on the descriptions of God’s chariot in *Ezk.* 1 & 10. Having many eyes is a symbol

underneath it, which praise God, the Blessed and the Most High, in a language which is not understood by its neighbours. The Bearers of the Throne have horns between their shoulders. Their horns and their heads are a distance of five hundred years apart and the Throne is above that.

[198] al-Dīnawarī from Abū Mālik concerning His Word: ‘His Throne comprises the heavens and the earth’⁸⁷⁸ He said: The Rock which is under the Seventh Earth; on its four sides are four from amongst the angels; each of the angels has four faces: a face of a human, a face of a lion, a face of an eagle, and the face of a bull; they stand on its sides and they surround the Earth and the Heavens; their heads are under the Seat and the Seat is under the Throne.⁸⁷⁹

[199] al-Dīnawarī from Khālīd ibn Ma‘dān; he said: The Throne has been heavy for the Bearers of the Throne from the very beginning; when those who are praising [God] stand up, it becomes lighter for them.

[200] al-Bayhaqī in *Shu‘ab al-īmān* through the intermediary of Qutayba from Bakr ibn Maḍr from Ṣakhr ibn ‘Abd Allāh from Ziyād ibn Abī Ḥayya; he said: I heard that regarding the Bearers of the Throne, there streams from [one of their] eyes the

of omniscience and God bestowing this power on his creations. Cf. God transforming Enoch into a creature with 365,000 eyes in *3En.* 9; 25:2 & 26:6, *OTP*, vol. 1, p. 263, 278 – 280; see also Ulmer, Rivka, *The Evil Eye in the Bible and Rabbinic Literature* (Jerusalem: Ktav, 1994) pp. 21 – 23.

⁸⁷⁸ Q. 2:255; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 37.

⁸⁷⁹ There is some debate in Islamic tradition about the differences between the Throne (*‘arsh*) and the Seat (*kursī*); the *kursī* is often interpreted as ‘footstool’ as it is a more general word for a ‘support’. See Hurat, Cl. [-Sadan, J.], ‘Kursī’ *EF* vol. 5, p. 509; Elias, ‘Throne of God’ and Vitestam, Gösta, ‘*‘Arsh* and *kursī*. An Essay on the Throne Traditions in Islam’ in Jakob H. Grønbaek *et al.* (eds.), *Living Waters: Scandinavian Orientalistic Studies* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 1990) pp. 369 – 378, p. 374.

likeness of rivers of tears.⁸⁸⁰ When one raises its head, it says: ‘I worship You! We do not fear You as much as You deserve to be feared!’ God, may He be praised and glorified, says: ‘But those who swear falsely by My name are liars, they do not know [that they should be fearful].’

[201] Ibn Mardawayh from Umm Sa‘d; she said: I heard the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) say: The Throne is on an angel made of pearls in the image of a cockerel, its feet are on the limits of the earth, and its two wings are in the East and his neck is under the Throne.⁸⁸¹

[202] ‘Abd ibn Ḥamīd, Ibn Mardawayh, al-Bayhaqī in *al-Asmā’ wa-’l-ṣifāt* from Ibn ‘Abbās; he said: The Bearers of the Throne: the [distance] between one of their ankles to the bottom of their foot is the [time it would take to travel] five hundred years. He mentioned that the stride of the Angel of Death [reaches] from the East to the West.

⁸⁸⁰ Cf. *GenR* 78:1, pp. 714 – 715 & *LamR* 3:2 §8, po. 201 – 202; the rivers of paradise are said to be fed by the perspiration of the *ḥayyōt*, caused by their bearing the Throne.

⁸⁸¹ Al-Suyūṭī devotes a chapter to the Cockerel (§280 – 294) as well as part of his collection *Kitāb al-wadīk fī faḍl al-dīk*. (Tottoli, ‘At Cock-Crow’ pp. 142 – 143). The ‘cosmic cockerel’ has been mentioned in passing by a number of scholars, but the significance of the ‘cosmic cockerel’ has not been discussed. Asin Palacios comments: ‘El gallo de la leyenda musulmana es también de gigantesco tamaño, y se ofrece a los ojos de Mahoma llendano el cielo; sus alas agítanse igualmente al entonar sus cánticos religiosos excitando a los hombres a la práctica de la oración, y reposan después...’ Asin Palacios, M., *Escatología Musulmana*, pp. 31 & 52; Kopf, ‘Dīk’. The cockerel does, however, have a long history of being associated with the divine, especially the light or the sun – see Ehrenburg, Erica, ‘The Rooster in Mesopotamia’ in Erica Ehrenburg (ed.), *Leaving No Stones Unturned* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2002) pp. 53 – 62.

[203] °Abd ibn Ḥamīd from °Ikrima; he said: All of the Bearers of the Throne are *sawr*. °Ikrima was asked: ‘What is meant by *sawr*? He said: ‘He bows his cheek a little.’⁸⁸²

[204] °Abd ibn Ḥamīd from Maysara; he said: The angels who carry the Throne are not able to look at what is above them because of the beams of light.

[205] °Abd ibn Ḥamīd from Maysara; he said: ‘[Concerning] the feet of the Bearers of the Throne; their feet are on the lowest earth and their heads pierce the Throne; they are humble and do not raise their eyes; they have a more intense fear [than the people of the Seventh Heaven, and the people of the seventh heaven have a more intense fear than]⁸⁸³ the people of the heaven which is below, and that which is below [that] has a more intense sense of fear than that which is beneath it.

[206] Ibn Abī Shayba in *al-Muṣannaḡ* from Abū Umāma; he said: The angels who carry the Throne talk in Persian.⁸⁸⁴

⁸⁸² ‘*sawr*’ is a general term for ‘bowing’ or ‘inclination’ and as such does not describe the inclination or bowing of a particular part of the body, see *AELex*, p. 1744.

⁸⁸³ Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 199r, l. 1.

⁸⁸⁴ This is unusual as the Arabic language of the Qur’ān is seen as paramount in Qur’ānic self-perception (see Jenssen, Herbjørn, ‘Arabic Language’ *EQ* vol. 1, pp. 127 – 135; especially, pp. 132 – 134), to the extent that non-Arabic loanwords in the Qur’ān were viewed as obscure Arabic words by Islamic scholars (see Kopf, L, ‘Religious Influences on Islamic Philology’ *SI* 5 (1956) pp. 33 – 59). Likewise angelic speech (a form of divine revelation) is normally associated with a faith’s language of revelation, as a symbol of the faith’s claim on true religion, (cf. The Pseudepigraphical work *Jubilees* 12:25 – 27). Steve Weitzmann has commented that: ‘To understand Hebrew, according to *Jubilees*, is to belong to a divinely selected group with access to esoteric knowledge inherited from the age before Babel. In *Jubilees* Hebrew is also said to connect those who use it to the heavenly community.’ Weitzman, Steve, ‘Why did the Qumran community write in Hebrew?’ *JAOS* 119 (1999) pp. 35 – 45, p. 41. There are some other Biblical and Pseudepigraphical texts that believe that angels speak in an esoteric language that humans cannot understand (e.g. *ApAbr.* 15:7; *2En.* 17:1, *2Cor.* 12:4). In this case, however, the angels are speaking in a language other than Arabic that was understood by a large number of Muslims. For more on the relationship between Persian and Arab literature and culture see Danner, Victor, ‘Arabic Literature in Iran’ *CHI*, vol. 4, pp. 566 – 594.

[207] °Abd ibn Ḥamīd and Ibn al-Mundhir from Maysara concerning the Word of the Most High: ‘eight shall carry above them the Throne of Thy Lord.’⁸⁸⁵ He said: Their feet are on the limits [of the earth] and their heads are with the Throne. They are not able to raise their eyes because of the beams of light.

[208] Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir and Ibn Abī Ḥātim from Ibn °Abbās concerning His Word: ‘eight shall carry above them the Throne of Thy Lord.’⁸⁸⁶ He said: Eight ranks of angels – only God knows their number.

[209] °Abd ibn Ḥamīd from al-Ḍaḥḥāk concerning the verse,⁸⁸⁷ he said: It is said: Eight ranks, only God knows their number.⁸⁸⁸

[209b]⁸⁸⁹ [°Abd ibn Ḥamīd and Ibn al-Mundhir from Maysara concerning the verse],⁸⁹⁰ it is said: The heads of the eight angels are with the Throne in the Seventh Heaven and their feet are on the lowest Earth; they have horns like mountain goats and the distance between the roots of their horns to their tips is a journey of five hundred years.

⁸⁸⁵ Q 69:17; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 604.

⁸⁸⁶ Q 69:17; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 604.

⁸⁸⁷ i.e. Q 69:17; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 604.

⁸⁸⁸ This interpretation is relatively common, e.g. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 29, pp. 58 - 59.

⁸⁸⁹ This is given as a separate ḥadīth in the Leiden MS; fol. 199r, l. 8.

⁸⁹⁰ Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 199r, ll. 8 – 9. The verse being referred to is Q 69:17.

4.2.11 The Spirit (peace be upon him)

The Most High said: ‘in it the angels and the Spirit descend’⁸⁹¹ and He said: ‘Upon the day when the Spirit and the angels stand in ranks’.⁸⁹²

[210] Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Abū ‘l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī in *al-Asmā’ wa-‘l-ṣifāt* through the intermediary of Ibn Abī Ṭalḥa from Ibn ‘Abbās; he said: The Spirit is a creation from the greatest of the angels.⁸⁹³

[211] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from al-Ḍaḥḥāk; he said: The Spirit is the veil⁸⁹⁴ of God, [Most High];⁸⁹⁵ he will stand in front of God on the Day of Resurrection, and he is the greatest of the angels; if he were to open his mouth, there would be enough room for all of the angels together. The creations look to him; but out of fear of him, they are not able to raise their eyes to what is above him.

[212] Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Abū ‘l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī in *al-Asmā’ wa-‘l-ṣifāt* in a weak *isnād* from ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib; he said: The Spirit is an

⁸⁹¹ Q 97:4; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 652.

⁸⁹² Q 78:38; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 627. In Judaism, particularly in the Hellenic period, the ‘spirit of God’ was considered in angelic terms; for a discussion of this in Philo and others see Levinson, John R., ‘The Prophetic Spirit as an Angel according to Philo’ *HTR* 88 (1995) pp. 189 – 207. In Islam, the Spirit was often identified with Gabriel, rather than being a separate angel; cf. al-Qazwīnī, *‘Ajā’ib*, p. 37.

⁸⁹³ The Leiden MS reads: *al-rūḥ malak min a‘zam al-malā’ika khalqan*; fol. 199r, ll. 14 – 15.

⁸⁹⁴ The veil is related to the veil that separated the Holy of Holies from the rest of the Temple in Judaism (for a full discussion of the Veil of the Temple, see Légasse, S., ‘Les voiles du Temple de Jérusalem: Essai de Parcours Historique’ *RB* 87 (1980) pp. 560 – 589). Some Jewish, Christian and Samaritan texts describe the Veil of the Temple as an angel, for a full discussion of these descriptions see Fossum, ‘Angel of the Lord’. For a discussion of the veil in Islam see Winter, Tim, ‘The Chador of God on Earth: the Metaphysics of the Muslim Veil’ *NB* 85 (1996) pp. 144 – 157.

⁸⁹⁵ Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 199r, l. 20.

angel. It has seventy thousand faces; every face has seventy thousand tongues; every tongue has seventy thousand languages,⁸⁹⁶ which praise God in all of those languages; and from every act of praise God creates an angel, which flies with the angels until the Day of Resurrection.

[213] Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir and Abū ‘l-Shaykh through the intermediary of ‘Aṭā’ from Ibn ‘Abbās; he said: The Spirit is an individual angel;⁸⁹⁷ he has ten thousand wings; two wings [span the distance] between the East and the West; he has a thousand faces and every face has a thousand tongues, and two eyes, and two lips, which praise God until the Day of Resurrection.

[214] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Wahb; he said: The Spirit is one of the angels; he has ten thousand wings, two wings of which [span the distance] between the East and the West; he has a thousand faces, and every face has a thousand tongues and two lips, which will praise God until the Day of Resurrection.

[215] Ibn al-Mundhir and Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Muqātil ibn Ḥayyān; he said: The Spirit is the most exalted angel, and the nearest of them to the Lord, and he is the one responsible for revelation (*waḥy*).⁸⁹⁸

⁸⁹⁶ Cf. Ibn Ṭufayl, *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān*, p. 85.

⁸⁹⁷ Some commentators believed that *al-Rūḥ* refers to a species of angel; cf. §219, 222 – 228.

⁸⁹⁸ *waḥy* is an intimate, non-verbal form of revelation (as opposed to *nuzul*, *inzāl* &c.); see Izutsu, Toshihiko, *God and Man in the Koran: Semantics of the Koranic Weltanschauung* (Tokyo: Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies, 1964) pp. 158 – 162; Wensinck [-Rippin] ‘*Waḥy*’ *EF*² vol. 11, pp. 53 – 56 and Nwyia, Paul, *Exégèse Coranique et Language Mystique* (Beirut: Dar el-Machreq, 1970) pp. 56 – 57. Gabriel is usually associated with revelation that is communicated to prophets by *tanzīl* whereas the Spirit is associated with *waḥy* (“inspiration”).

[216] Ibn Jarīr from Ibn Mas‘ūd; he said: The Spirit is in the Fourth Heaven and he is greater than the heavens, the mountains and the angels. He praises God every day by saying ‘I praise you’ ten thousand times; God, Most High, creates an angel from every act of praise. He will come in a rank by himself on the Day of Resurrection.⁸⁹⁹

[217] Muslim, Abū Dā‘ūd, al-Nasā‘ī from ‘Ā’isha that the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) used to say during his kneelings (*rukū‘*) and prostrations (*sujūd*): ‘Glory to the Holy One, the Lord of the Angels and the Spirit.’⁹⁰⁰

[218] ‘Abd al-Razzāq, ‘Abd ibn Ḥamīd, Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Abū ‘l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī in *al-Asmā’ wa-‘l-ṣifāt* from Mujāhid; he said: The Spirit was created in the likeness of a human.⁹⁰¹

[219] ‘Abd al-Razzāq, ‘Abd ibn Ḥamīd, Ibn al-Mundhir, Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Mujāhid; he said: The Spirits eat;⁹⁰² they have two hands, feet and heads, whereas the angels do not.

[220] ‘Abd ibn Ḥamīd and Ibn al-Mundhir from ‘Ikrima; he said: The Spirit is the greatest creation from among the angels and no angel descends without the Spirit.

⁸⁹⁹ A literal reading of Q. 78:38 mentioned above.

⁹⁰⁰ Cf. ‘All that is in the heavens and the earth magnifies God, the King, the All-Holy...’ Q 62:1; Arberr, *Koran*, p. 583.

⁹⁰¹ Cf. ‘...then we sent to her Our Spirit that presented himself to her a man without fault.’ Q 19:17; Arberr, *Koran*, p. 303.

⁹⁰² Note the plural verb; this ḥadīth is referring to *al-Rūh* as a species or class of angel, rather than as an individual angel; as such the translation ‘Spirits’ seems to be preferable, although the Arabic does strictly say ‘the Spirit’.

[221] °Abd ibn Ḥamīd and Abū ‘l-Shaykh through the intermediary of Mujāhid from Ibn °Abbās; he said: The Spirit was created from the creations of God in the image of a human; an angel does not come down⁹⁰³ from heaven without one of the Spirits (*wāḥid min al-rūḥ*) with him.

[222] Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Abū ‘l-Shaykh and Ibn Mardawayh through the intermediary of Mujāhid from Ibn °Abbās that the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: The Spirit is an army amongst the armies of God; they are not part of the angels; they have heads, two hands and feet. Then he recited: ‘Upon the day when the Spirit and the angels stand in ranks’⁹⁰⁴ and he said: These are an army and these are an army.⁹⁰⁵

[223] °Abd al-Razzāq, °Abd ibn Ḥamīd, Ibn al-Mundhir, Abū ‘l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī in *al-Asmā’ wa-‘l-ṣifāt* from Abū Ṣāliḥ; he said: The Spirits are a creation similar to people, but they are not people; they have two hands and feet.

[224] Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Abū ‘l-Shaykh from °Abd Allāh ibn Burayda; he said: The *Jinn*, the humans, the angels and the devils do not make one tenth of the Spirit.⁹⁰⁶

⁹⁰³ The Leiden MS reads: *mā nazala*; ‘an angel has not come down from heaven...’ fol. 199v, l. 7.

⁹⁰⁴ Q. 78:38; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 627.

⁹⁰⁵ The Jalālayn gloss ‘*yaqūmu al-rūḥ*’ with: ‘*Jibrīl aw jund allāh*’ / ‘Gabriel or an army of God.’ al-Jalālayn [al-Maḥalī, Jalāl al-Dīn ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad & al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn °Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr], *Tafsīr* (s.i.: Maktabat al-Muthannā, c. 1920), p. 499; whereas al-Bayḍawī is even vaguer: ‘...the spirit is an angel responsible for the spirits (*arwāḥ*) or a group of them, or Gabriel or a creation mightier than the angels (*khalq ‘a‘zam min al-malā’ika*).’ al-Bayḍawī, *Commentarius*, vol. 2, p. 383.

⁹⁰⁶ Cf §21 – 23.

[225] Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Abū ‘l-Shaykh from al-Sha‘bī concerning His Word: ‘Upon the day when the Spirit and the angels stand in ranks.’⁹⁰⁷ He said: Both of them are ranks⁹⁰⁸ of the Lord of the Two Worlds; on the Day of Judgement there will be a rank of the spirits and a rank of angels.

[226] Abū ‘l-Shaykh from Salmān; he said: Humans and *jinn* are ten parts: humans make one part and the *jinn* make nine parts; the angels and the *jinn* are ten parts: *jinn* make one part and the angels make nine parts; the angels and the spirits are ten parts: the angels make one part and the Spirit makes nine parts; [the Spirit and]⁹⁰⁹ the cherubim are ten parts: the Spirit makes one part and the cherubim make nine parts.⁹¹⁰

[227] Ibn Abī Ḥātim from Ibn Abī Nujīh; he said: The Spirit is the *hafīz* of the angels.⁹¹¹

[228] Ibn al-Anbārī in *Kitāb al-aḍḍād* from Mujāhid; he said: The Spirits are a creation amongst the angels, but the angels do not see them; just as you do not see the angels.

⁹⁰⁷ Q. 78:38; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 627.

⁹⁰⁸ Read *simātā* for *simātā* and likewise *simāt* (*bis*), cf. Leiden MS fol. 199v, l. 17; = ranks of people, see *AELex*, p. 1427.

⁹⁰⁹ Omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 199v, l. 20.

⁹¹⁰ Cf. §23 above; al-Suyūṭī has taken the same ḥadīth from a different source (Ibn Abī Ḥātim), but the authority is the same (given as Salmān Abū ‘l-A‘īs).

⁹¹¹ Note the ambiguity between the singular *al-Rūḥ* and the plural noun in apposition (*hafāza*). *Al-Rūḥ* is strictly singular – the correct plural is *arwāh* – but is considered as a plural in certain places.

4.2.12 Riḍwān, Mālik and the Keepers of the Fire (peace be upon them)

The Most High said: ‘And they shall call, ‘O Malik, let thy Lord have done with us!’ He will say, ‘You will surely tarry.’⁹¹² And the Most High said: ‘And those who are in the Fire will say to the keepers of Gehenna’⁹¹³ and the rest of the verse; and the Most High said: ‘and over which are harsh, terrible angels’⁹¹⁴ and the rest of the verse; and he said: ‘over it are nineteen. We have appointed only angels to be masters of the Fire’⁹¹⁵ and the rest of the verse; and the Most High said: ‘the guards of hell’.⁹¹⁶

[229] al-Qutbī⁹¹⁷ in *‘Uyūn al-akhbār* from Ṭāwūs⁹¹⁸ that God, may He be praised and glorified, created Mālik⁹¹⁹ and he created as many fingers as the numbers of people in the Fire for him; no-one in the Fire is tortured without Mālik torturing him with one of his fingers; by God! if Mālik were to place one of his fingers in heaven, then it would melt it.

[230] al-Ḍiyā’ al-Maqdisī in *Ṣifat al-nār* from Anas; I heard the Messenger of God (God bless him and grand him salvation) saying: By the one who [holds] my soul in

⁹¹² Q 43:77; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 511; *Mālik* has normally been interpreted as an actual name (although it could simply mean ‘possessor’), a variant reading of *Māl*, would seem to support this, see al-Baydawī, *Commentarius*, vol. 2, p. 243 and Bell, Richard (ed. C. E. Bosworth & M. E. J. Richardson), *A Commentary on the Qur’ān* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), vol. 2, p. 248.

⁹¹³ Q 40:49; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 486.

⁹¹⁴ Q 66:6; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 594.

⁹¹⁵ Q 74:30; Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 616 – 617.

⁹¹⁶ Q 96:18; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 651.

⁹¹⁷ This is possibly Ibn Qutayba, who wrote a work called, *‘Uyūn al-akhbār*; see Brockelmann, *GAL* vol. 1, p. 120.

⁹¹⁸ The Leiden MS reads: *Tāwūs / Tā’ūs*, fol. 199v, l. 2.

⁹¹⁹ The Leiden MS reads: *malakan*; ‘created an angel’; fol. 199v, l. 28.

his hand!⁹²⁰ The Angels of Hell were created a thousand years before Hell itself; every day they increase their power.

[231] ʿAbd Allāh ibn Aḥmad in *Zuwāʿid al-Zuhd* from Abū ʿImrān al-Jawnī; he said: I heard that there are nineteen Keepers of the Fire.⁹²¹ The space between one of their shoulders is a journey of a hundred autumns; there is no mercy in their hearts; indeed, they were made for torture, one of these angels beats one of inhabitants of the Fire⁹²² vigorously, then he leaves him crushed [like dust] from his head to his feet.

[232] Ibn Jarīr from Kaʿb; he said: The space between the shoulders of one of the Keepers is a journey of [five]⁹²³ hundred years; every of them has a pole with two prongs, and he prods [the inhabitant of Hell] vigorously with it; he harasses seven hundred thousand [people] with it.

[233] Ibn al-Mundhir from Mujāhid; he said: I was told that the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) described the Guardians of Hell; he said: Their eyes are like lightning, and their mouths are like cockerels' spurs, their hair trails [on the floor],⁹²⁴ they are as strong as humans and *jinn*⁹²⁵ and one of them receives a

⁹²⁰ Cf. 'So Glory be to Him, in whose hand is the dominion and unto whom you shall be returned' and 'Blessed by He in whose hand is the Kingdom - He is powerful over everything, who created death and life...' Q36:83 & 67:1 – 2; Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 455 & 596.

⁹²¹ The number nineteen has, as Bell comments '...given much rise to questioning and speculation.' Bell, *Commentary*, vol. 2, p. 453. Al-Baydawī says that the number could refer to angels '*malakan*' or a species of angels '*ṣanfan malā'ika*' that are responsible for punishing different types of sinners or that the nineteen are responsible for punishing the people in the Fire for an hour each, with five hours left aside for the ritual prayers, see Al-Baydawī, *Commentarius*, vol. 2, p. 396. Karl Ahrens associated with the number nineteen with the twelve signs of the zodiac and the seven planets, citing Mandaean beliefs as a possible source, see Ahrens, Karl, *Muhammad als Religionsstifter* (Leipzig: Deutsche Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 1935) pp. 30 – 31.

⁹²² Lit: 'the angel from amongst them beats the man from amongst the people of the Fire.'

⁹²³ The Leiden MS reads, '*mā'ia*'; fol. 200r, l. 4.

⁹²⁴ Cf. the descriptions of Munkar and Nakīr, §302 – 311.

[whole] community of people [and] he herds them; on his neck is a mountain, until he casts them into the Fire, and he throws the mountain on top of them [afterwards].

[234] Ibn al-Mubāarak in *al-Zuhd*, Ibn Abī Shayba, ^cAbd Ibn Ḥamīd, Ibn al-Mundhir and al-Bayhaqī in *al-Ba^cth* through the intermediary of al-Azraq ibn Qays from a man from the Banū Tammīm; he said: We were with Abū ‘l-^cAwām, when he recited this verse: ‘over it are nineteen.’⁹²⁶ He said: ‘What do you say: nineteen angels or nineteen thousand?’ I said: ‘There is no doubt.’⁹²⁷ nineteen angels.’ And he said: ‘How do you know that?’ I said: ‘For God, Most High, said: ‘and their number we have appointed only as a trial for the unbelievers’⁹²⁸ He said: ‘You are right. There are nineteen angels, and in the hand of every one⁹²⁹ of them is an iron rod, with two prongs, and he beats [people] vigorously with it, with it coming down on seventy thousand [people]. Between the shoulders of every angel is a distance of this much.’ Al Qurṭubī said: ‘The intention of His Word is nineteen of their heads, as for the number of the Keepers, no-one knows their number, except God, may He be praised and glorified!’⁹³⁰

[235] Hannād ibn al-Sarī in *Kitāb al-zuhd* from Ka^cb; he said: When men are ordered into the Fire, a hundred thousand angels await him.

⁹²⁵ The *thaqalayn* are humans and jinn; see Lane, *AELex*, p. 344.

⁹²⁶ Q 74:30; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 616.

⁹²⁷ The Leiden MS reads, ‘*ba-lā*’; fol. 200r, l. 11.

⁹²⁸ Q 74:31; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 617.

⁹²⁹ The Leiden MS reads, ‘*malak*’; fol. 200r, l. 13.

⁹³⁰ See al-Qurṭubī, *Al-Jāmi^c*, vol. 19, p. 79. This ḥadīth is also mentioned in his *tafsīr* of this verse, see al-Qurṭubī, *Al-Jāmi^c* vol. 19, p. 78.

[235b]⁹³¹ al-Firyābī, °Abd al-Ḥamīd, Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir and Ibn Abī Hātim from Mujāhid concerning His Word: ‘the guards of hell’⁹³². [They are] angels.

[236] al-Firyābī, °Abd al-Ḥamīd, Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir and Ibn Abī Hātim from °Abd Allāh ibn al-Hārith;⁹³³ he said: The myrmidons (*al-zabāniyya*):⁹³⁴ their feet are on earth and their heads are in heaven.

[237]⁹³⁵ al-Wāḥidī in *Asbāb al-nuzūl* and Ibn °Asākir in his *Ta’rīkh* through the intermediary of Ishāq ibn Bashār from Juwaybir from al-Ḍaḥḥāk from Ibn °Abbās; he said: When some polytheists reproached the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) for being poor, they said: ‘What ails this Messenger that he eats food and goes in the markets?’⁹³⁶ The Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) was saddened by that, so Gabriel came down to him⁹³⁷ and said: ‘Peace be upon you, Messenger of God, the Lord of Power says to you: “Peace!” And He says to you: “We have not sent any messengers before you who did not eat food whilst walking in the markets.”’ While Gabriel and the Prophet (God bless him

⁹³¹ The Ledien MS includes this ḥadīth; fol. 200r, ll. 16 – 18.

⁹³² Q 96:18; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 651.

⁹³³ A different list of sources is given in the Leiden MS (fol. 200r, ll. 18 – 19): al-Firyābī, Ibn Abī Shayba, Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir and Ibn Abī Hātim from °Abd Allāh ibn al-Hārith.

⁹³⁴ *Al-zabāniyya* (Arberry = ‘the Keepers of Hell’; Q 96:18, *Koran*, p. 651); the word poses questions about its root (c.f. al-Bayḍawī, *Commentarius*, vol. 2, p. 411) and it is believed to be foreign, derived from either Syriac or Persian, see Jeffrey, *Foreign Vocabulary*, p. 148 (Syriac) and Eilers, Wilhelm, ‘Iranisches Lehngut im arabischen Lexikon: Über einige Berufsamen und Titel’ *IJL* 5 (1962) pp. 203 – 232, p. 220 (Persian). Tor Andrae associates the word with the Syriac *shabbāyā*, ‘bodyguards’, see Andrae, Tor (tr. Jules Roche), *Les Origines de l’Islam et le Christianisme* (Paris: Librairie d’Amerique et d’Orient Adiren Maisonneuve, 1955), p. 159.

⁹³⁵ The opening ‘*akhraja*’ is omitted in the Leiden MS; fol. 200r, l. 20.

⁹³⁶ Q. 25:7; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 362.

⁹³⁷ Q 25:7 – 8 continues the Meccans’ words with: ‘Why has an angel not been sent down to him, to be a warner with him, or why is not a treasure (*kanz*) thrown to him, or why has he not a Garden to eat of?’ Arberry, *Koran*, p. 363. Although not focusing on the life of Muḥammad, Michael Bonner has written an article that looks at the importance of poverty in the theology of the Qur’ān, see Bonner, Michael, ‘Poverty and Economics in the Qur’an’ *JIH* 35 (2005) pp. 391 – 406.

and grant him salvation) were talking to each other, Gabriel suddenly made himself smaller⁹³⁸ until he was like a bird.⁹³⁹ The Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: ‘Why have you made yourself smaller until you are like a bird?’ He said: ‘Muḥammad, one of the gates of heaven has opened and it had not been opened before [I did] that.’⁹⁴⁰ Suddenly Gabriel returned to his [normal] state, and he said: ‘Muḥammad, I introduce you to this [angel], Riḍwān, the Guardian of the Garden.’ Then Riḍwān drew closer until he greeted [him]. He said: ‘Muḥammad, the Lord of Power says to you: “Peace!”’ (And he had with him, a basket of light,⁹⁴¹ which glistened) ‘And your Lord says to you: “These are the keys to the treasuries of the this world,⁹⁴² however, whatever [you take] will not decrease your reward which will be with you in in the next world, [for me] it is like the wing of a flea.”’⁹⁴³ Then the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) looked at Gabriel,⁹⁴⁴ who was like the advisor to him,⁹⁴⁵ and Gabriel hit him to the ground with his hand; and he said: ‘Humble yourself before God!’ [Muḥammad] said: ‘Riḍwān, there is nothing that I need on earth.’ Riḍwān said: ‘You are right, God is with you.’ They saw that this verse was sent down by Riḍwān: ‘Blessed be He who, if He will, shall assign to

⁹³⁸ In Classical Arabic *dhāba* [*al-jism*] can have the meaning ‘to become thin’; see Lane, *AELex*, p. 986.

⁹³⁹ The Leiden MS reads ‘*hūda*’ throughout; fol. 200r, ll. 25 – 26.

⁹⁴⁰ Cf. §29 & 53 above; in these cases the angel Isrāfil appears.

⁹⁴¹ *Safat al-nūr*; a basket that is formed by weaving leaves together, which was, appropriately for Riḍwān, also used in burials in pre-Islamic times; see Lane, *AELex*, p. 1372.

⁹⁴² Cf. ‘Three keys are in the hands of the Holy One, Blessed be He! - the Keys of burial [i.e. resurrection], rain and the womb.’ *GenR* 73:4, p. 670; see also *DeutR* 7:6, p. 137.

⁹⁴³ Cf. Q 2:26; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 4.

⁹⁴⁴ The Leiden MS omits ‘*ilā jibrīl*’; fol. 200r, l. 30.

⁹⁴⁵ Angels frequently take on this role (the *angelus interpres*) in Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature; Wansbrough comments: ‘In Muslim, as in Rabbinic, tradition one of Gabriel’s primary functions is that of pedagogue: as he had been guide and mentor to Joseph....and to Moses...so too for Muhammad he performed thie rites of initiation into prophethood, instructed him during his ascension to heaven and arranged from him the content of revelation during meetings in Ramaḍān.’ Wansbrough, *Quranic Studies*, p. 63; see also Hannah, Darrell D., *Michael and Christ: Michael Traditions and Angel Christology in Early Christianity* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999) p. 47.

thee better than that – gardens underneath which rivers flow, and he shall assign to thee palaces.’⁹⁴⁶

[238] al-Bukhārī and Muslim from Ibn ʿAbbās; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: During my night journey I saw Moses, son of ʿImrān with me, as a tall man with curly hair, as if he were a man from the tribe of Shanūʿa;⁹⁴⁷ and I saw Jesus, son of Mary, [who as of medium height],⁹⁴⁸ and of moderate complexion, [ranging between] red and white; and his hair was lank; and I saw Mālik, the Guardian of Gehenna and al-Dajjāl in the verses [of the Qurʾān] that God showed.⁹⁴⁹

[239] Ibn Mardawayh from ʿUmar; he said: When the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) travelled by night,⁹⁵⁰ he saw Mālik, the Keeper of the Fire; when a person frowns, [Mālik] can see the anger in his face.

[240] Abū Bakr al-Wāsiṭī in *Faḍāʾil Bayt al-Maqdis* from Abū Salama; he said: I saw ʿUbāda ibn al-Ṣāmt east of the Holy House, crying; and it was asked of him: ‘What is making you cry?’ He said: ‘In this place, the Messenger of God (God bless

⁹⁴⁶ Q. 25:10; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 363.

⁹⁴⁷ More commonly known as the ʿAzd Shanūʿa; see Strenziok, G., ‘Azd’ *EF* vol. 1, pp. 811 – 813, p. 812.

⁹⁴⁸ This is included because it is found in the ḥadīth in al-Bukhārī’s, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, §3229, p. 621 and in the context of Moses being described as tall, makes sense here.

⁹⁴⁹ Al-Bukhārī includes Q 32:23; ‘...so be not in doubt concerning the encounter with him.’ Arberry, *Koran*, p. 425.

⁹⁵⁰ The two events of the *isrāʾ* (Night Journey) and the *miʿrāj* (Ascension) were sometimes combined, and sometimes separated; for a discussion of these themes, see Nünlist, *Himmelfahrt und Heiligkeit*.

him and grant him salvation) told me that he saw Mālik⁹⁵¹ turn over a live coal like bunch [of fruit].’

[241] al-Daylamī from ʿAlī; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: When God wants a servant to be good, he sends an angel from the Keepers of the Garden to him; [the angel] wipes his back and bestows his soul (*nafs*) with purity.

[242] al-Khalīlī in his *Mashyakha* from Anas; he said: The Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: I will be the first [person] to knock on the Gate of the Garden, and the Keeper will stand up and say: ‘Who are you?’ And I will say: ‘I am Muḥammad.’ And he will say: ‘I will go and open it for you. I have not got up for anyone before you, and I will not get up for anyone after you.’

4.2.13 Al-Sijill⁹⁵² (peace be upon him)

[243] ʿAbd ibn Ḥamīd from ʿAlī concerning the Word of the Most High: ‘as a scroll is rolled’⁹⁵³ He said: Mālik.

⁹⁵¹ The Leiden MS reads, ‘*malakan*’; fol. 200v., l. 9. Cf. §229 and fol. 199v, l. 28.

⁹⁵² This Chapter heading is not given in the DKI edition, but given in the Leiden MS; fol. 200v, l. 14.

⁹⁵³ Q 21:104; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 331. Jeffrey comments that *sijill* is only used of the ‘divine scroll’, whereas *sifr* is used for earthly books; see Jeffrey, A., ‘The Qur’ān as Scripture’ *MW* 40 (1950) pp. 41 – 55, p. 47 n4. A similar phrase occurs in Is. 34:4, but here the Hebrew word *sēfer* (Ar. *sifr*) is used; (see *BHS*, p. 725). There is some debate about the derivation of *sijill*, but it is now generally accepted to have been derived ultimately from the Latin *sigillum*, and reached Arabic through Greek, Aramaic, Syriac or Armenian. For a full discussion of its etymology see Vacca, V., ‘Sidjill’ *EL*¹ vol. 4, p. 403; de Blois, F. C., ‘Sidjill – In Qur’ānic and Early Arabic Usage’ *EL*² vol. 9, p. 538; Ambros, Arne A., with Procházka, *A Concise Dictionary of Koranic Arabic* (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2004), p. 129;

[244] ʿAbd ibn Ḥamīd from ʿAṭiyya,⁹⁵⁴ he said: *Al-Sijill* is an angel's name.⁹⁵⁵

[245] Ibn Jarīr and Ibn Abī Ḥātim from Ibn ʿUmar; he said: *Al-Sijill* is an angel, when forgiveness ascends, he says: 'Write it in light!'

[246] Ibn Jarīr and Ibn Abī Ḥātim from al-Suddī; he said: *Al-Sijill* is an angel responsible for the pages; when a person dies, he hands over his book to *Al-Sijill* and he shuts it and keeps it until the Day of Resurrection.

[247] Ibn Abi Ḥātim and Ibn ʿAsākir from Abu Jaʿfar al-Bāqir; he said: *Al-Sijill* is an angel, and Hārūt and Mārūt⁹⁵⁶ were amongst his helpers, and every day he would glance three times, by which he would look at the *Umm al-Kitāb*, and he would have a look. [The book] is not his, but [one day] he caught sight of some information in it about the creation of Adam,⁹⁵⁷ and what is in [the *Umm al-Kitāb*] concerning them; and he secretly told Hārūt and Mārūt about it, and when the Most High said: "I am creating on earth a viceroy." They said, "What, wilt Thou set therein one who will do corruption there.""⁹⁵⁸; the two of them said: 'That is disrespectful to the angels.'

and Jeffery, *Foreign Vocabulary*, pp. 163 - 164. Al-Suyūṭi believed it to be a foreign word, see al-Suyūṭi (ed. & tr. William Y. Bell), *al-Mutawakkilī* (Cairo: Nile Mission Press, 1924) pp. 19 & 41.

⁹⁵⁴ The Leiden MS omits "ʿan ʿAṭiyya"; fol. 200v, l. 16.

⁹⁵⁵ Some exegetes believed that *al-Sijill* referred to an angel others that it refers to a scribe of Muḥammad, e.g. al-Ṭabari, *Tafsīr*, vol. 17, pp. 99 – 100. Al-Suyūṭi also states al-Sijill is an angel in his *Itqān*, vol. 4, p. 69.

⁹⁵⁶ The Leiden MS occasionally uses the form *Harūt* instead of *Hārūt* (e.g. fol. 200v, ll, 20, 22; 201r, l. 8 etc.) and these instances will not be noted further.

⁹⁵⁷ Al-Sijill sees a reference to the creation of Adam in the *Umm al-Kitāb*, before God reveals to the angels his intentions, regarding his creation.

⁹⁵⁸ Q 2:30, Arberry, *Koran*, p. 5.

4.2.14 Hārūt and Mārūt⁹⁵⁹ (peace be upon them)⁹⁶⁰

[248] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, °Abd Ibn Ḥamīd in their *Musnads*, Ibn Abī ‘l-Dunyā in *Kitāb al-°aqūbāt*, Ibn Ḥibbān in his *Saḥīḥ* and al-Bayhaqī in *Shu°ab al-°imān* from °Abd Allāh ibn °Umar that he heard the Messenger of the God (God bless him and grant him salvation) saying: Concerning Adam; when God brought him down to earth, the angels said: ‘What, wilt Thou set therein one who will do corruption there, and shed blood, while We proclaim Thy praise and call Thee holy?’ He said, ‘Assuredly I know that you know not.’⁹⁶¹ [The angels] said: ‘Our Lord, we are more obedient than the Children of Adam.’ God, Most High, said to the angels:⁹⁶² ‘Pick out two angels. We will send them down to Earth and see how the two [angels] will do. The angels said: ‘Our Lord, Hārūt and Mārūt!’⁹⁶³ And so both of them were sent down to Earth, and al-Zuhara appeared to the two of them⁹⁶⁴ as the most beautiful woman.⁹⁶⁵ She came to the two of them and they asked her for her soul, and she

⁹⁵⁹ Al-Tha°labī devotes a whole chapter to Hārūt and Mārūt, which provides a useful comparison for these stories; see al-Tha°labī, *QA*, pp. 50 – 54; Brinner, *Lives*, pp. 86 – 91; al-Kisā’ī, *QA*, pp. 45 – 48; al-Rabghūzī, *QA*, Vol .2, pp. 52 – 55; see also al-Qazwīnī, *Ajā’ib*, pp. 40 – 41.

⁹⁶⁰ The Leiden MS adds: °*alayhumā al-salām*’; fol. 200v, l. 23.

⁹⁶¹ Q 2:30, Arberry, *Koran*, p. 5. The DKI edition marks the Qur’ānic quotation from ‘*in Ādam lamma...*’ This is an error, the Qur’ānic quotation begins at ‘*ayy rabb...*’ Also note that this ḥadīth combines two separate narratives (that of the creation of Adam and the Hārūt and Mārūt narrative). The story of Hārūt and Mārūt is most frequently placed during the lifetime of the Prophet Idrīs (e.g. §255). There is a certain disjunction between the image of Hārūt and Mārūt in the Qur’ān and Islamic tradition.

⁹⁶² The Leiden MS adds: *li-°l-malā°ika* (fol. 200v, l. 28).

⁹⁶³ For a discussion of the origin of the names Hārūt and Mārūt, see Section 2 above.

⁹⁶⁴ The ḥadīth in this section present two versions of the same story, firstly that al-Zuhara was a woman who then became the star/planet Venus and secondly (e.g. §255) that al-Zuhara / Venus came down from heaven to seduce and test the two angels. The story is not, however, aetioloical.

⁹⁶⁵ Al-Zuhara is associated with Anahīd (= Amretatat) in §251, and Anahīd was associated with great beauty: cf. *Yast* V:78 ‘Ardvi Sūra Anāhita hastened unto him [Vistaru] in the shape of a maid, fair of body, most strong, tall-formed, high-girded, pure, nobly born of a glorious race, wearing shoes up to the ankle, with all sorts of ornaments and radiant.’ For more on Amretatat see Herzfeld, Ernst, *Zoroaster and His World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947) pp. 356 – 368. In Astrology, Venus is also associated with beauty, fornication, prostitutes and fermented drinks (among other things), cf. al-Qabīṣī, Abū al-°aqr °Abd al-°Azīz ibn °Uthmān °Alī al-Mawṣilī (ed. & tr. Charles Burnett & al.), *Kitāb al-mudhal ilā ṣinā°at aḥkam al-nujūm* (London & Turin: The Warburg Institute

said: ‘No! By God! Not until you accept the worship of idols.’⁹⁶⁶ The two of them said: ‘No! By God! We will never associate anything with God.’ So she went away from them. Then she returned with a baby boy,⁹⁶⁷ whom she was carrying; and they asked her for her soul, and she said: ‘No! By God! Not until you kill this baby boy.’⁹⁶⁸ And the two of them said: ‘No! By God! We will never kill him!’ So she went away and then she returned with a glass of wine, which she was carrying. They asked her for her soul and she said: ‘No! By God! Not until you have drunk this wine.’ So they drank,⁹⁶⁹ became drunk, fornicated with her,⁹⁷⁰ and killed the boy. When the two woke up, the woman said: ‘By God! You have not left anything! You both denied me it, but you did it when you were drunk!’ As a result the two had to make a choice between the punishment of this world or the next and they chose the punishment of this world.

[249] al-Bayhaqī in *Shu‘ab al-īmān* from Ibn ‘Umar; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: The angels looked down upon this world and they saw the children of Adam being disobedient. They said: ‘Lord! How ignorant these [humans] are! How little knowledge they have of your Majesty!’ God,

& Nino Aragno Editore, 2004), pp. 74 – 75 and al-Birūnī, Abū ‘l-Rayḥān Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, *Kitāb al-taḥīm li-awā’il šinā‘at al-tanjīm*; R. Ramsey Wright, *The Book of Instruction in the Elements of the Art of Astrology* (London: Luzac & Co., 1934) pp. 232, 240, 245 and 251.

⁹⁶⁶ Lit: Not until you say this word about idolatry.

⁹⁶⁷ *al-sabī*; a baby that has not yet been weaned; see Lane, *AELex*, p. 1650.

⁹⁶⁸ The Qur’ān takes a strong position against infanticide, suggesting that it was common in pre-Islamic Arabic; for a discussion of this theme, see Giladi, Avner, ‘Some Observations on Infanticide in Medieval Islamic Society’ *IJMES* 22 (1990) pp. 185 – 200, especially pp. 186 – 188.

⁹⁶⁹ Cf. Q 5:91; ‘Satan only desires to precipitate enmity and hatred between you in regard to wine and arrow-shuffling, and to bar you from the remembrance of God, and from prayer.’ Arberry, *Koran*, p. 114. Although the Hārūt and Mārūt narratives could be appropriate in the passages forbidding the consumption of wine, the narratives are usually found in the *tafsīrs* of Q 2:102; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, pp. 456 – 459; vol. 2, pp. 356 – 375; and vol. 7, pp. 32 – 35.

⁹⁷⁰ The association of sexual immorality was also connected with the pagan worship of Venus / Aphrodite; cf. Moore, Michael S., ‘Jesus Christ: “Superstar” (*Revelation xxii 16b*), *NT* 24 (1982) pp. 82 – 91, p. 86.

may He be praised and glorified said: ‘If you were in their skin, then you would disobey me.’ They said: ‘How can this be? We worship Your praiseworthiness and we glorify You.’ He said:⁹⁷¹ ‘Choose two angels from amongst you!’ And they chose Hārūt and Mārūt; then the two of them came down to earth and [the earth] roused in them human desires. A woman presented herself to them but they did not disobey until they fornicated with her. God said: ‘Choose between the punishment of this world or the next!’ And one of the two looked to his friend and said: ‘Whatever you say, I will choose.’ He said: ‘I say that the punishment of this world will end, but the punishment of the next world will not end.’ So, the two chose the punishment of this world.’ The two are those two whom God mentions in His Book: ‘and that which was sent upon Babylon’s two angels...’⁹⁷² and the rest of the verse.⁹⁷³

[250] al-Ḥākim in *al-Mustadrak* and he declared it to be sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*) from Ibn ‘Umar that he used to say: ‘Has the *red one*⁹⁷⁴ appeared yet?’ When he saw it, he said: ‘It is not welcome.’⁹⁷⁵ Then he said: ‘Two angels from amongst the angels, Hārūt and Mārūt, asked God if they could go down to earth. So they went down to earth,⁹⁷⁶ and judged the people. When they got to a point where they could say words,

⁹⁷¹ The Leiden MS reads *qālū* for *qāla* (fol. 201r, l. 8); this appears to be a scribal error.

⁹⁷² Q 2:102; Arberry, *Koran*, p. 12.

⁹⁷³ None of the ḥadīth in this section actually refer Hārūt and Mārūt teaching people magic, as mentioned in Q 2:101, but are all concerned with the fall of Hārūt and Mārūt. The fall-narratives are often attached to this verse in the exegetical tradition without much elaboration. Incidentally, a number of Christian theologians attributed the teaching of Greek philosophy to fallen angels, see Bauckham, ‘The Fall of the Angels’ and Margoliouth, ‘Hārūt and Mārūt’.

⁹⁷⁴ *Al-Ḥamrā*’ usually refers to the planet Mars, but in this ḥadīth (as well as §255) Venus is clearly intended.

⁹⁷⁵ This would make more sense if *al-Ḥamrā*’ were understood to be the planet Mars, as Mars (and Jupiter) were traditionally seen as bringing bad luck in Near Eastern astrology. Cf. Reiner, E., *Astral Magic in Babylonia* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1995) p. 4 – 7, Jastrow, Morris, ‘Signs and Names of the Planet Mars’ *AJSLL* 27 (1910) pp. 64 – 83, Al-Qabīṣī, *K. al-mudhal*, pp. 68 – 69. The planet Venus is not normally seen as bringing bad luck, but is associated with immorality; this is probably what ‘Umar is referring to.

⁹⁷⁶ The Leiden MS adds ‘*fa-ahbaṭa harūt wa-mārūt illā ‘l-arḍ*’ (fol. 201r, l. 14).

they went up from [earth] to heaven. God⁹⁷⁷ sent to them the most beautiful woman. She asked them a question about desire and she asked them a question about their souls; and they did not leave until she promised them a meeting. Then she came to them for the meeting and she said: “You two can teach me the word which allows you to ascend.” And they taught her [the word].⁹⁷⁸ She said it and ascended into heaven. She was transformed and made just as you have seen. At the very moment that the two said the word, they could not ascend, so [God] sent them [a message] that the two should choose between the punishment of the afterlife or the punishment of this world; and one of the two said to the other: “Indeed, we should choose the pain of his world.”

[251] Ishāq ibn Rāhwayh in his *Musnad*, °Abd ibn Ḥamīd in his *Tafsīr*, Ibn Abī ‘l-Dunyā in his *Kitāb al-°aqūbāt*, Ibn Jarīr, Abū ‘l-Shaykh in *al-°Azama* and al-Hākīm in *al-Mustadrak* and he declared it to be sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*) from °Alī ibn Abī Tālib; he said: This is *Al-Zuhara*: the Arabs call her *al-Zuhara* and the Persians call her *Anahīd*.⁹⁷⁹ The two angels were passing verdicts on the people [of Earth]. She came to the two of them, and they saw⁹⁸⁰ her. Al-Zuhara said to the two: ‘Will the two of you not tell me by what means you go up to heaven and by what means you come down to earth?’ (And the two said ‘In the name of God, the Greatest.’ [to go up to heaven and down to earth]).⁹⁸¹ She said: ‘I will not leave you⁹⁸² until you teach it to me.’ One of the two said to his companion: ‘Teach it to her!’ The [other angel] said:

⁹⁷⁷ The Leiden MS omits *Allāh* (fol. 201r, l. 16).

⁹⁷⁸ The Leiden MS adds ‘*al-kalīma*’ (fol. 201r, l. 18).

⁹⁷⁹ Also known in Persian as *Bīdukht*; see Mo°īn, Muḥammad (ed.), *Lughatnāma* (Tehrān: Chāpkhāne-ye Dāneshgāh-e Tehrān, 1959 – 1975) Fasc. 87, p. 264 and Fasc. 174, p. 479.

⁹⁸⁰ The Leiden MS reads ‘*fa-arādāhā*’ (fol. 201r, l. 22); ‘...they wanted her...’.

⁹⁸¹ The phrase ‘In the name of God, the Greatest’ acts as a password for entering and leaving heaven.

⁹⁸² The Leiden MS reads ‘*bi-mawtaykumā*’ (fol. 201r, l. 23).

‘How severe God’s punishment will be for us?!’ The [other angel] said: ‘We will hope in the great abundance of God[’s mercy]!’⁹⁸³ So [one of the angels] taught it to her; she said it and she flew to heaven. An angel of heaven was terrified by her ascent; so he bowed his head and did not sit down afterwards; God transformed her and she became a star.

[252] Ibn Rāhwayh and Ibn Mardawayh in his *Tafsīr* from °Alī; he said: the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation) said: God cursed al-Zuhara, for it was she who seduced the two angels Hārūt and Mārūt.

[253] Ibn Abī Ḥātim from Ibn °Abbās; he said: The people of the lowest heaven looked down on the Earth⁹⁸⁴ and they saw them acting disobediently, so they said: ‘Lord, the people of Earth are acting disobediently.’ God, may He be praised and glorified, said: ‘You are with me, but they are hidden from me.’ And it was asked of them: ‘Choose three of you.’⁹⁸⁵ So they chose three from them on the condition that they came down to earth and judged between the people of earth. Human desire would be aroused in them, but they were ordered that they could not drink wine, that they could not kill anyone, that they could not fornicate, and that they could not prostrate themselves before idols. And from them was one that wished to be released [from this task], and he asked and two were sent down to the earth.⁹⁸⁶ The most beautiful woman came to the two of them and it was said she [was called] Anahīd, and the two together fell in love with her. Then the two came to her house, they met

⁹⁸³ The Leiden MS reads: ‘*sa‘at raḥmat allāh*’ (fol. 201r, l. 24).

⁹⁸⁴ The Leiden MS reads ‘*alā ahl al-ard*’ (fol. 201r, ll. 28 – 29).

⁹⁸⁵ The third angel is possibly *al-Sijill* (cf. §247), although this appears to be rare and most accounts of this story only refer to Hārūt and Mārūt being selected.

⁹⁸⁶ The could possible be *al-Sijill*; cf. §247.

with her and they wanted her. She said [to them]:⁹⁸⁷ ‘Not until you drink my wine, kill my neighbour’s son and bow down before my idols.’ The two of them said: ‘We will not bow down [to your idols].’ Then the two drank the wine, killed [the boy], then they bowed down [before the idols]. The angels in the sky looked down at them, and she said to them: ‘Tell me the word which, if you both say it, the two of you can fly away.’ And they told her,⁹⁸⁸ and she flew away then she was turned into live coal, and this is *al-Zuhara*. As for the two, Solomon, son of David, sent for them, and they had to make a choice between the punishment of this world and the [pains of the]⁹⁸⁹ next. They chose the punishment of this world and they are suspended between heaven and earth.

[254] Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, al-Ḥākim, and he declared it to be sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*) and al-Bayhaqī in *Shu‘ab al-īmān* from Ibn ‘Abbās; he said: When the people after Adam fell into the situation that they fell into and began to be disobedient and to not believe in God, the angels in Heaven said: ‘The Lord of This World, who created them; you only created them to worship you and to obey you, but they now fall into the situation that they have fallen in to, committing unbelief, committing suicide, eating unlawful food, fornicating, stealing and drinking wine; they have begun to curse each other, and they do not circumcise themselves.’ [Some sources say that they were in hiding (?)]⁹⁹⁰ and they did not circumcise themselves. And it was said to them: ‘Choose from amongst you the two best angels and I will give the two of them of them a task; and I will prohibit the two of them [from doing certain

⁹⁸⁷ The Leiden MS omits ‘*la-humā*’ (fol. 201v, l. 3).

⁹⁸⁸ The Leiden MS reads ‘*fa-akhbarahā*’ – ‘it was told to her’ (fol. 201v, l. 5).

⁹⁸⁹ The Leiden MS reads ‘*wa-‘adhāb al-akhira*’ (fol. 201v, l. 6).

⁹⁹⁰ The text is a little confused here.

things].’ And they chose Hārūt and Mārūt. So the two of them were sent down to Earth and the desires of the sons of Adam were aroused in them. [God] ordered the two that they should serve Him and not associate anything with Him. He banned them from killing prohibited individuals, from eating prohibited foods and from fornicating, stealing and drinking wine. The two remained on the Earth for a time ruling the people with justice. This was during the time of Enoch.⁹⁹¹ And at that time there was a woman, who was the most beautiful woman, just as the beauty of Venus is amongst the rest of the stars. The two of them came to her, spoke softly to her,⁹⁹² and wanted her on her own; but she refused unless the two took her orders and her faith. So the two asked her about her faith and she brought out to them an idol and said: ‘This is what I worship.’ And the two said: ‘There is no need for us to worship this.’ So they went and stayed away⁹⁹³ for a while. Then the two came to her and they wanted⁹⁹⁴ her on her own [and she said as she had said before, so they went away. Then they came to her [again] and they wanted her on her own,]⁹⁹⁵ and when she saw that they refused to worship the idol, she said to the two of them: ‘Choose one of the three faults:⁹⁹⁶ worshiping this idol, killing this person, or drinking wine.’ And the two said: ‘None of these are right, but the least contemptible of the three is the drinking of the wine.’ So they drank the wine. [The wine]⁹⁹⁷ was taken from them

⁹⁹¹ The story of Hārūt and Mārūt is most often placed during the time of Enoch (*Idrīs*); cf. al-Tha‘labī, *QA*, pp. 50 – 54; Brinner, *Lives*, pp. 86 – 91.

⁹⁹² Cf. Q 33:32; ‘If you are godfearing, be not abject (*takhḍa‘na*) in your speech, so that he in whose heart is sickness may be lustful, but speak honourable words.’ Arberry, *Koran*, p. 430; the verb also has a strong connotation of love, see Lane, *AELex*, p. 757.

⁹⁹³ The Leiden MS reads ‘*ghabarā*’ for ‘*ghābā*’ (fol. 201v, l. 17), *ghābā* is more suitable here.

⁹⁹⁴ The Leiden MS reads ‘*fa-arādahā*’ (fol. 201v, l. 17) but the dual in the DKI edition is more suitable.

⁹⁹⁵ The Leiden MS is missing a portion of the text from ‘*fa-fa‘alat mithl dhālik...fa-arādāhā ‘alā naḥsihā*’ (fol. 201v, l. 18). This appears to be a scribal error.

⁹⁹⁶ Note the woman’s avoidance of words such as *dhanb* etc.; *khilāl* is a general word, which does not necessarily carry any religious overtones, see Lane, *AELex*, p. 780.

⁹⁹⁷ *Khamr* can be both masculine and feminine (see Lane, *AELex*, pp. 808 – 809).

both and they fornicated with the woman. The two then feared that the person⁹⁹⁸ would reveal what they had done, so they killed him. When the drunkenness lifted from them and they realised what sin they had done, they wanted to go up to heaven; but they could not, as it had been made inaccessible to them.⁹⁹⁹ And the cover that was between the two of them and between the people of heaven was lifted up,¹⁰⁰⁰ and the angels looked down at what had come to pass. They wondered with great wonder and they came to understand that whoever is hidden [from God], is the one with less fear. After that they began to ask for forgiveness for whoever was on the earth.

It was said to the two of them: ‘Choose¹⁰⁰¹ between the punishment of this world and the punishment of the next.’ The two said: ‘As for the punishment of this world, it will come to an end and it will pass. As for the pain of the next world, it will not come to an end.’ So they chose the punishment of this world. The two stayed in Babylon and they were punished.

[255] Ibn Abī Ḥātim from Mujāhid; he said: I was camping with °Abd Allāh ibn °Umar during a journey, when, one night, he said to his servant: ‘Look the *red one* has risen. There is no welcome in it, nor any greeting; God does not give life to it; it is the friend¹⁰⁰² of the two angels.

The angels said: ‘Lord, how can you ignore the disobedience of the sons of Adam, while they are shedding blood unlawfully, violating your prohibitions and

⁹⁹⁸ i.e. a witness; in §255 the angels kill a man (most likely al-Zuhara’s husband) so that their crime is not revealed; in other versions (e.g. §248) the two kill a child.

⁹⁹⁹ For the idiomatic expression, see Lane, *AELex*, p. 674. This is reminiscent of Q 34:53: ‘And a barrier is set between them and that they desire...’ Arberry, *Koran*, p. 443.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Cf. Q. 50:22; ‘Thou wast heedless of this; therefore We have now removed (*fa-kashafnā*) from thee they covering (*ghītā*’), and so thy sight today is piercing.’ Arberry, *Koran*, p. 540.

¹⁰⁰¹ The Leiden MS uses a 2 m. pl. imperative (*ikhtārū*) for the DKI dual (*ikhtārā*), fol. 201v, l. 24; the dual is preferable.

¹⁰⁰² Or ‘master’; which could be appropriate in this context.

spreading corruption in the land?’ He said: ‘Indeed, I have put them to test; perhaps if I tested you in the same way as I have tested them, you would do as they have done.’ They said: ‘No!’ He said: ‘Choose two from the best of you.’ So they chose Hārūt and Mārūt. He said to the two of them, ‘I [am going to permit] your going down to earth. I am going to make you swear that you will not associate [anything with Me], that you will not fornicate and that you will not act treacherously. So they came down to earth and lust overwhelmed them both. Al-Zuhara came down to them, in the form of a most beautiful woman, and paraded herself in front of them, and they wanted¹⁰⁰³ her on her own. She said: ‘Regarding faith, it is not right for anyone to come to me, without them being the same [religion as me].’ The two said: ‘What is your faith?’ She said: ‘Zoroastrianism (*majūsiyya*).’ The two said: ‘This is idolatry.¹⁰⁰⁴ We cannot associate ourselves with it.’ So she left them for a period of time. Then she came up to them, and they wanted her by herself. She said: ‘What you wish is only [the right of] a husband of mine. I would not like it if [someone] were to catch sight of me doing this; [as] this [would cause me] to be dishonoured.¹⁰⁰⁵ If you two profess my faith to me and you promise that you will take me up to heaven, then I will do it.’ So they professed her faith to her, and they came to her [whilst she was in the form that] they saw; then the two took her up to

¹⁰⁰³ The Leiden MS reads ‘*fa-arādahā*’ (fol. 202r, l. 2) but the dual in the DKI edition is more suitable.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Zoroastrianism held an unusual place in Islamic theory: ‘Sūra XXII, 17 merely lists [Zoroastrians] along with *ahl al-kitāb* and *mushrikūn*, and it was eventually decided in Muslim theory that the *Madjūs* were intermediate between *ahl al-kitāb* and *mushrikūn* since they had no real prophet or revealed scripture.’ Morony, M., ‘*Madjūs*’ *EF*² vol. 5, pp. 1110 – 1118, p. 1110. See also Bürgel, J. Christoph, ‘Zoroastrians as Viewed in Medieval Islamic Sources’ in Jacques Waardenburg (ed.), *Muslim Perceptions of Other Religions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) pp. 202 – 212.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Much has been written on the death penalty for adultery in Islam *fiqh*; e.g. Burton, John, ‘The Origin of the Islamic Penalty for Adultery’ *TGUOS* 26 (1978) pp. 16 – 27 and Burton, John, ‘Law and exegesis: The Penalty for Adultery in Islam’ in G. R. Hawting & Abdul-Kader A. Shareef (eds.), *Approaches to the Qur’ān* (London: Routledge, 1993) pp. 269 – 284.

heaven, and when they got to heaven, she grabbed them and cut off their wings, and the two fell [down to Earth] frightened, remorseful, and crying.

On earth is a prophet, who spent his time in personal devotion from one Friday to the next, and on Friday his prayers would be answered. The two said: ‘If we come to somebody, we will ask him to teach us [how to] repent. And they came to him, he said: ‘May God have mercy upon you both!’ How can inhabitants from the earth teach an angel?!’ And they said: ‘Indeed, we have been put to the test.’ He said: ‘Come to me on Friday.’ So they came to him and he said: ‘I have nothing to say to you. Come to me on the following Friday!’ So they came to him, and he said: ‘Choose! Indeed, you must choose if you want to be released from the earth and [receive] the punishment of the afterlife; or if you want the punishment of this life, the judgement of God will be upon you both on the Day of Resurrection.’ One of the two said: ‘This world will only last a short time.’ And the other one said: ‘Woe unto you! I have obeyed you from the beginning, so I will obey you now.’ So the two chose the pain of this world.

This story can be enhanced by many other chains of transmission (*turuq*),¹⁰⁰⁶ the *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn Ḥajar¹⁰⁰⁷ collected them into a single section and he said in his book *Al-Qawl al-musaddad fī-‘l-dhabb ‘an musnad Ahmad*, that anyone who had concerns about [the story], could attest with certainty to the veracity of this story, because of the many different chains of transmission and the strength of their sources.¹⁰⁰⁸ He

¹⁰⁰⁶ The Leiden MS highlights this in red (fol. 202r, l. 12).

¹⁰⁰⁷ Al-Suyūṭī’s father studied with Ibn Ḥajar, and al-Suyūṭī believed that he may have attended ‘the *majlis* (gathering, here probably a kind of seminar is meant) held by an old man whose name he had not been able to remember, but he had thought that it must have been the famous scholar Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī.’ Sartain, *Al-Suyūṭī*, p. 26. Al-Suyūṭī was evidently well acquainted with his work and considered him one of his teachers.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Ibn Ḥajar uses word play, referring to ‘entrances’ and ‘exits’: the ‘entrances’ are clearly the chains of transmission, but the ‘exits’ are more vague, perhaps referring to the sources (i.e. texts and compilations) in which the ḥadīth are found.

said that he had studied a portion of these, which Aḥmad had compiled, and he mentioned over ten different chains of transmission; and [Ibn Ḥajar said:] I collected the different chains of transmission from exegeses and I reckoned them to amount to some twenty-odd chains.

4.2.15 The *Sakīna*¹⁰⁰⁹ (peace be upon it)¹⁰¹⁰

[295] al-Ṭabarānī in *al-Awsaṭ* from ʿAlī (may God be pleased with him); he said: When the pious are mentioned, be quick to mention ʿUmar. We, the Companions of the Prophet, did not think it unlikely that the *Sakīna* articulated itself on the tongue of ʿUmar (may God be pleased with him). Ibn al-Athīr said in *al-Nihāya*: The *Sakīna* is an angel.

[296] al-Ṭabarānī from Usayd ibn Ḥudayr that he came to the Prophet (God bless him and grant him salvation) and he said: ‘Messenger of God, yesterday I recited *Surat al-Kahf*¹⁰¹¹ and something came and covered my mouth.’ The Prophet (God

¹⁰⁰⁹ The *sakīna* is mentioned in the Qurʾān: 2:248; 9:26, 40; 48:4, 18; see Arberry, *Koran*, pp. 35, 182, 184, 531 & 533. There have been a number of studies on this word: e.g., Goldziher, ‘Notion de la Sakina’. In the Qurʾān the *sakīna* is usually associated with the invisible help which came to the Muslims’ aid in battle; however in Q 2:248, the *sakīna* carries the Jewish association with Ark of the Covenant, see Bell, *Commentary*, vol. 1, p. 52.

¹⁰¹⁰ Note the masculine, rather than feminine, suffix; this is because the *Sakīna* is an angel, which is masculine.

¹⁰¹¹ Q. 18; Arberry (1998) 288 – 301. *Surat al-kahf* is recited for protection against the anti-Christ (al-Dajjāl); Massigon also states that the entire *sūra* is recited every Friday at the congregational prayers; see Massigon, Louis, ‘Les “Septs Dormants”, Apocalypse de l’Islam’ *AB* 68 (1949) pp. 245 – 260; cf. Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 18, p. 65.

bless him and grant him salvation) said: ‘That is the *Sakīna*. It came to hear the Qur’ān.’¹⁰¹²

[297] al-Ṭabarānī from Abū Salama; he said: When Usayd ibn Ḥuḍayr al-Anṣārī was praying – he said¹⁰¹³ – when it was night; [he said]: Suddenly [something] like a cloud covered me, and in it were things like lights, and [my] wife was sleeping beside me and she was pregnant; the horse was tethered in the courtyard and I feared that the horse¹⁰¹⁴ would bolt away; [my] wife was terrified and she delivered her child; so I concluded my prayers.’ So [the Prophet]¹⁰¹⁵ said: ‘Recite, Usayd! That was an angel that listens to the Qur’ān.’

¹⁰¹² The *sakīna* is associated with the recitation of the Qur’ān; cf. al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīh*, §5011, p. 996; see also Firestone, Reuven, ‘Shekina’ *EQ* vol. 4, pp. 589 – 591, p. 591.

¹⁰¹³ Added by the Leiden MS; fol. 204r, l. 15.

¹⁰¹⁴ The Leiden MS reads *faras* and the DKI *ḥisān*; fol. 204r, l. 16.

¹⁰¹⁵ This ḥadīth is quite famous, but here the *matn* omits some information; in the fuller narrative, Usayd tells the Prophet about his experience, asks what it was and what he should have done; cf. Muslim, *Ṣaḥīh*, vol. 5, pp. 82 – 83.

Conclusions

5. Conclusions

The main aim of this thesis has been to widen the study of angels in Islam beyond that of Qur'ānic studies and Islamic eschatology. The study of angels in Islam has tended to be restricted to these two areas. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* provides a corpus of *ḥadīth* that focus Islamic angelology in Islamic tradition more generally. The translation and commentary have shown that the relationship between humans and angels is a very close one, far closer than one may have expected.

The *ḥadīth* in *Al-Ḥabā'ik* do however reveal a complex mix of ideas. Every human has two (or more) recording angels; this establishes a direct relationship between angels and humans; yet despite their closeness to humanity, the angels always retain their unique angelic character. This is seen particularly clearly in the angels' reactions to ritual impurity. Ritual impurity acts as a *shibboleth* between humans and angels: after the expulsion of Adam from the Garden, humans defecate, copulate, menstruate, and so on, and live in a world of impurity. Angels, as creatures of the divine world, remain ritually pure and cannot come into contact with impurity. This relationship, as I have argued in Section 3, has important consequences in Islamic ritual law. Being unclean is not technically sinful, but impurities do still have an effect on angels, and individuals can become *eschatologically disadvantaged* by their inability to perform credited actions. This intricate relationship with the angels is not, however, entirely negative for humans, as the angels pray for the Muslim community, bless and pray for pious devotional behaviour, give more weight

to good actions and so on. The angels, therefore, also enable humans to be *eschatologically advantaged* by certain actions.

Despite the fact that the relationship between humans and angels has a bearing on an individual's eschatological future, al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik* is quite different from the standard Islamic eschatological material (as well as Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature). Traditionally, descriptions of heaven and hell are used as a warning, focused on the *potentiality* of punishment and reward. Hell is the *potential* future for those that do not return to the *straight path*, heaven is the reward for those that do. Sins and crimes in this kind of literature tend to be quite general, or when they are specific, refer to major sins such as murder, *kufṛ* and so on. Crudely, these works argue: Do not [*commit murder*], because those who [*commit murder*] will be sent to the Fire; and those that do not [*commit murder*] will be admitted into the Garden. In contrast, *Al-Ḥabā'ik* does not refer to major sins, but discusses the relationship between humans and angels at a much more basic, everyday level; and raises the question of the effects that certain human actions have on angels. The collection says that angels are present in this world and that the reader should be aware of their existence as human actions have an effect on their behaviour, and consequently, on the reader's *eschatological future*. This is a very different argument.

Section 2 raised the question of the origins and development of Islamic angelology through an analysis of angelic nomenclature and iconography. Past scholarship has usually portrayed Islamic angelology as being entirely derived from Jewish and Christian beliefs. However, the *ḥadīth* in *Al-Ḥabā'ik* show that this relationship is much more complex. The naming of angels in Islam, except for a few isolated borrowings, shows a particularly Islamic approach, especially the use of the

formula: *The Angel of X*. Whilst there are a number of angels derived from divine hypostases in Judaism, some of the angels, such as *al-Sijill* are purely Islamic, derived from the text of the Qur'ān. Likewise, the iconography of angels in Islam has both commonalities with the Judeo-Christian tradition, but also some unique elements. This would seem to suggest that Islam, whilst aware of the role and iconography of angels in Judaism and Christianity, adapted these ideas for its own use, and consequently an Islamic angelology evolved. The inclusion of a number of less well known angels in Islam, such as Ṣadluqan and Miṭaṭrūsh (Sandalphon and Metatron) suggest a much later borrowing, after Islamic angelology had developed and established itself.

The work appears to have been aimed at either a literate public or students, both of whom would have found al-Suyūṭī's approach of spiritual and educational benefit. The world in which *al-Ḥabā'ik* was written was in a state of political and social decline, with the Mamluks falling to the rising power of the Ottomans only a few years after al-Suyūṭī's death. However, the *'ulamā'* and the higher education establishments in Cairo were able to flourish in this period, a result of their independence through the *waqf* system. There also seems to have been a deeper engagement with society at large in this period, with whole genres emerging to reflect the needs of the contemporary society.

Many of these trends in late-Mamluk scholarship can be seen in al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik*, both in the main body of the *ḥadīth* compilation, as well as in the theological *khātima* that follows it. The two sections act to convey the importance of angels in Islam, belief in their existence, and their place in the universe. Al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik* acts as a compendium of information about angels,

suitable for both the growing literate public and the significant amount of students that passed through the Cairene higher education establishments.

Al-Suyūṭī is famed for his ability to compile collections of *ḥadīth* in original subject areas, and *al-Ḥabā'ik* is no exception. Al-Suyūṭī's wide knowledge of *ḥadīth* is shown throughout, with the work drawing a wide range of authors and texts. Likewise, the *khātima* shows a strong familiarity with many *mutakallimūn*. There has been some analysis of al-Suyūṭī's use of sources in the past, and the analysis of the sources in *al-Ḥabā'ik* shows that the *ḥadīth* are principally drawn from the formative period of *ḥadīth* scholarship in Islam, namely the third and fourth centuries *hijrī*; whereas the sources for the *khātima* are much later. This shows that al-Suyūṭī wished to engage with more contemporary sources in the theological postscript and accepted reputable collections of *ḥadīth* in the main body of the text. The analysis of the sources also suggests that al-Suyūṭī used the works of Abū 'l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī as *Urtex*te for his new compilation. Although, the great number of other works incorporated in *al-Ḥabā'ik* shows that it was not simply an act of plagiarism. Above all, an analysis of al-Suyūṭī's sources in *al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* reveals the impressive skill that al-Suyūṭī demonstrates in the arrangement and compilation of material. Al-Suyūṭī takes material from diverse sources and reshapes them into an accessible and readable resource.

It is hoped that this thesis has widened the study of Islamic angelology beyond the accounts of Muhammad's *mi'raj*, the Qur'an and the eschatological literature. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* reveals the wonders of the angelic world, as well as its intimacy with *this* world. At the heart of this relationship is that fact that the angels are God's emissaries, and that everything

that the angels do is done on behalf of God. The angels act as intermediaries between humans and God and this intermediation works in both directions: the angels keep watch over human actions on God's behalf, but the angels also bring blessings to humans, and pray for humanity, especially pious Muslims. It has not been possible to explore all of the questions that the angelology of the *ḥadīth* raise, but it is hoped that this thesis has brought the possibility of further research into this interesting and exciting area of Islamic belief and spirituality.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

ARABIC TEXT

Extracts from al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *Al-Ḥabāʾik fī akhbār al-malāʾik*; (ed.) Muḥammad al-Saʿīd ibn Basyūnī Zaghlūl (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyya, 1408 / 1988).

الحجج ذاك

في

اختيار الملايك

للإمام جلال الدين عفيف الرحمن البغدادي

٨٤٩ هـ - ٩١١ هـ

مكتبة
مكتبة المشيخة الطهرية
لؤلؤة مكتبة الشيخين بنين بنين بنين

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الحمد لله جاعل الملائكة رسلاً أولي أجنحة مثنى وثلاث ورباع،
والصلاة والسلام على سيدنا محمد وآل والصحب والأبباع. فهذه
تأليف لطيف جمعته في أخبار الملائكة الأبرار. استوعبت فيه ما وردت به
الأحاديث والآثار، وختمته بفوائد ينتهج بها أولو الأبصار. وسميته
(الحبائلك، في أخبار الملائك) والله المستعان. وعليه التكلان.

ذكر وجوب الإيمان بالملائكة

قال الله تعالى: ﴿أمن الرسول بما أنزل إليه من ربه والمؤمنون كل
آمن بالله وملائكته﴾ قال البيهقي في شعب الإيمان: والإيمان بالملائكة
ينظم في معانٍ:

(أحدها) التصديق بوجودهم.

و (الثاني) إنزالهم منازلتهم وإثبات أنهم عباد الله وخلقه كالإنس
والجن مأمورون مكلفون لا يقدررون إلا على ما أقدرهم الله عليه والمرت
عليهم جائز ولكن الله تعالى جعل لهم أمداً بعيداً فلا يتوفاهم حتى
يبلغوه ولا يوصفون بشيء يؤدي وصفهم به إلى إشراكهم بالله تعالى،
ولا يدعون آله كما دعتهم الأوائل.

و (الثالث) الاعتراف بأن منهم رسلاً يرسلهم إلى من يشاء من

- ٣- (أخرج) أبو الشيخ في كتاب العظمة عن عكرمة قال خلقت الملائكة من نور العزة.
- ٤- (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن زيد بن رومان أنه بلغه أن الملائكة خلقت من روح الله.

كثرة الملائكة جداً

- قال تعالى ﴿وما يعلم جنود ربك إلا هو﴾.
- ٥- (وأخرج) البزار وأبو الشيخ وابن منده في كتاب الرد على الجهمية عن ابن عمرو قال خلق الله الملائكة من نور وينفخ في ذلك ثم يقول ليكن منكم ألف ألفان فإن من الملائكة خلقاً أصغر من الذباب وليس شيء أكثر من الملائكة.
- ٦- (وأخرج) البيهقي في الشعب عن ابن مسعود قال ما في السموات شيء منها موضع إلا وعليه جبهة ملك أو قدماء ثم قرأ وأنا لنحن الصافون.
- ٧- (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن سعيد بن جبير قال ما في السماء موضع إلا عليه ملك إما ساجد وإما قائم حتى تقوم الساعة.
- ٨- (وأخرج) أحمد والترمذي وابن ماجه والجاكم عن أبي ذر قال
- ٨- الترمذي الزهد ب ٩ رواه الترمذي بلفظه وزاد عليه [والله لو تعلمون ما أعلم لضحكتم قليلاً ولبكيتم كثيراً وما تلدنم بالنساء على الفرش ولخرجتم إلى الصعدات تجأرون إلى الله لوددت أني كنت شجرة تعضد] قال أبو عيسى: وفي الباب عن أبي هريرة وعائشة وابن عباس وأنس. قال هذا حديث حسن غريب، ويروى من غير هذا الوجه أن أبا ذر قال: لوددت أني شجرة تعضد.
- وانظر ابن ماجه الزهد باب ١٩ حديث رقم ١٤٩٠ وروي الحديث عن أبي ذر ==

البشر وقد يجوز أن يرسل بعضهم إلى بعض، ويتبع ذلك الاعتقاد منهم حملة العرش ومنهم الصافيون ومنهم خزنة الجنة ومنهم خزنة ومنهم كتبة الأعمال ومنهم الذين يسوقون السحاب فقد ورد ذلك بذلك كله أو بأكثره:

- ١- وروينا عن ابن عمر عن عمر عن النبي ﷺ حين مثل الإيمان فقال «ان تؤمن بالله وملائكته وكتبه ورسوله».

مبدأ خلق الملائكة والدلالة

على أنهم أجسام
خلاقاً للفلاسة

- ٢- (أخرج) مسلم عن عائشة قالت قال رسول الله ﷺ ولما خلق الله الملائكة من نور وخلق الجن من نار وخلق آدم مما أمركم.

- ١- الترمذي، والزهبي ١٦٥/٢ وعزاه المنذري لأحمد بإسناد صحيح يروى بن عيسى ورواه صحيح ٣٣٢ في الصحيح والظبراني وغيره ورواه البيهقي بة عن رجل من أهل الشام عن أبيه.
- وانظر إتحاف السادة المتقين ٢/٢٣٦ - ٩٤/١٠.
- الجامع الكبير ١/١٠٨٤ و١٢١٠ وذكره السيوطي في حديث عمرو بن دينار له لمسلم، وأبو داود، والترمذي، والنسائي، وابن ماجه وأحمد.
- ٢- مسلم كتاب الزهد ب ١٠ رقم ٦٠ ورواه بلفظه عن عائشة رضي الله عنها.
- وانظر مسند أحمد ٦/١٥٣ ورواه بلفظه عن عائشة رضي الله عنها.
- مجمع الزوائد ٨/١٣٤ / الدار المنور ٦/١٤٣.
- البيهقي ٣/٩ / تفسير القرطبي ١٠/٢٤.
- تفسير ابن كثير ٣/٣٨٨ و١٦٣٥ و٤٦٧/٧.

قال رسول الله ﷺ (أطت السماء وحق لها أن تظن ما منها موضع أحد أصابع إلا وعليه ملك واضح جبهته).

٩ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن عائشة قالت قال رسول الله ﷺ في السماء موضع قدم إلا عليه ملك ساجد أو قائم فذلك قوله: ﴿وَمَا يَدَّبَّرُوا إِلَّا لِمَقَامٍ مَعْلُومٍ وَإِنَّا لَنَجْنُ الصَّافُونَ﴾.

١٠ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم والطبراني والضياء في المختارة والشيخ عن حكيم بن حزام قال بينا رسول الله ﷺ مع أصحابه فقال:

= مع اختلاف في ألفاظ الحديث. وله زيادة طويلة.

وانظر مسند أحمد ١٧٣/٥ / الحاكم ٥١٠/٢، ٥٧٩/٤ .

وانظر البيهقي ٥٢٧/٥ وروي الحديث عن أبي ذر مع اختلاف في الألفاظ وله زيادة طويلة.

إتحاف السادة المتقين ١٠/٢١٧ - الدر المنثور ٥/٢٩٢ .

٩ - تفسير ابن كثير ٨/٢٩٦ وذكره ابن كثير عن عائشة بلفظ [ما في الدنيا موضع قدم إلا عليه ملك ساجد أو قائم، وذلك قول الملائكة: وذكر الآية وقد ذكره أيضاً بلفظ نحواً من هذا اللفظ بإسناد غير حديثنا وعن العلامة سعد [وقد شهد فتح مكة] وقال هذا إسناد غريب جداً.

وانظر تفسير القرطبي ١٥/٣١٧ .

الدر المنثور ٥/٢٩٢، ٢٩٣، وعراه لمحمد بن نصر في كتاب الصلاة والجرير وابن أبي حاتم وأبو الشيخ. وابن مردويه عن عائشة رضي الله عنها.

اللائل المصنوعة ٢/١٢٣ .

١٠ - كنز العمال رقم ٢٩٨٦٥ و ٢٩٨٦٦ وذكره السيوطي بنحوه وحسن بن سفيان، وأبو نعيم.

وانظر الجامع الكبير ٢/٣٧٦ و ٥٨٦ / تفسير ابن كثير ٤/٣٢٩ /

هل تسمعون ما أسمع قالوا ما نسمع من شيء قال إني لأسمع أطيب السماء وما تلام أن تظن ما فيها موضع قدم إلا عليها ملك ساجد أو قائم.

١١ - (وأخرج) الطبراني عن جابر بن عبد الله قال قال رسول الله ﷺ ما في السموات السبع موضع قدم ولا شبر ولا كف إلا وفيه ملك قائم أو ملك ساجد فإذا كان يوم القيامة قالوا جميعاً سبحانك ما عبدناك حتى عبدناك إلا أنا لم نشرك بك شيئاً.

١٢ - (وأخرج) الدينوري في المجالسة عن عبد الرحمن بن زيد بن أسلم قال ليس من خلق الله أكثر من الملائكة ليس من بني آدم أحد إلا ومعه هلكان ساتق يسوقه وشاهد يشهد عليه فهذا ضعف بني آدم ثم بعد ذلك السموات والأرض مكبوسات ومن فوق السموات بعد، الذين حول العرش أكثر مما في السموات.

١٣ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن أبي سعيد عن رسول الله ﷺ قال (إن في الجنة لهراً ما يدخله جبريل من دخلة فيخرج فينتفض إلا خلق الله من كل قطرة تقطر منه ملكاً).

١٤ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن وهب بن منبه: إن لله نهراً في الهواء سعة الأرضين كلها سبغ مرات ينزل على ذلك النهر ملك من السماء فيملؤه ويسد ما بين أطرافه ثم يغتسل منه فإذا خرج قطر منه قطرات من نور فيخرج من كل قطرة منها ملك يسبح الله بجميع تسبيح الخلائق كلهم.

= الدر المنثور ٥/٢٩٣ وعزه السيوطي لابن مردويه عن حكيم بن حزام رضي الله عنه.

مشكل الآثار ٢/٤٣ .

١١ - تفسير ابن كثير ٨/٢٩٥ وذكره بلفظه [لأنه زاد فيه] أو ملك راعك .

قال «الملائكة عشرة أجزاء تسعة أجزاء الكروبيون الذين يسبحون الليل والنهار لا يفترون وجزء قد وكلوا بخزائة كل شيء وما من السماء موضع إلا فيه ساجد أو ملك راعع وإن الحرم بحيال العرش وإن البيت المعمور لبحيال الكعبة لو سقط لسقط عليها يصلي فيه كل يوم سبعون ألف ملك ثم لا يعودون إليه».

٢٢ - (وأخرج) ابن المنذر عن عمرو البكالي قال إن الله تعالى جزأ الملائكة عشرة أجزاء تسعة أجزاء منهم الكروبيون وهم الملائكة الذين يحملون العرش وهم أيضاً الذين يسبحون بالليل والنهار لا يفترون قال ومن بقي من الملائكة لأمر الله ورسالات الله.

٢٣ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم من طريق حبيب بن عبد الرحمن بن سلمان أبي الأعين عن أبيه قال: الإنس والجن عشرة أجزاء فالإنس من ذلك جزء والجن تسعة أجزاء، والجن والملائكة عشرة أجزاء فالجن جزء والملائكة تسعة والملائكة والروح عشرة أجزاء فالملائكة جزء والروح تسعة والروح والكروبيون عشرة أجزاء فالروح من ذلك جزء والكروبيون تسعة أجزاء.

٢٤ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ والبيهقي في شعب الإيمان والخطيب وابن عساكر من طريق عماد بن منصور عن عدي بن أرطاة عن رجل من

٢٤ - جمع الجوامع رقم ٢٩٤٥ وذكره السيوطي بلفظه وعزاه لأبي الشيخ في العظمة والبيهقي في شعب الإيمان، والخطيب، وابن عساكر عن رجل من الصحابة.

وانظر تفسير ابن كثير ٨/٢٩٧ / تاريخ بغداد ١٢/٣٠٧.

إتحاف السادة المتقين ٩/١٢٦، ١٠/٢١٧ / الحاوي للفتاوى ٢/٣٥٠.

كنز العمال رقم ٢٩٨٣٦ وعزاه السيوطي للبيهقي وأبو الشيخ في العظمة،

والبيهقي في الشعب، والخطيب، وابن عساكر - عن رجل من الصحابة.

١٥ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن الأوزاعي قال قال موسى عليه السلام يارب من معك في السماء قال ملائكتي قال وكم هم يارب قال إثنا عشر سبطاً قال وكم عدد كل سبط قال عدد التراب.

١٦ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن كعب قال لا تقطر عين ملك منهم إلا كانت ملكاً يطير من خشية الله.

١٧ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن العلاء بن هارون قال: لجبريل في كل يوم اغتنامه في الكور ثم يتفحص فكل فطرة يخلق منها ملك

١٨ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ من طريق مجاهد عن ابن عباس عن النبي ﷺ قال ليس من خلق الله أكثر من الملائكة ما من شيء بنت إلا ملك موكل به.

١٩ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن الحكم قال بلغني أنه ينزل مع الملائكة الملائكة أكثر من ولد آدم وولد إبليس يحصون كل فطرة وأين تقع من يوزق من ذلك النبات.

٢٠ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن وهب قال إن السموات السبع شورة من الملائكة لو قيست شعرة ما انقاست، منهم الراكد والراكد لساجد ترعد فرائضهم وتضطرب أجنحتهم خوفاً من الله ولم يعصوه فة عين وإن حملة العرش ما بين كعب أحدهم إلى مخه مسيرة مائة

٢٠

٢١ - (وأخرج) ابن المنذر في تفسيره عن عبد الله بن عمرو يرفعه

١٨ - مجمع الزوائد ٨/١٣٥ وذكره الهيثمي بلفظ «ليس من خلق الله أكثر من ثلثة يخلقهم مثل الذباب» ثم يقول تبارك وتعالى «كفونا ألف ألفين»، رواه الزبارة ناله رجال الصحيح والحديث عن عبد الله بن عمر، وصدق عليه ابن عباس في الله عنهما.

جبريل بالكتاب أن ينزل به إلى الرسل ووكّل جبريل أيضاً بالهلكات إذا أراد الله أن يهلك قوماً ووكّله بالنصر عند القتال ووكّل ميكائيل بالحفظ والقطر ونبات الأرض ووكّل ملك الموت بقبض الأُنفس فإذا ذهب الدنيا جمع من حفظهم وقابل أم الكتاب فيجدونه سواء. روى ابن أبي شيبة.

٢٩ - (أخرج) البيهقي والطبراني وأبو الشيخ عن ابن عباس قال بينما رسول الله ﷺ ومعه جبريل يناجيه إذ انشق أفق السماء فأقبل جبريل يتضاءل ويدخل بعضه في بعض ويدنو من الأرض فإذا ملك قد مثل بين يدي رسول الله ﷺ فقال يا محمد إن ربك يقترئك السلام ويجريك بين أن تكون نبياً ملكاً أو نبياً عبداً قال رسول الله ﷺ فأشار جبريل إلى يديه أن تواضع فعرف أنه لي ناصح فقلت نبياً عبداً فرج ذلك الملك إلى السماء فقلت يا جبريل قد كنت أردت أن أسألك عن هذا فرأيت من حالك ما شغلني عن المسئلة فمن هذا يا جبريل قال هذا إسرائيلي خلقه الله يوم خلقه بين يديه صافاً قدميه لا يرفع طرفه بينه وبين الرب سبعون نوراً ما منها نور يدنو منه إلا احترق، بين يديه اللوح المحفوظ فإذا أذن الله بشيء في السماء أو في الأرض ارتفع ذلك اللوح فضرب جهته فينظر فيه فإن كان من عملي أمرني به وإن كان من عملي ميكائيل أمره به وإن كان من عمل ملك الموت أمره به قلت يا جبريل على أي شيء أنت قال على الرياح والجنود قلت على أي شيء ميكائيل قال على النبات والقطر قلت على أي شيء ملك الموت قال على قبض الأُنفس وما ظننت أنه هبط إلا بقيام الساعة وما ذاك الذي رأيت مني إلا خوفاً من قيام الساعة.

٣٠ - (أخرج) أبو الشيخ في العظمة عن جابر بن عبد الله قال

اللائلء المصنوعة ١٠/١.

سحبة سماه - قال عباد فنسيت اسمه - عن رسول الله ﷺ قال وإن ملائكة ترعد فرائصهم من مخافته ما منهم ملك تقطر من عينيه دمة وقعت ملكاً قائماً يسبح، وملائكة سجوداً منذ خلق الله السموات أرض لم يرفوها رؤسهم ولا يرفعوها إلى يوم القيامة وملائكة ركوعاً لم يرفوها رؤوسهم ولا يرفعوها إلى يوم القيامة وصفوا لم ينصرفوا عن أفهم ولا ينصرفون عنها إلى يوم القيامة فإذا كان يوم القيامة تحلى لهم عز وجل فنظروا إليه وقالوا سبحانك ما عبدناك كما ينبغي لك.

٢٥ - (أخرج) ابن منده في المعرفة وابن عساکر عن عبد الرحمن بن عدي عن بني ساعدة عن أبيه العلاء بن سعد وكان ممن بايع يوم الفتح النبي ﷺ قال يوماً لجلسائه هل تسمعون ما أسمع قالوا وما تسمع رسول الله قال أظت السماء وحق لها أن تظ ليس منها موضع قدم إلا به ملك قائم أو راع أو ساجد ثم قرأ ﴿وإنا لعنن المسبحون﴾.

٢٦ - (أخرج) ابن جرير عن الربيع بن أنس في قوله ﴿وعلم آدم نساء كلها قال أسماء الملائكة﴾.

رؤوس الملائكة الأربعة الذين يدبرون أمر الدنيا

٢٧ - (أخرج) ابن أبي حاتم وأبو الشيخ في العظمة هقي في الشعب عن ابن سابط قال يدبر أمر الدنيا أربعة جبريل نائيل وملك الموت وإسرافيل فأما جبريل فموكل بالرياح والجنود وأما نيل فموكل بالقطر والنبات وأما ملك الموت فموكل بقبض الأرواح إسرافيل فهو ينزل بالأمر عليهم.

٢٨ - (أخرج) أبو الشيخ عن ابن سابط قال في أم الكتاب كل هو كائن إلى يوم القيامة ووكّل ثلاثة من الملائكة أن يحفظوه فوكّل

٢٥ - سبق بقره ١٠.

٣٥ - (وأخرج) أحمد في الزهد عن عائشة أن النبي ﷺ أغمى عليه ورأسه في حجرها فجمعت تمسح وجهه وتدعو له بالشفاء فلما أفاق قال لا بل إستأني الله الرفيق الأعلى مع جبريل وميكائيل وإسرافيل عليهم السلام.

ما جاء في جبريل عليه السلام

٣٦ - (أخرج) ابن جرير وأبو الشيخ عن علي بن حسين قال إسم جبريل عبد الله واسم ميكائيل عبد الله وإسرافيل عبد الرحمن وكل شيء رجع إلى إيل فهو معبد لله عز وجل .

٣٧ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير عن ابن عباس قال: جبريل عبد الله وميكائيل عبد الله وكل أسم فيه «إيل» فهو معبد لله .

٣٨ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم وأبو الشيخ عن عبد العزيز بن عمير قال إسم جبريل في الملائكة خادم ربه عز وجل .

٣٩ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن موسى بن أبي عائشة قال بلغني أن جبريل إمام أهل السماء .

٤٠ - (وأخرج) الطبراني عن ابن عباس قال قال رسول الله ﷺ ألا أخيركم بأفضل الملائكة جبريل .

٤١ - (وأخرج) مسلم عن ابن مسعود قال رأى رسول الله ﷺ

٤٠ - مجمع الزوائد ٣/١٤٠، ١٩٨/٨ وذكره الهيثمي بلفظه ولو زيادة في الحديث وعزاه للطبراني وفيه نافع بن هرمز وهو متروك .
وانظر الدار المنثور ١/٩٢ .

كنز العمال رقم ٣٥٣٤٣ وذكره السيوطي وعزاه للطبراني عن ابن عباس رضي الله عنه ، وله زيادة .

رسول الله ﷺ إن أقرب الخلق من الله جبريل وميكائيل وإسرافيل .
هم من الله لمسيرة خمسين ألف سنة جبرائيل عن يمينه وميكائيل عن أخرى وإسرافيل بينهما .

٣١ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن وهب قال هؤلاء الأربعة أملاك ريل وميكائيل وإسرافيل وملاك الموت أول من خلقهم الله من الخلق آخر من يميتهم وأول من يحييهم هم المديبرات أمراً والمقسمات أمراً .

٣٢ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن خالد بن أبي عمران قال: جبريل ن الله إلى رسله وميكائيل يتلقى الكتب التي ترفع من أعمال الناس سراويل بمنزلة الحاجب .

٣٣ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن عكرمة بن خالد أن رجلاً قال رسول الله أي الملائكة أكرم على الله قال لا أدري فجاءه جبريل فقال جبريل أي الخلق أكرم على الله قال لا أدري فعرج جبريل ثم هبط ل: جبريل وميكائيل وإسرافيل وملاك الموت فأما جبريل فصاحب رب وصاحب المسلمين وأما ميكائيل فصاحب كل قطرة تسقط وكل نة تثبت وكل ورقة تسقط وأما ملك الموت فهو موكل بقبض روح كل - في بر أو بحر وأما إسرافيل فأمر الله بينه وبينهم .

٣٤ - (وأخرج) الطبراني والحاكم عن أبي المليح عن أبيه أنه مع النبي ﷺ ركعتي الفجر فصلي قريباً منه فصلي النبي ﷺ ركعتين يفتن فسمعتة يقول اللهم رب جبريل وميكائيل وإسرافيل ومحمد ذبك من النار ثلاث مرات .

٣٤ - مجمع الزوائد ٢/٢١٩، ١٠/١٠٤ و ١١٠ .

وذكره الهيثمي بنحوه، وقال رواه النسائي بنحوه من غير تفصيل بر كعتي الفجر -
أبو يعلى عن شيخه سفيان بن وكيع وهو ضعيف .

الله ﷺ لجبريل هل ترى ربك قال إن بيني وبينه لسبعين حجاً من نار ونور لو رأيت أدها لاحترق.

٤٦ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن شريح بن عبد الله أن النبي ﷺ لما صعد إلى السماء رأى جبريل في خلقته منظوم أجنحته بالزبرجد واللؤلؤ والياقوت قال فخيل لي أن ما بين عينيه قد سد الأفق وكنت أراه قبل ذلك على صور مختلفة وأكثر ما كنت أراه على صورة دحية الكلبي وكنت أحياناً أراه كما يرى الرجل صاحبه من وراء الغريال.

٤٧ - (وأخرج) أحمد وابن أبي حاتم وأبو الشيخ عن ابن مسعود أن رسول الله ﷺ لم ير جبريل في صورته إلا مرتين أما واحدة فإنه سأله أن يريه نفسه فأراه نفسه فسد الأفق وأما الأخرى فليلة الإسراء عند السدرة.

٤٨ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ من طريق عطاء عن ابن عباس عن النبي ﷺ قال ما بين منكبتي جبريل مسيرة خمسمائة عام للطائر السريع الطيران.

٤٩ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ من طريق إسحاق عن ابن عباس عن النبي ﷺ قال جبريل له ستمائة جناح من لؤلؤ قد نشرها مثل ريش الطواويس.

٥٠ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير عن حذيفة وابن جريج وقادة دخل حديث بعضهم في بعض: لجبريل جناحان وعليه وشاح من در منظوم وهو براق الثنايا أجلى الجبين ورأسه حباك حباك مثل المرجان وهو اللؤلؤ كأنه الثلج وقدماه إلى الخضر.

٤٨ - الدر المنثور ٩٢/١ وعزاه السيوطي لأبي الشيخ عن ابن عباس رضي الله عنها.

جبريل في حلة خضراء قد ملأ ما بين السماء والأرض.

٤٢ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن عائشة أن رسول الله ﷺ قال رأيت جبريل منهبطاً قد ملأ ما بين الخافقين عليه ثياب سندس معلق بها اللؤلؤ والياقوت.

٤٣ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن عائشة رضي الله عنها قالت قال رسول الله ﷺ لجبريل وددت لو رأيتك في صورتك قال وتخب ذلك قال نعم قال موعذك كذا وكذا من الليل بقيع الغرقد فليقيه موعده فشر جناحاً من أجنحته فسد أفق السماء حتى ما يرى من السماء شيء.

٤٤ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن ابن مسعود في قوله ﴿ولقد رآه نزلة أخرى﴾ قال رأى رسول الله ﷺ جبريل معلقاً رجله عليها الدر كأنه قطر المطر على النقل.

٤٤ - (وأخرج) الطبراني عن ابن عباس عن ورقة الأنصاري قال قلت يا محمد كيف يأتيك الذي يأتيك يعني جبريل قال يأتيني من السماء جناحاً لؤلؤ وباطن قدميه أخضر.

٤٥ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ وابن مردويه عن أنس قال قال رسول

٤٢ - كثر العمال رقم ١٥١٦٧ و١٥١٦٨ وذكره السيوطي بلفظه عن عائشة رضي الله عنها وعزاه لأبي الشيخ.

وانظر الدر المنثور ٩٢/١.

٤٥ - إتحاف السادة الثقلين ١٣٧/٥ وأشار الزبيدي إلى الحديث.

وانظر الدر المنثور ٩٣/١ وذكر حديثاً يشابه حديثنا وفيه أن رجلاً من اليهود سأل رسول الله ﷺ فقال يا رسول الله هل احتجب الله بشيء عن خلقه غير سموات. قال: نعم وبينه وبين الملائكة... وذكر نحوه منه.

وانظر اللآلئ المصنوعة ٩/١.

٥١ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن وهب بن منبه أنه سئل عن خلق جبريل فذكر أن ما بين منكيه من ذي إلى ذي خفق الطير سبعمئة عام .

٥٢ - (وأخرج) ابن سعد والبيهقي في الدلائل عن عمار بن أبي عمار أن حمزة بن عبد المطلب قال يا رسول الله أرنى جبريل في صورته نال إنك لا تستطيع أن تراه قال بلى فإنه قال فاقعد فقدم جبريل على خشبة كانت في الكعبة فقال النبي ﷺ ارفع طرفك فانظر فرفع طرفه فرأى قدميه مثل الزبرجد الأخضر فخر مغشياً عليه .

٥٣ - (وأخرج) ابن المبارك في الزهد عن ابن شهاب أن رسول الله ﷺ سأل جبريل أن يترأى له في صورته فقال جبريل إنك لن تطيق ذلك قال إني أحب أن تفعل فخرج رسول الله ﷺ إلى المصلى في ليلة قمرة فاتاه جبريل في صورته فغشي على رسول الله ﷺ حين رآه ثم فاق جبريل مسنده وواضع إحدى يديه على صدره والأخرى بين كتفيه فقال رسول الله ﷺ ما كنت أرى أن شيئاً من الخلق هكذا فقال جبريل كيف لو رأيت إسرافيل إن له لاثني عشر جناحاً منها جناح في الشرق وجناح في المغرب وإن العرش على كاهله وإنه ليتضاءل الأحيان لعظمة لله حتى يصير مثل الوضغ حتى ما يحمل عرشه إلا عظمته .

٥٤ - (وأخرج) ابن مردويه عن ابن عباس أن النبي ﷺ قال إن

٥٢ - ابن سعد البيهقي في الدلائل .

٥٣ - الدر المنثور ١/٩٢ وعزاه السيوطي لابن المبارك في الزهد عن ابن

شهاب .

وانظر الزهد لابن المبارك ص ٧٤ وذكره بنحوه .

٥٤ - الدر المنثور ١/٩٣ وعزاه السيوطي لابن مردويه عن ابن عباس رضي

لله عنها .

جبريل ليأتي كما يأتي الرجل صاحبه في ثياب بيض مكفوفة باللؤلؤ والياقوت رأسه كالجبل وشعره كالمرجان ولونه كالثلج أجل الجبين براق النيا عليه وشاحان من در منظوم وجناحه أخضران ورجلاه مغموستان في الخضرة وصورته التي صور عليها تملأ ما بين الأفقين وقد قال ﷺ أشتهي أن أراك في صورتك يا روح الله فتحول له فسد ما بين الأفقين .

٥٥ - (وأخرج) ابن عساکر بسند ضعيف عن عائشة قالت قال رسول الله ﷺ خلق الله جمجمة جبريل على قدر الغوطة .

٥٦ - (وأخرج) الطبراني عن ابن عباس قال عاد رسول الله ﷺ رجلاً من الأنصار فلما دنا من منزله سمعه يتكلم في الداخل فلما استأذن عليه دخل عليه فلم ير أحداً فقال له رسول الله ﷺ سمعتك تكلم غيرك قال يا رسول الله لقد دخل عليّ داخل ما رأيت رجلاً قط بعدك أكرم مجلساً ولا أحسن حديثاً منه قال ذاك جبريل وإن منكم لرجلاً لو أن أحدهم يقسم على الله لأبره .

٥٧ - (وأخرج) أبو نعيم في الحلية عن عكرمة قال قال جبريل عليه السلام إن ربي عز وجل ليمنني إلى الشيء لأفضيه فأجد الكسوف قد سبقني إليه .

٥٨ - (وأخرج) الطبراني عن ميمونة بنت سعد قالت قلت يا رسول الله هل يرقد الجنب قال ما أحب أن يرقد حتى يتوضأ فإني أخاف أن يتوفى فلا يحضره جبريل .

٥٥ - كثر العمال رقم ١٥١٦٦ وذكره السيوطي بلفظه وعزاه لابن عساکر عن

عائشة قال الذهبي في الميزان: هذا حديث منكر .

٥٨ - الحاوي للفتاوى ٢/٢٩٤ وذكر السيوطي استشهاده بالحديث على نزول

جبريل عليه السلام إلى الأرض بعد وفاة الرسول ﷺ .

احسن حباً لدعااته أن يزداد وإذا سأل الكافر قال أعطه بغضاً
لدعااته.

٦٣ - (وأخرج) الحكيم الترمذي عن أبي ذر قال إن الله يقول
يا جبريل إنسخ من قلب عبدي المؤمن الحلاوة التي كان يجدها
لي قال فيصير العبد المؤمن والهأ طالباً للذي كان يعهد من
نفسه نزلت به مصيبة لم ينزل به مثلها قط فإذا نظر الله إليه على تلك
الحال قال يا جبريل رد إلى قلب عبدي ما نسخت منه فقد ابتليته
فوجدته صادقاً ويسأله من قبلي بزيادة.

٦٤ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن عمرو بن مرة قال: جبريل على
ريح الجنوب.

٦٥ - (وأخرج) ابن عساكر في تاريخه عن علي قال قال رسول
الله ﷺ ما شئت أن أرى جبريل عليه السلام متعلقاً بأستار الكعبة وهو
يقول يا واجد يا واجد لا تزل عني نعمة أنعمت بها علي إلا رأيت.

٦٦ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن عبد العزيز بن أبي رواد قال نظر
الله إلى جبريل وميكائيل وهما بكيان فقال الله ما بيكما وقد علمتما أبي
لا أجور فقالا يا رب إنا لا نأمن منك قال هكذا فافعلنا فإنه لا يأمن من
مكري إلا كل خاسر.

٦٧ - (وأخرج) الإمام أحمد في الزهد عن أبي عمران الجوني أنه
بلغه أن جبريل أتى النبي ﷺ وهو يبكي فقال له رسول الله ﷺ ما
بيك قال وما لي لا أبكي فوالله ما جفت لي عين منذ خلق الله النار
خشافة أن أعصيه فيقتدي فيها.

٦٥ - كنت العمال رقم ٥٠٦٣ و٦٤٣٣ وذكره السيوطي بلفظه عن علي رضي
الله عنه إلا أنه قال (يا واحد يا أحد) ولم يقل (يا واحد يا ماجد).

٥٩ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن وهب قال إن أدنى الملائكة من الله
يريل ثم ميكائيل فإذا ذكر الله عبداً بأحسن عمله قال فلان بن فلان
مل كذا وكذا من طاعتي صلواتي عليه ثم يسأل ميكائيل جبريل ما
نذرت ربنا فيقول فلان بن فلان ذكر بأحسن عمله فصلي عليه صلوات
ه عليه ثم يسأل ميكائيل من يراه من أهل السماء فيقولون ماذا أحدث
نا فيقول ذكر فلان ابن فلان بأحسن عمله فصلي عليه صلوات الله
يه فلا يزال يقع من سماء إلى سماء حتى يقع إلى الأرض وإذا ذكر عبداً
سواً عمله قال عبدي فلان ابن فلان عمل كذا وكذا من معصيتي
ننتي عليه ثم يسأل ميكائيل جبريل ماذا أحدث ربنا فيقول ذكر فلان
فلان بأسوأ عمله فعليه لعنة الله فلا يزال يقع من سماء إلى سماء
و يقع إلى الأرض.

٦٠ - (وأخرج) الصابوني في المائتين والبيهقي في شعب الإيمان عن
بر بن عبد الله عن النبي ﷺ قال إن جبريل موكل بحاجات العباد
ادعوا المؤمن قال الله يا جبريل أحسن حاجة عبدي فإني أحبه وأحب
رته وإذا دعا الكافر قال الله يا جبريل أقض حاجة عبدي فإني أبغضه
فخص صوته.

٦١ - (وأخرج) البيهقي عن ثابت قال بلغنا أن الله تعالى وكل
يريل عليه السلام بحوائج الناس فإذا دعا المؤمن قال يا جبريل أحسن
جته فإني أحب دعاهه وإذا دعا الكافر قال يا جبريل أقض حاجته فإني
خص دعاهه قال البيهقي هذا هو المحفوظ.

٦٢ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي شيبة من طريق ثابت عن عبد الله بن
ر قال إن جبريل موكل بالحوائج فإذا سأل المؤمن ربه قال أحسن
٦٠ - الدر المنثور ٩٢/١ وعزاه السيوطي للبيهقي والصابوني في المائتين عن
رضي الله عنه.

أرضي من رسول فإنه يسلك من بين يديه ومن خلفه رسداً قال ما نزل جبريل بشيء من الوحي إلا ومعه أربعة حفظة من الملائكة.

٧١ - (وأخرج) الطبراني بسند رجاله ثقاته عن أم سلمة أن النبي ﷺ قال إن في السماء ملكين أحدهما يأمر بالشدّة والأخر يأمر باللين وكل مصيب جبريل وميكائيل، ونيان أحدهما يأمر باللين والأخر يأمر بالشدّة وكل مصيب وذكر إبراهيم ونوحاً ولي صاحبان أحدهما يأمر باللين والأخر بالشدّة وكل مصيب وذكر أبا بكر وعمر.

(وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن ابن مسعود قال جاء جبريل إلى النبي ﷺ فقال يا جبريل إني لأحسب أن لي عندك منزلة قال أجل والذي بعثك بالحق ما بعثت إلى نبي قط أحب إليّ منك قال فإني أحب أن تعلمني منزلي هناك قال إن قدرت على ذلك قال والذي بعثك بالحق لقد دنوت فيها من ربي دنواً ما دنوت مثله قط وإن كان قدر دنوي منه مسيرة خمسمائة سنة وإن أقرب الخلق من الله عز وجل إسرافيل وإن قدر دنوه منه مسيرة سبعين سنة فيهن سبعون نوراً إن أذنبا ليغشى بالأبصار فكيف لي بالعلم فيها وراء ذلك ولكن يعرض لي بلوح ثم يدعوننا فيبعثنا.

٧٣ - (وأخرج) أحمد في الزهد عن رباح قال حدثت أن النبي ﷺ قال لجبريل لم تأتني إلا وأنت صائرٌ بين عينيك قال إني لم أضحك منذ خلقت النار.

٧١ - مجمع الزوائد: ٥١٧/٩ وذكره الهيثمي بلفظه وعزاه للطبراني ورجاله ثقات. وانظر الدر المنثور ٩٤/١ نحوه.

٧٣ - الدر المنثور ٩٣/١ وعزاه السيوطي لإحمد في الزهد عن رباح رضي الله عنه. وانظر الزهد للإمام أحمد ص ٢٧.

٦٨ - وقال البيهقي في شعب الإيمان أنبأنا أبو محمد عبد الله بن يوسف الأصبهاني أنبأنا أبو بكر أحمد بن سعيد بن فرسخ الأحميمي بحكاية حدثنا الوليد بن حماد حدثنا أبو محمد عبد الله بن الفضل بن عاصم ابن عمر بن قتادة بن النعمان الأنصاري حدثني أبي الفضل عن أبيه عاصم عن أبيه عمر عن قتادة بن النعمان قال قال رسول الله ﷺ أنزل الله جبريل عليه السلام في أحسن ما كان يأتيني في صورة فقاهة إن الله يترنك السلام يا محمد ويقول لك إني قد أوحيت إلى الدنيا أن تمرري تكدري وضيقني وتشدي علي أوليائي كي يجنوا لقائي وتسهلي وتوسعي تطيبي لأعدائي حتى يكرهوا لقائي فإني قد خلقتها سجنناً لأولياي وجنة أعدائي، قال البيهقي لم نكتبه إلا بهذا الإسناد وفيهم مجاهيل.

٦٩ - (وأخرج) ابن عساکر عن وائلة بن الأسقع قال أتى النبي ﷺ جل من أهل اليمن أكشف أحوال أوقص أحنف أصمع أعسر أرسح سج فقال يا رسول الله أخبرني بما فرض الله عليّ فلما أخبره قال إني ناهد الله أن لا أزيد على فرضته قال ولم ذاك قال لأنه خلقني فشوهُ لمقي ثم أدبر فأتاه جبريل فقال يا محمد أين العاتب إنه عاتب رباً كريماً عتبه قال قل له ألا يرضى أن يبعثه الله في صورة جبريل يوم القيامة ال له، فقال بلى يا رسول الله فإني أعاهد الله أن لا يقوى جسدي شيء من مرضاة الله إلا عملته، فيه العلاء بن كثير قال البخاري كرا الحديث.

٧٠ - (وأخرج) وأبو الشيخ عن سعيد بن جبير في قوله إلا من

٦٨ - جمع الجوامع رقم ٤٥٢١ وذكره السيوطي بلفظه الأ [وتسهلي وتوسعي ليبي لأعدائي] وعزاه للبيهقي عن قتادة بن النعمان وقال، لم نكتبه إلا بهذا نناد، وفيه مجاهيل. وانظر كتر العمال ٦١١٠ نحوه.

٧٤ - (وأخرج) الفريابي وابن مردويه عن أنس قال قال رسول الله ﷺ «ونفتح في الصور فصعق من في السموات ومن في الأرض إلا ما آاء الله» قالوا يا رسول الله من هؤلاء الذين استثنى الله عز وجل قال برئيل وميكائيل وملك الموت وإسرافيل وحملة العرش فإذا قبض الله وإح الخلائق قال لملك الموت من بقي فيقول سبحانه ربي وتعاليت ذا تلال والإكرام بقي جبرئيل وميكائيل وإسرافيل وملك الموت فيقول خذ من إسرافيل فيأخذ نفس إسرافيل فيقول الله لملك الموت من بقي نول سبحانه تباركت ربي وتعاليت ذا الجلال والإكرام بقي جبرئيل وميكائيل وملك الموت فيقول خذ نفس ميكائيل فيأخذ نفس ميكائيل نع كالطود العظيم فيقول يا ملك الموت من بقي فيقول جبرئيل : ملك يت فيقول مت يا ملك الموت فيموت فيقول يا جبرئيل من بقي فيقول يا وجهك الدائم الباقي وجبرئيل الميت الغائي قال لا بد من موته فيقع جداً يخفق بجناحيه قال قال رسول الله ﷺ إن فضل خلقه على خلق كائيل كالطود العظيم .

٧٥ - (وأخرج) ابن مردويه والبيهقي في البعث عن أنس رفعه في «ونفتح في الصور» الآية قال فكان ممن استثنى الله عز وجل ثلاثة ريل وميكائيل وملك الموت فيقول الله وهو أعلم يا ملك الموت من فيقول بقي وجهك الباقي الكريم وعبدك جبرئيل وميكائيل وملك يت فيقول توف نفس ميكائيل ثم يقول، وهو أعلم، يا ملك الموت من فيقول بقي وجهك الباقي وعبدك جبرئيل وملك الموت فيقول تعرف من جبرئيل ثم يقول، وهو أعلم، يا ملك الموت من بقي فيقول بقي هلك الباقي الكريم وعبدك ملك الموت وهو ميت فيقول مت ثم يبي أنا بدأت الخلق ثم أعيدته .

٧٦ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم عن عطاء بن السائب قال أول من

يجاسب جبرئيل لأنه كان أمين الله إلى رسوله .

٧٧ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير عن حذيفة قال صاحب الموازين يوم القيامة جبرئيل عليه السلام .

ما جاء في ميكائيل عليه السلام

٧٨ - (أخرج) ابن المنذر عن عكرمة قال جبرئيل اسمه عبد الله وميكائيل اسمه عبيد الله .

٧٩ - (وأخرج) أحمد وأبو الشيخ عن أنس أن رسول الله ﷺ قال لجبرئيل مالي لم أر ميكائيل ضاحكاً قط قال ما ضحك ميكائيل منذ خلقت النار .

٨٠ - (وأخرج) الحكيم الترمذي في نوادر الأصول عن زيد بن ربيع قال دخل على رسول الله ﷺ جبرئيل وميكائيل وهو يستاك فناول رسول الله ﷺ جبرئيل السواك فقال جبرئيل كبر قال الحكيم أي ناول ميكائيل فإنه أكبر .

٨١ - (وأخرج) الحاكم عن أبي سعيد قال قال رسول الله ﷺ وذئري من أهل السماء جبرئيل وميكائيل ومن أهل الأرض أبو بكر وعصم .

٧٩ - مسند أحمد ٣/٢٢٤ ورواه بنفذه .

وانظر الشريعة للأجري ص ٣٩٥ / الزهد للإمام أحمد ص ٦٩ .

٨١ - الدر المنثور ١/٩٤ وعزاه السيوطي للحاكم عن أبي سعيد رضي الله عنه . وانظر كتر العمال رقم ٣٢٦٧٩ و ٣٦١٤٨ / الجامع الكبير ٢/٢٨٦ و ٤٧٤ .

اسم جبريل عبد الله واسم ميكائيل عبيد الله واسم إسماعيل عبد الرحمن.

٩٠ (وأخرج) الطبراني وأبو نعيم في الحلية وابن مردويه عن أبي هريرة أن رجلاً من اليهود قال يا رسول الله أخبرني عن ملك الله الذي يليه قال إن الملك الذي يليه إسماعيل ثم جبريل ثم ميكائيل ثم ملك الموت عليهم السلام .

٩١ - (وأخرج) أحمد والحاكم عن أبي سعيد قال قال رسول الله ﷺ إسماعيل صاحب الصور وجبريل عن يمينه وميكائيل عن يساره.

٩٢ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن أبي بكر الهذلي قال ليس شيء من الخلق أقرب إلى الله من إسماعيل وبينه وبين الله سبعة حجب وله جناح بالشرق وجناح بالمغرب وجناح في الأرض السابعة وجناح عند رأسه. وهو واضح رأسه بين جناحيه فإذا أمر الله بالأمر تددت الألواح على إسماعيل بما فيها من أمر الله فينظر فيها إسماعيل ثم ينادي جبريل فيجيبه فلا يسمع صوته أحد من الملائكة إلا أصعق فإذا أفاقوا قالوا ماذا قال ريكتم قالوا الحق وهو العلي الكبير وإن ملك الصور الذي وكل به إن إحدى قدميه لفي الأرض السابعة وهو جاث على ركبته شاخص بصره إلى إسماعيل ما طرف منذ خلقه الله ينظر متى يشير إليه فينفخ في الصور.

٩٣ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي زئب في السنة عن كعب قال إن أقرب من علي بن حسين وزاد عليه [وكل شيء راجع إلى إيل] فهو معبد لله عز وجل.

٩١ - الدر المنثور ١/٩٤ وعزاه السيوطي لسعيد بن منصور وأحمد وابن أبي داود في المصاحف وأبي الشيخ في العظمة والحاكم وصححه، وابن مردويه والبيهقي في البعث عن أبي سعيد الخدري .

ولم يطرف منذ خلقه الله لينظر ما يؤمر به .

٨٦ - (وأخرج) الترمذي وحسنه والحاكم والبيهقي في البعث عن أبي سعيد الخدري قال قال رسول الله ﷺ كيف أنعم وصاحب الصور قد التقم القرن وحتى جبهته وأصغى سمعه ينتظر متى يؤمر به فينفخ قالوا فما نقول يا رسول الله قال قولوا حسينا الله ونعم الوكيل على الله توكلنا .

٨٧ - (وأخرج) الحاكم وصححه وأبو الشيخ وابن مردويه عن أبي هريرة قال قال رسول الله ﷺ إن طرف صاحب الصور منذ وكل به مستعد ينظر حول العرش مخافة أن يؤمر بالصيحة قبل أن يرتد إليه طرفه كأن عينيه كوكبان دريان .

٨٨ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم عن أبي سعيد الخدري قال قال رسول الله ﷺ ما زال صاحبها الصور مسكين بالصورة ينتظران متى يؤمران .

٨٩ - (وأخرج) الديلمي عن أبي أمامة قال قال رسول الله ﷺ

٨٦ - حلية الأولياء ٥/١٠٥، ٧/١٣٠ وذكره أبو نعيم بلفظ [كيف أنعم وصاحب القرن قد التقم القرن، وأصغى بسمعه متى يؤمر فينفخ فيه] وقال غريب من حديث الثوري عن عمرو ولم يكتبه إلا من حديث الفريابي . ورواه ابن عيينة عن عمار الدهمي عن عطية / تاريخ بغداد ٣/٣٦٣ . وانظر الحاكم ٤/٥٥٩ .

٨٧ - الحاكم ٤/٥٥٩ ورواه الحاكم بلفظه غير «حول» فعنده (نحو) وقال هنا حديث صحيح الإسناد ولم يخرجاه .

وانظر الدرر المنثور ٣/٢٢ . / جمع الجوامع رقم ٦٦٤٢ . / كثير العمال رقم ٣٨٩٠٥ .

٨٩ - الدر المنثور ١/٩١ وعزاه السيوطي لابن جرير وأبو الشيخ في العظمة =

٩٧- (وأخرج) البيهقي في شعب الإيمان عن المطلب أن رسول الله ﷺ قال قلت لجبريل يا جبريل مالي لا أرى إسرائيل يضحك ولم يأتي أحد من الملائكة إلا رأيت يضحك قال جبريل ما رأينا ذلك الملك ضاحكاً منذ خلقت النار.

٩٨- (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن ابن عباس قال سمع النبي ﷺ هذه فقال يا جبريل أقامت الساعة قال لا هذا إسرائيل هبط إلى الأرض.

٩٩- (وأخرج) عبد بن حميد والطبراني في الأوسط وأبو الشيخ عن عبد الله بن الحارث قال كنت عند عائشة وعندها كعب الجبر فذكر إسرائيل فقالت عائشة أخبرني عن إسرائيل فقال كعب عنكم العلم قالت أجل فأخبرني قال: له أربعة أجنحة جناحان في الهواء وجناح قد تسربل به وجناح على كاهله والقلم على أذنه فإذا نزل الوحي كتب القلم ثم درست الملائكة وملك الصور أسفل منه جاث على إحدى ركبتيه وقد نصب الأخرى فالتقم الصور محي ظهره وطرفه إلى إسرائيل وقد أمر إذا رأى إسرائيل قد ضم جناحيه أن ينفخ في الصور فقالت عائشة هكذا سمعت رسول الله ﷺ.

١٠٠- (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن الأوزاعي قال إذا سبح إسرائيل قطع على كل ملك في السماء صلاته استماعاً له.

١٠١- (وأخرج) عنه أيضاً قال ليس أحد من خلق الله أحسن صوتاً من إسرائيل فإذا أخذ في التسييح قطع على أهل سبع سموات صلاتهم وتسييحهم.

١٠٢ (وأخرج) من طريق الليث حدثني خالد عن سعيد قال بلغنا أن إسرائيل مؤذن أهل السماء فيؤذن لائنتي عشرة ساعة من النهار ولائنتي عشرة ساعة من الليل لكل ساعة تأذين يسمع تأذينه من في السماوات

الملائكة إلى الله إسرائيل وله أربعة أجنحة جناح بالشرق وجناح بالغرب وقد تسرول بالثالث والرابع بينه وبين اللوح المحفوظ فإذا أراد الله أن يوحى أمراً جاء اللوح المحفوظ حتى يصفق جبهة إسرائيل فيرفع رأسه فينظر فإذا الأمر مكتوب فينادي جبريل فيليبه فيقول أموت بكذا أموت بكذا. فلا يهبط جبريل من سماء إلى سماء إلا فرغ أهلها من الخطايا والصلوات حتى يقول جبريل الحق من عند الحق فيهبط على النبي فيوحى إليه.

٩٤- (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن عبد الله بن الحارث قال كنت عند عائشة وعندها كعب فقالت يا كعب حدثنا عن إسرائيل فقال هو ملك الله ليس لديه شيء جناح له بالشرق وجناح له بالغرب وجناح على كاهله والعرش على كاهله فقالت عائشة هكذا سمعت النبي ﷺ قال كعب واللوح على جبهته فإذا أراد الله أمراً أتته في اللوح عند

٩٥- (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن عبد الرحمن بن الحارث أن رجلاً قال لعائشة هل سمعت رسول الله ﷺ يقول في إسرائيل شيئاً قالت سمعت رسول الله ﷺ يقول: له أربعة أجنحة منها جناحان أحدهما بالشرق والآخر بالمغرب واللوح بين عينيه فإذا أراد الله أن يكتب الوحي يقرئ جبهته.

٩٦- (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ وأبو نعيم في الحلية عن ابن عباس أن رسول الله ﷺ قال إن ملكاً من حملة العرش يقال له إسرائيل زاوية من زوايا العرش على كاهله قد مرقت قدماه من الأرض السابعة السفلى ومروق رأسه من السماء السابعة العليا.

٩٦- حلية الأولياء ٦/٦٦٦ وذكره أبو نعيم، وقال تفرد به إسماعيل بن عياش الأحوص عن شهر بن حوشب عن ابن عباس، ورواه عبد الجليل بن عطية عن شهر عن عبد الله بن سلام.. الدر المنثور ٥/٣٤٧.

لسبع ومن في الأرضين السبع إلا الجن والإنس ثم يتقدم منهم عظيم
للائكة فيصلي بهم، قال وبلغنا أن ميكائيل يؤم الملائكة في البيت
لمعهور.

١٠٣ - (وأخرج) ابن المبارك في الزهد عن ابن أبي حنبله بسنده
ال أول من يدعى يوم القيامة إسرئيل فيقول الله هل بلغت عهدي
يقول نعم يا رب قد بلغت جبريل فيدعى جبريل فيقول هل بلغت
سرافيل عهدي فيقول نعم فيخلى عن إسرئيل فيقول لجبريل ما
سئمت في عهدي فيقول يا رب بلغت الرسل فيدعى الرسل فيقال لهم
بل بلغكم جبريل عهدي فيقولون نعم فيخلى عن جبريل.

١٠٤ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن أبي سنان قال أقرب الخلق من
لله اللوح وهو معلق بالعرش فإذا أراد الله أن يوحى بشيء كتب في
اللوحة فيجيء اللوح حتى يفرغ جهة إسرئيل وإسرئيل قد غطي رأسه
بجناحه لا يرفع بصره إعظاماً لله فينظر فيه فإن كان إلى أهل السماء دفعه
لئلا ميكائيل وإن كان إلى أهل الأرض دفعه إلى جبريل فأول ما يجاسب
زم القيامة اللوح يدعى به ترتعد فرائضه فيقال له هل بلغت فيقول نعم
يقال من يشهد لك فيقول إسرئيل فيدعى إسرئيل ترتعد فرائضه فيقال
هل بلغت اللوح فإذا قال نعم قال اللوح الحمد لله الذي نجاني من
سوء الحساب ثم كذلك.

١٠٥ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم وأبو الشيخ عن ضمرة قال بلغني
أن أول من سجد لآدم عليه السلام إسرئيل فأتاه الله أن كتب القرآن
وجهته.

١٠٦ - (وأخرج) الطبراني في الأوسط والبيهقي في الأسماء
الصفات والبراز عن ابن عمرو قال جاء فنام^(١) من الناس إلى رسول
الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فنام^(٢) من الناس إلى جماعة

الله ﷺ فقالوا يا رسول الله زعم أبو بكر أن الحسنات من الله والسيئات
من العباد وقال عمر الحسنات والسيئات من الله فتابع هذا قوم وهذا قوم
فقال رسول الله ﷺ لأقضي بينكما بقضاء إسرئيل بين جبريل وميكائيل
إن ميكائيل إذا متى يختلف أهل السماء يختلف أهل الأرض فلتحاكم إلى
إسرئيل فتحاكم إليه ففرض بينهما بحقيقة القدر خيره وشره وحلوه ومره
كله من الله ثم قال يا أبا بكر إن الله لسو أراد أن لا يعصى لم يخلق
إليس فقال أبو بكر صدق الله ورسوله.

ما جاء في ملك الموت عليه السلام

١٠٧ - (أخرج) سعيد بن منصور وابن المنذر وابن أبي حاتم عن
أبي هريرة قال لما أراد الله عز وجل أن يخلق آدم بعث ملكاً من حملة
العرش يأتي بترواب من الأرض فلما هوى ليأخذ قالت الأرض أسالك
بالذي أرسلك أن لا تأخذ مني اليوم شيئاً يكون للنار منه نصيب غداً
فتركها فلما رفع إلى ربه قال ما منعك أن تأتي بما أمرتك قال سألتني بك
فعمظمت أن أرد شيئاً سألتني بك فأرسل لها آخر فقال مثل ذلك حتى
أرسلهم كلهم فأرسل ملك الموت فقالت له مثل ذلك فقال إن الذي
أرسلني أحق بالطاعة منك فأخذ من وجه الأرض كلها من طيها
وتحيتها فجاء به إلى ربه فصب عليه من ماء الجنة فصار حملاً مسنوناً
فيخلق منه آدم.

١٠٨ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير والبيهقي في الأسماء والصفات وابن
عساکر من طريق السدي عن أبي مالك وعن أبي صالح عن ابن عباس
وعن مرة عن ابن مسعود وناس من الصحابة قالوا بعث الله جبريل إلى
الأرض ليأتيه بطين منها فقالت الأرض أعوذ بالله منك أن تنقص مني

منكم أحداً قال الحسن فوالله لو يرون مقامه ويسمعون كلامه لذهلوا عن ميتهم ولبكوا على أنفسهم .

١١٣ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا وأبو الشيخ عن زيد بن أسلم قال يتصفح ملك الموت المنازل كل يوم خمس مرات ويطلع في وجه ابن آدم كل يوم اطلاعه قال فمنها الذعرة التي تصيب الناس يعني القشعريرة والانتفاض .

١١٤ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم وأبو الشيخ عن عكرمة قال ما من يوم إلا وملك الموت يطلع في كتاب حياة الناس؛ قائل يقول ثلاثاً وقائل يقول خمساً .

١١٥ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم عن كعب قال ما من بيت فيه أحد إلا وملك الموت على بابه كل يوم سبع مرات ينظر هل فيه أحد أمر به يتوفاه .

١١٦ - (وأخرج) سعيد بن منصور وأحمد في الزهد عن عطاء بن يسار قال ما من أهل بيت إلا يتصفحهم ملك الموت في كل يوم خمس مرات هل منهم أحد أمر يقبضه .

١١٧ - (وأخرج) أبو نعيم في الحلية عن ثابت البناني قال الليل والهار أربع وعشرون ساعة ليس فيها ساعة تأتي على ذي روح إلا وملك الموت قائم عليها فإن أمر يقبضها قبضها وإلا ذهب .

١١٨ - (وأخرج) ابن النجار في تاريخه عن أنس مرفوعاً إن ملك الموت لينظر في وجوه العباد كل يوم سبعين نظرة فإذا ضحك العبد الذي بعث إليه يقول يا عجبا بعثت إليه لأقبض روحه وهو يضحك .

فرجع ولم يأخذ شيئاً وقال يا رب إنها عادت بك فأخذتها فبعث ميكائيل كذلك فبعث ملك الموت فعادت منه فقال وأنا أعود بالله أن أرجع ولم أنفذ أمره فأخذ من وجه الأرض .

١٠٩ - (وأخرج) الديلمي عن زيد بن ثابت قال قال رسول الله ﷺ لو رأيتم الأجل ومسيره لأبغضتم الأمل وغروره وما من أهل بيت إلا وملك الموت يتعاهدهم في كل يوم مرتين فمن وجده قد انقضى أجله قبض روحه فإذا بكى أهله وجزعوا قال لم تكون ولم تجزعوا فوالله ما نقصت لكم عمراً ولا حسبت لكم رزقاً ما لي ذنب وإن لي فيكم لعودة ثم عودة ثم عودة حتى لا أبقي منكم أحداً .

١١٠ - (وأخرج) عبد الرزاق وأحمد في الزهد وابن جرير وابن المنذر وابن أبي حاتم وأبو الشيخ عن مجاهد قال ما على ظهر الأرض من بيت شعر ولا مدر إلا وملك الموت يطوف به كل يوم مرتين .

١١١ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي شيبة في المصنف وحيد الله بن أحمد في زوائد الزهد عن عبد الأعلى التميمي قال ما من أهل بيت إلا وملك الموت يتصفحهم في اليوم مرتين .

١١٢ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا في ذكر الموت وأبو الشيخ عن الحسن قال ما من يوم إلا وملك الموت يتصفح في كل بيت ثلاث مرات فمن وجده منهم قد استوفى رزقه وانقضى أجله قبض روحه وأقبل أهله برنة وبكاء فيأخذ ملك الموت بعضا دقي الباب فيقول ما لي إليكم من ذنب واني لأمور والله ما أكلت لكم رزقاً ولا أفنيت لكم عمراً ولا انتقصت لكم أجلاً وإن لي فيكم لعودة ثم عودة ثم عودة حتى لا أبقي

١٠٩ - عن كنز العمال رقم ٤٢١٣٣ وعزاه السيوطي للديلمي عن زيد بن ثابت

رضي الله عنه

تأفان رها أحتق بها فمن أنت قال ملك الموت قال لقد نعمت لي منك أشياء ما أراها فيك قال أدبر فأدبر فإذا عيون مقبلة وعيون مدبرة وإذا كل شعرة منه كأنها إنسان قائم فتعود إبراهيم من ذلك وقال عد إلى الصورة الأولى قال يا إبراهيم إن الله إذا بعثني إلى من يجب لقياءه بعثني في الصورة التي رأيت أولاً

١٢١ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا عن كعب قال إن إبراهيم عليه السلام رأى في بيته رجلاً فقال من أنت قال أنا ملك الموت قال إبراهيم إن كنت صادقاً فأرني منك آية أعرف أنك ملك الموت قال ملك الموت أعرض بوجهك فأعرض ثم نظر فأراه الصورة التي يقبض فيها المؤمن فرأى من النور والبهاء شيئاً لا يعلمه إلا الله تعالى ثم قال أعرض بوجهك فأعرض ثم نظر فأراه الصورة التي يقبض فيها الكفيار والفجار فرعب إبراهيم رعباً حتى أرعدت فرائضه وألصق بطنه بالأرض وكادت نفسه تخرج.

١٢٢ - (وأخرج) عن ابن مسعود وابن عباس قال لما اتخذ الله تعالى إبراهيم خليلاً سأل ملك الموت ربه أن يأذن له فيشره بذلك فأذن له فجاء إبراهيم فبشروه بذلك فقال الحمد لله ثم قال يا ملك الموت أرني كيف تقبض أنفاس الكفار قال يا إبراهيم لا تطيق ذلك قال بلى قال فأعرض فأعرض ثم نظر فإذا برجل أسود ينال رأسه السماء يخرج من فيه لمب النار ليس من شعرة في جسده إلا في صورة رجل يخرج من فيه ومسامحه لمب النار فغشي على إبراهيم ثم أفاق وقد تحول ملك الموت في الصورة الأولى فقال يا ملك الموت لو لم يلق الكافر من البلاء والحزن إلا صورتك لكفاه فأرني كيف تقبض أنفاس المؤمنين قال أعرض فأعرض ثم التفت فإذا هو برجل شاب أحسن الناس وجهاً وأطيبهم ريحاً في ثياب بيضاء فقال يا ملك الموت لو لم ير المؤمن عند موته من قرة العين

١١٩ - (وأخرج) الطبراني في الكبير وأبو نعيم وابن منته كلاهما في المعرفة من طريق جعفر بن محمد عن أبيه عن الحارث بن الخزرج قال سمعت رسول الله ﷺ يقول - ونظر إلى ملك الموت عند رأس رجل من الأنصار - فقال يا ملك الموت ارفق بصاحبي فإنه مؤمن فقال ملك الموت طب نفساً وقر عيناً فإني بكل مؤمن رفيق واعلم يا محمد أني لأقبض روح ابن آدم فإذا صرخ صرخة في الدار ومعني روحه فقلت ما هذا الصارخ والله ما ظلمناه ولا سبقنا أجله ولا استعجلنا قدره وما لنا في قبضه من ذنب فإن ترضوا بما صنع الله تؤجروا وإن تسخطوا تأثموا وتوزروا وإن لنا عندكم عودة ثم عودة بعد عودة فالخذر الخذر وما من أهل بيت شعر ولا مدر بر ولا فاجر سهل ولا جبل إلا أنا اصفحهم في كل يوم وليلة حتى لأنا أعرف بصغيرهم وكبيرهم منهم بأنفسهم والله لو أردت أن أقبض روح بعوضة ما قدرت على ذلك حتى يكون الله هو يأذن بقبضها. قال جعفر بن محمد بلغني إنما يتصفحهم عند مواقيت الصلاة فإذا حضر عند الموت فإن كان ممن يحافظ على الصلوات دنا منه الملك وطرد عنه الشيطان ويلقنه الملك لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله في ذلك الحال العظيم.

١٢٠ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا في كتاب ذكر الموت عن عبيد بن عمير قال بينما إبراهيم عليه السلام يوماً في داره إذ دخل عليه رجل حسن الشارة فقال يا عبد الله من أدخلك داري قال أدخلنيها ربه

١١٩ - الطبراني في الكبير ٢٦١/٤ ورواه الطبراني بزيادة في الألفاظ والحديث

عنده عن الحارث بن الخزرج عن أبيه.

ونظر تفسير ابن كثير ٣٦٣/٦ / مجمع الزوائد ٢/٣٢٦.

الجامع الكبير ٢/٣٨٥ / كنز العمال رقم ٤٢٨١٠ / الدرر المنثور

١٧٣/٥

قال أعوان ملك الموت من الملائكة.

١٢٨ - (وأخرج) عبد بن حميد وابن جرير وابن المنذر وابن أبي حاتم وأبو الشيخ في التفسير عن إبراهيم النخعي في قوله ﴿توفته رسولنا﴾ قال الملائكة تقبض الأنفس ثم يقبضها منهم ملك الموت بعد.

١٢٩ - (وأخرج) عبد الرزاق وابن جرير وأبو الشيخ في العظمة عن قتادة في قوله ﴿توفته رسولنا﴾ قال إن ملك الموت له رسل في قبضها الرسل ثم يدفعوها إلى ملك الموت.

١٣٠ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ في العظمة عن وهب بن منه قال إن الملائكة الذين يقربون بالناس هم الذين يتوفونهم ويكتبون لهم آجالهم فإذا توفوا النفس دفعوها إلى ملك الموت وهو كالعاقب يعني العشار الذي يؤدي إليه من تحته.

١٣١ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا وأبو الشيخ وأبو نعيم في الحلية عن شهر بن حوشب قال: ملك الموت جالس والدنيا بين ركبتيه واللوح الذي في آجال بني آدم في يديه وبين يديه ملائكة قيام وهو يعرض اللوح لا يطرف فإذا أتى على أجل عبد قال اقبضوا هذا.

١٣٢ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم وأبو الشيخ عن ابن عباس أنه سئل عن نفسين اتفق موتها في طرفه عين واحد في المشرق وآخر بالمغرب كيف قدر ملك الموت عليها قال ما قدرة ملك الموت على أهل المشرق والمغرب والظلمات والهواء والبحور إلا كرجل بين يديه مائدة يتناول من أيها شاء.

١٣٣ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم عن زهير بن محمد قال قيل يا رسول الله ملك الموت واحد والزحفان بفتحان بين المشرق والمغرب وما بين ذلك من السقط والهلاك فقال إن الله عز وجل قوى ملك الموت

والكرامة إلا صورتك هذه لكان يكفيه.

١٢٣ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا وأبو الشيخ في العظمة عن أشعث بن أسلم قال سأل إبراهيم عليه السلام ملك الموت واسمه عزرائيل وله عينان في وجهه وعينان في قفاه فقال يا ملك الموت ما تصنع إذا كانت نفس بالمشرق ونفس بالمغرب ووقع الوفاء بأرض والتقى الزحفان كيف تصنع قال أدهو الأرواح بإذن الله فكفرون بين أصبعي هاتين قال ودجيت له الأرض فتركت مثل الطلح يتناول منها حيث يشاء.

١٢٤ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا عن الحكم الأعمش عليه السلام قال يا ملك الموت ما من نفس منقوسة إلا وأنت تحبس روحها قال نعم قال فكيف وأنت عندي ها هنا والأنفس في أطراف الأرض قال إن الله يجزي الدنيا فهي كالطست يوضع قدام أحدكم فقال: أيها من أطرافها شاء، كذلك الدنيا عندي.

١٢٥ - (وأخرج) عبد الرزاق وأحمد في الصحيحين وابن جرير وابن المنذر وأبو الشيخ في العظمة وأبو نعيم في الحلية عن الصادق قال: يطب الأرض ملك الموت مثل الطست يتناول من حيث شاء ويحيط به أعوان يتوفون الأنفس ثم يقبضها منهم.

١٢٦ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير وأبو الشيخ عن الربيع بن أنس أنه سئل عن ملك الموت هل هو وحده الذي يقبض الأرواح قال هو الذي يلي أمر الأرواح وله أعوان على ذلك غير أن ملك الموت هو الرئيس وكل خطوة منه من المشرق إلى المغرب.

١٢٧ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي شيبة وابن جرير وابن المنذر وابن أبي حاتم وأبو الشيخ في التفسير عن ابن عباس في قوله تعالى ﴿توفته رسولنا﴾

١٤٠ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا عن ابن جرير قال بلغنا أنه يقال للملك الموت أقبض فلاناً في وقت كذا في يوم كذا.

١٤١ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم عن عكرمة في قوله تعالى: ﴿وَهُوَ الَّذِي يَتَوَفَّاكُم بِاللَّيْلِ﴾ قال يتوفى الأنفس عند منامها ما من ليلة إلا والله يقبض الأرواح كلها فيسأل كل نفس عما عمل صاحبها من النهار ثم يدعو ملك الموت فيقول إقبض هذا إقبض هذا.

١٤٢ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا عن عطاء بن يسار قال إذا كانت ليلة النصف من شعبان دفع إلى ملك الموت صحيفة فيقال إقبض من في هذه الصحيفة فإن العبد ليفرش الفراش وينسكح الأزواج ويبني البنيان وإن اسمه قد نسخ في الموت.

١٤٣ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير عن عمر مولى غفرة قال ينسخ ملك الموت من يموت ليلة القدر إلى مثلها فتجد الرجل ينكح النساء ويغرس الغرس واسمه في الأموات.

١٤٤ - (وأخرج) الدينوري في المجالسة عن راشد بن سعيد أن النبي ﷺ قال في ليلة النصف من شعبان يوحى الله إلى ملك الموت يقبض كل نفس يريد قبضها في تلك السنة.

١٤٥ - (وأخرج) الخطيب وابن النجار عن عائشة قالت كان رسول الله ﷺ يصوم شعبان كله حتى يصله برمضان ولم يكن يصوم شهراً تاماً إلا شعبان فقلت يا رسول الله إن شعبان لمن أحب الشهور

٢٤٤ - كثر العمال رقم ٣٥١٧٦ وعزاه السيوطي للدينوري في المجالسة عن راشد بن سعد مرسلًا / إتحاف السادة المتقين ٢٨٢/١٠ .

وانظر الدر المنثور ٢٦/٦

حتى جعلها كالطست بين يدي أحدكم فهل يفوته منها شيء.

١٣٤ - (وأخرج) جرير عن ابن عباس قال ملك الموت الذي يتوفى الأنفس كلها وقد سلط على ما في الأرض كما سلط أحدكم على ما في راحته ومعه ملائكة من ملائكة الرحمة وملائكة من ملائكة العذاب فإذا توفى نفساً طيبة دفعها إلى ملائكة الرحمة وإذا توفى نفساً خبيثة دفعها إلى ملائكة العذاب.

١٣٥ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا وأبو الشيخ عن أبي الثني الحمصي قال إن الدنيا سهلها وجعلها بين فخذي ملك الموت ومعه ملائكة الرحمة وملائكة العذاب فيقبض الأرواح فيعطي هؤلاء هؤلاء وهؤلاء هؤلاء يعني ملائكة الرحمة وملائكة العذاب قيل فإذا كانت ملحمة وكان السيف مثل البرق قال يدعوها فتأبى الأنفس.

١٣٦ - (وأخرج) الدينوري في المجالسة عن أبي قيس الأزدي قال قيل للملك الموت كيف تقبض الأرواح قال أدعوها فتجيني.

١٣٧ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي شيبة عن خيمته قال أتى مالك الموت سليمان بن داود وكان له صديقاً فقال له سليمان ما لك تأتي أهل البيت فتقبضهم جميعاً وتدع أهل البيت إلى جنبهم لا تقبض منهم أحداً قال لا أعلم بما أقبض منها إذا أكون تحت العرش فتلقى إلى صيكاك فيها أساء.

١٣٨ - (وأخرج) ابن عساکر عن خيمته قال قال سليمان بن داود للملك الموت إذا أردت أن تقبض روحي فأعلمني بذلك قال ما أنا أعلم بذلك منك إنما هي كتب تلقى إلي فيها تسمية من يموت.

١٣٩ - (وأخرج) أحمد في الزهد وابن أبي الدنيا عن معمر قال بلغنا أن ملك الموت لا يعلم متى يحضر أجل الإنسان حتى يؤمر بقبضها.

ملك الموت شيء قال ذاك أخي من الملائكة قال هل تستطيع أن تنفعي عنده بشيء قال أما أن يؤخر شيئاً أو يقدمه فلا، ولكن سأكلمه لك فيرفق بك عند الموت قال إركب بين جناحي فركب إدريس فصعد إلى السماء العليا فلقى ملك الموت وإدريس بين جناحيه فقال له الملك إن لي إليك حاجة قال قد علمت حاجتك تكلمني في إدريس وقد محي اسمه ولم يبق من أجله إلا نصف طرفه عين فمات إدريس بين جناحي الملك.

١٥٠ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن محمد بن النكدر أن ملك الموت قال لإبراهيم عليه السلام إن ربك أمرني أن أقبض نفسك بأيسر ما قبضت نفس مؤمن قال فإني أسألك بحق الذي أرسلك أن تراجعني في فقال إن خليلك سأل أن أراجعك فيه فقال اتته وقل له إن ربك يقول إن الخليل يحب لقاء خليله فأتاه فقال امض لا أمرت به قال يا إبراهيم هل شربت شراباً قال لا فأستنكه قبض نفسه على ذلك.

١٥١ - (وأخرج) أحمد عن أبي هريرة أن رسول الله ﷺ قال كان داود عليه السلام فيه غيرة شديدة فكان إذا خرج أغلقت الأبواب فلم يدخل على أهله أحد حتى يرجع فخرج ذات يوم ورجع فإذا في الدار رجل قائم فقال له من أنت قال أنا الذي لا أهلب الملوك ولا يمنع مني الظناب قال داود أنت إذاً والله ملك الموت مرحباً بأمر الله فزمل داود مكانه فقبضت نفسه.

١٥٢ - جمع الزوائد ٢٠٦/٨ وذكره الهيثمي وله زيادة طويلة، وعزاه لأحمد وفيه الطلب بن عبد الله بن حنطب وثقه أبو زرعة وغيره، وفيه رجاله رجال الصحيح.

وانظر كتنز العمال رقم ٣٢٣٢٧ / تفسير ابن كثير ١٩/٦.

ليك أن تصومه قال نعم يا عائشة إنه يكتب فيه ملك الموت من يقبض تأحب أن لا ينسخ اسمي إلا وأنا صائم.

١٤٦ - (وأخرج) أحمد والبخاري والحاكم وصححه عن أبي هريرة عن النبي ﷺ قال إن ملك الموت كان يأتي النيام عياناً فأتى موسى فلطمه ففقت عينه فأتى ربه فقال يا رب عبدك موسى فقياً عيني ولولا كرامته عليك لشقت عليه قال له إذهب إلى عبدي فقل له فليضع يده على جلد ثور فله بكل شعرة وارت يده سنة فأتاه فقال ما بعد هذا قال الموت قال فالآن فشمه شمة فقبض روحه ورد الله عليه فكان بعد يأتي الناس في خفية.

١٤٧ - (وأخرج) أبو نعيم عن الأعمش قال كان ملك الموت يظهر للناس فيأتي الرجل فيقول إقبض حاجتك فإني أريد أن أقبض روحك فشكا فانزل الداء وجعل الموت خفية.

١٤٨ - (وأخرج) المروزي في الجنائز وابن أبي الدنيا وأبو الشيخ عن أبي الشعثاء جابر بن زيد أن ملك الموت كان يقبض الأرواح بغير وجمع فسهب الناس ولعنوه فشكى إلى ربه فوضع الله الأرواح وتبيى ملك الموت يقال مات فلان بكذا وكذا.

١٤٩ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم عن ابن عساق أن ملكاً استأذن ربه أن يهبط إلى إدريس فأتاه فسلم عليه فقال له إن إدريس هل بينك وبين

١٤٦ - الحاكم ٥٧٨/٢ ورواه الحاكم بنحوه، وقال هذا حديث صحيح على

شروط مسلم ولم يخرجاه.

/ جمع الجوامع رقم ٧١٠٢ / كتنز العمال رقم ٣٢٣٨٣ / الأتحافات

السنية ص ١٧٨.

١٥٢ - (وأخرج) ابن ماجه عن أبي أمامة سمعت رسول الله ﷺ يقول إن الله عز وجل وكل ملك الموت يقبض الأرواح إلا شهداء لبحر فإنه يتولى قبض أرواحهم .

١٥٣ - (وأخرج) جوير عن ابن عباس قال: وكل ملك الموت قبض أرواح الأدميين فهو الذي يلي قبض أرواحهم وملك في الجن وملك في الشياطين وملك في الطير والوحش والسمك والحيتان والتمل فهم أربعة أملاك والملائكة يموتون في الصفة الأولى وإن ملك الموت يلي قبض أرواحهم ثم يموت فأما الشهداء في البحر فإن الله يلي قبض أرواحهم لا يوكل ذلك إلى ملك الموت لكرامتهم عليه حيث ركبوا لبحر البحر في سبيله .

١٥٤ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا عن محمد بن عصب القرظي قال بلغني أن آخر من يموت ملك الموت يقال له يا ملك الموت مت فيصرخ عند ذلك صرخة لو سمعها أهل السماوات والأرض لما تروا فرعاً ثم يموت .

١٥٥ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا عن زياد السلمي قال قرأت في بعض الكتب أن الموت أشد على ملك الموت منه على جميع الخلق .

١٥٦ - (وأخرج) العقيلي في الضعفاء وأبو الشيخ في العظمة والديلمي عن أنس قال قال رسول الله ﷺ آجال اليهائم وخشاش

١٥٢ - ابن ماجه رقم ٢٧٧٨ ورواه زيادته عن أبي أمامة رضي الله عنه .
واظن الدر المنثور ١٧٣/٥ / إرواء الغليل ١٧/٥ .

١٥٦ - جمع الجوامع رقم ٤٠٤ وعزه السيوطي للعقيلي في الضعفاء وقال: لا أصل له وأورده ابن الجوزي في الموضوعات، وفي اللآلئ المصنوعة: «موضوع وأتهم به الوليد (بن موسى الدمشقي) قال العقيلي أحاديثه بواطل» .

الأرض كلها في التسبيح فإذا انقضى تسبيحها قبض الله أرواحها وليس إلى ملك الموت من ذلك شيء .

١٥٧ - (وأخرج) الخطيب في رواة مالك عن سليمان بن معمر الكلابي قال حضرت مالك بن أنس وسأله رجل عن البراءة أملاك الموت يقبض أرواحها فأطرق طويلاً ثم قال: أها نفس قال نعم قال فإن ملك الموت يقبض أرواحها الله يتوفى الأنفس حين موتها .

١٥٨ - (وأخرج) أبو نعيم في الحلية عن معاذ ابن جبل قال إن ملك الموت حربة تبلغ ما بين المشرق والمغرب فإذا انقضى أجل عبد من الدنيا ضرب رأسه بتلك الحربة وقال الآن يزار بك عسكر الموت .

١٥٩ - (وأخرج) ابن عساکر عن بن عباس مرفوعاً إن ملك الموت حربة مسمومة طرف لها بالشرق وطرف لها بالمغرب يقطع بها عرق الحياة .

١٦٠ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم عن زهير بن محمد قال: ملك الموت جالس على معراج بين السماء والأرض وله رسول من الملائكة فإذا كانت النفس في ثغرة النحر رأى ملك الموت على معراجة شخص بصره إليه فظن أنه آخر ما يموت .

١٦٩ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا عن الحكم بن أبان قال سئل حكومة أبيض الأعمى ملك الموت إذا جاء يقبض روحه قال نعم .

واظن كثير العمال رقم ١٩٢١ / الدر المنثور ٢١/٢ ، ١٨٤/٤ .
اللائل المصنوعة ٢٢٥/٢ / الحاوي للفتاوى ٢١/٢ .
الفتاوى المجموعة ص ٢٧١ / لسان الميزان ٦/٦ ، ٨٠٧/٦ .

١٦٢ - (وأخرج) أبو نعيم في الحلية عن مجاهد قال ما من مريض يعرضه العبد إلا رسول ملك الموت عنده حتى إذا كان آخر مرض يعرضه العبد أتاه ملك الموت فقال أتاك رسول بعد رسول فلم تبعاً به وقد أتاك رسول يقطع أثرك من الدنيا.

١٦٣ - (وأخرج) أبو الحسين ابن العسيف في فوائده وأبو الربيع المسعودي في فوائده عن أنس بن مالك قال قال رسول الله ﷺ إذا جاء ملك الموت إلى ولي الله تعالى سلم عليه وسلامه عليه أن يقول السلام عليك يا ولي الله قم فإخرج من دارك التي خرجتها إلى دارك التي عمرتها وإذا لم يكن ولياً لله قال له قم فإخرج من دارك التي عمرتها إلى دارك التي خرجتها.

١٦٤ - (وأخرج) أبو القاسم ابن منده في كتاب الأموال والإيمان بالسؤال عن ابن مسعود قال إذا أراد الله عز وجل قبض روح المؤمن أوحى إلى ملك الموت أقره مني السلام فإذا جاء ملك الموت قبض روحه قال ربك يقرئك السلام.

١٦٥ - (وأخرج) المروزي في الجنائز وابن أبي الدنيا وأبو الشيخ في تفسيره عن ابن مسعود قال إذا جاء ملك الموت يقبض روح المؤمن قال: ربك يقرئك السلام.

١٦٦ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي شيبة وابن أبي الدنيا وابن أبي حاتم والحاكم وصححه والبيهقي في شعب الإيمان عن محمد بن كعب القرظي قال إذا استنفقت نفس العبد المؤمن جاءه ملك الموت فقال له السلام عليك يا ولي الله، والله يقرأ عليك السلام ثم نزع بهمة الآية: ﴿الذين تتوفاهم اللاتكة طيبين يقولون سلام عليكم﴾ وقال السلفي في المشيخة البغدادية سمعت أبا سعيد الحسن بن علي الواعظ يقول سمعت أبي

يقول رأيت في بعض الكتب أن الله تعالى يظهر على كعب ملك الموت بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم بخط من التور ثم يأمره أن يسط كفه للعارف في وقت وفاته ويريه تلك الكتابة فإذا رأتها روح العارف طارت إليه في أسرع من طرف العين.

١٦٧ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن داود بن أبي هند قال بلغني أن ملك الموت كان وكل بسليمان عليه السلام فقيل له ادخل عليه كل يوم دخلة فسله عن حاجته ثم لا تبرح حتى تقضيها فكان يدخل عليه في صورة رجل فيسأله كيف هو ثم يقول يا رسول الله ألك حاجة فإن قال نعم لم يبرح حتى يقضيها وإن قال لا انصرف عنه إلى الغد فدخل عليه يوماً وعنده شيخ فقام فسلم ثم قال ألك حاجة يا رسول الله قال لا ولخط الشيخ لحظة فارتعد الشيخ وانصرف ملك الموت فقام الشيخ فقال لسليمان أسألك بحق الله إلا ما أمرت بالريح فتحملني فتلقيني بأقصى مدرة من أرض الهند فأمرها فحملته ودخل ملك الموت على سليمان من الغد فسأله عن الشيخ فقال هبط إلي كتابه أمس أن اقض روحه غداً مع طلوع الفجر بأقصى مدرة من أرض الهند فهبطت وما أحسبه إلا ثم فوجدته عندك فجمعت أتعجب وأنظر إليه مالي هم غيره فهبطت عليه اليوم مع طلوع الفجر فوجدته بأقصى مدرة من أرض الهند ينتفض فقبضت روحه.

١٦٨ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي شيبة عن خيشمة قال دخل ملك الموت إلى سليمان فجعل ينظر إلى رجل من جلسائه يديم النظر إليه فلما خرج قال الرجل من هذا قال هذا ملك الموت قال رأيتني ينظر إلي كأنه يريدني قال فما تريد قال أريد أن تحملي على الريح حتى تلقيني بالهند فدعا الريح فحملة عليها فالتفته في الهند ثم أتى ملك الموت سليمان فقال إنك كنت تديم النظر إلى رجل من جلسائي قال كنت أعجب منه أمرت أن

حملة العرش. رجلاه في الأرض السفلى وعلى قترنه العرش وبين شحمة
أذنه وعاتقه خفتان الطير سبع مائة. عام يقول ذلك الملك سبحانه حيث
كُنت.

١٨٣ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ من طريق أبي قبيل أنه سمع عبد الله
يقول: حملة العرش ما بين موق أحدهم إلى مؤخر عينه مسيرة خمس
مائة عام.

١٨٤ - (وأخرج) عثمان بن سعيد وابن المنذر وأبو الشيخ عن
حسان بن عطية قال حملة العرش ثمانية أقدامهم مشية في الأرض
السابعة رؤوسهم قد تجاوزت السماء السابعة وقوتهم مثل طوهم
عليها العرش.

١٨٥ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن زاذان قال: حملة العرش أرجلهم
في التخوم لا يستطيعون أن يرفعوا أبصارهم من شعاع النور.

١٨٦ - (وأخرج) ابن المنذر وأبو الشيخ والبيهقي في شعب الإيمان
عن هارون بن رثاب قال: حملة العرش ثمانية يتجاوبون بصوت رخيتم
تقول أربعة منهم: سبحانك ويحمدك على حلمك بعد علمك وأربعة،
يقولون: سبحانك ويحمدك على عفوك بعد قدرتك.

١٨٧ - (وأخرج) عبد بن حميد عن الربيع في قوله ﴿ويحمل عرش
ربك فوقهم يومئذ ثمانية﴾ من الملائكة.

١٨٨ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير عن ابن زيد قال قال رسول الله ﷺ
يحملهم أربعة ويوم القيامة ثمانية.

١٨٨ - تفسير الطبري ٣٧/٢٩ وذكره بلفظه:

وانظر الدر المنثور ٢٦١/٦ / تفسير القرطبي ١٨/٢٦٦.

حاتم والطبراني في الأوسط وأبو الشيخ عن الربيع بن أنس قال السماء
الدنيا موج مكفوف والثانية مرمرة بيضاء والثالثة حديد والرابعة نحاس
والخامسة فضة والسادسة ذهب والسابعة ياقوتة حمراء وهما أقوى ذلك
صخارى من نور ولا يعلم ما فوق ذلك إلا الله تعالى وملك موكل
بالحجب يقال له ميظا طروش.

ما جاء في حملة العرش عليهم السلام
قال تعالى ﴿ويحمل عرش ربك فوقهم يومئذ ثمانية﴾

١٧٩ - (أخرج) عبد بن حميد وعثمان بن سعيد الدارمي وأبو يعلى
وابن المنذر وابن خزيمة وابن مردويه والحاكم وصححه في المستدرج على
الجهمية عن العباس بن عبد المطلب في قوله ﴿ويحمل عرش ربك فوقهم
يومئذ ثمانية﴾ قال ثمانية أملاك على صورة الأوعال.

١٨٠ - (وأخرج) عثمان بن سعيد عن ابن عباس قال قال رسول الله ﷺ
قرون لها كعسوب كعسوب القتا ما بين أخمص الخطم إلى أخمص القدم مسيرة
خمس مائة عام وبين أرنبتها إلى ترقوته مسيرة خمس مائة عام وترقوته
إلى موضع القرط خمس مائة عام.

١٨١ - (وأخرج) عثمان بن سعيد وأبو يعلى في مسند صحيح عن أبي
هريرة قال قال رسول الله ﷺ أذن لي أن أعطف على ملك قد مرقت
رجلاه الأرض السابعة والعرش على منكبيه وهو يقول سبحانك أين
كنت وأين تكون.

١٨٢ - (وأخرج) أبو داود وأبو الشيخ والبيهقي في الأسماء
والصفات عن جابر أن النبي ﷺ قال أذن لي أن أحدث عن ملك من

١٨٩ - (وأخرج) عبد الرزاق وهب بن حديد وابن النذر وأبو الشيخ
عن وهب قال حملة العرش الذين يحملونه أربعة أملاك لكل ملك منهم
أربعة وجوه وأربعة أجنحة جناحان على وجهه يمنة من أن ينظر إلى

العرش فيصنع وجناحان يطير بهما أقدامهم من الشرى والعرش على
أكتافهم لكل واحد منهم وجه ثور ووجه أسد ووجه إنسان ووجه نسر
ليس لهم كلام إلا أن يقولوا قدوس، الله القوي ملك عظيم
السموات والأرض.

١٩٠ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ من طريق السدي عن ابن أبي عمير قال
الصخرة التي تحت الأرض منتهى الخلق على أرجائها أربعة أملاك لكل
واحد منهم أربعة وجوه وجه إنسان ووجه أسد ووجه ثور ووجه نسر
وهم قيام عليها قد أحاطوا الأرض والسموات والعرش.

١٩١ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن وهب قال حملة العرش الذين
أربعة فإذا كان يوم القيامة أيدوا بأربعة أخرى ملك منهم في صورة
إنسان يشفع لبني آدم في أرزاقهم وملك في صورة نسر يشفع للغير في
أرزاقها وملك في صورة ثور يشفع للبهائم في أرزاقهم ووجه إنسان
أسد يشفع للسباع في أرزاقها ولكل ملك منهم أربعة وجوه ووجه إنسان
ووجه نسر ووجه ثور ووجه أسد فلما حملوا العرش جعلوا على ركبهم من
عظمة الله فلقنوا لا حول ولا قوة إلا بالله فاستوي عليهم العرش وأرجلهم.

١٩٢ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن مكحول قال رسول
الله ﷺ إن في حملة العرش أربعة أملاك ملك على يد الصور وهو ابن
الدر المشور ٣٤٦/٥ وعزاه السيوطي لأبو الشيخ عن مكحول رضي
الله عنه.

١٩٣ - (وأخرج) عثمان بن سعيد الدارمي والبيهقي في الأسماء
والصفات عن عروة قال حملة العرش منهم من صورته على صورة إنسان
ومنهم من صورته على صورة النسر ومنهم من صورته على صورة الثور
ومنهم من صورته على صورة الأسد.

١٩٤ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم عن ابن زيد قال لم يسم من حملة
العرش إلا إسرافيل قال وميكائيل ليس من حملة العرش.

١٩٥ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن ابن عباس أن رسول الله ﷺ
خرج على أصحابه فقال ما جمعكم فقالوا اجتمعنا نذكر ربنا ونفكر في
عظمته فقال لن تتركوا التفكير في عظمته ألا أخبركم ببعض عظمة
ربكم قالوا بلى يا رسول الله قال إن ملكاً من حملة العرش يقال له
إسرافيل زاوية من زوايا العرش على كاهله قد مرقق قدماه في الأرض
السابعة السفلى ومرق رأسه من الساء السابعة العليا في مثله من خلقية
ربكم.

١٩٦ - (وأخرج) الدلمي عن علي قال قال رسول الله ﷺ «إذا

١٩٥ - إتحاف السادة المتقين ٣٢٠/١، ١٦٢/١ وذكره الزبيدي وعزاه
للأصبهاني في ترتيبه وأبو نعيم في الحلية عن طريق حوشب عن ابن عباس رضي
الله عنهما.

وانظر الدر المنثور ٣٤٧/٥ / كشف الخفاء ٣٧١/١.

١٩٦ - جمع الجوامع ١٧٦٧ وعزاه السيوطي للدلمي عن علي رضي الله

عنه.

وانظر كنز العمال ٢٣٧١٦.

١٨٩ - (وأخرج) عبد الرزاق وهب بن حديد وابن النذر وأبو الشيخ
عن وهب قال حملة العرش الذين يحملونه أربعة أملاك لكل ملك منهم
أربعة وجوه وأربعة أجنحة جناحان على وجهه يمنة من أن ينظر إلى

العرش فيصنع وجناحان يطير بهما أقدامهم من الشرى والعرش على
أكتافهم لكل واحد منهم وجه ثور ووجه أسد ووجه إنسان ووجه نسر
ليس لهم كلام إلا أن يقولوا قدوس، الله القوي ملك عظيم
السموات والأرض.

١٩٠ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ من طريق السدي عن ابن أبي عمير قال
الصخرة التي تحت الأرض منتهى الخلق على أرجائها أربعة أملاك لكل
واحد منهم أربعة وجوه وجه إنسان ووجه أسد ووجه ثور ووجه نسر
وهم قيام عليها قد أحاطوا الأرض والسموات والعرش.

١٩١ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن وهب قال حملة العرش الذين
أربعة فإذا كان يوم القيامة أيدوا بأربعة أخرى ملك منهم في صورة
إنسان يشفع لبني آدم في أرزاقهم وملك في صورة نسر يشفع للغير في
أرزاقها وملك في صورة ثور يشفع للبهائم في أرزاقهم ووجه إنسان
أسد يشفع للسباع في أرزاقها ولكل ملك منهم أربعة وجوه ووجه إنسان
ووجه نسر ووجه ثور ووجه أسد فلما حملوا العرش جعلوا على ركبهم من
عظمة الله فلقنوا لا حول ولا قوة إلا بالله فاستوي عليهم العرش وأرجلهم.

١٩٢ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن مكحول قال رسول
الله ﷺ إن في حملة العرش أربعة أملاك ملك على يد الصور وهو ابن
الدر المشور ٣٤٦/٥ وعزاه السيوطي لأبو الشيخ عن مكحول رضي
الله عنه.

دخل شهر رمضان أمر الله تعالى حملة العرش أن يكفروا عن التسيح ويستغفروا لأمة محمد والمؤمنين.

١٩٧ - (أخرج الدينوري في المجالسة عن مالك بن دينار قال: بلغني أن في بعض السموات ملكاً له من العيون مثل عدد النجوم منها عين إلا وتحتها لسان وشفتان يحدون الله تبارك وتعالى فبقيتها صاحبها وإن حملة العرش لهم قرون بين طرفيها رؤوسهم مقدار خمسمائة سنة والعرش فوق ذلك.

١٩٨ - (أخرج الدينوري عن أبي عبد الله كرسية السموات والأرض) قال إن الصخرة التي تحت العرش السابعة، على أرجائها أربعة من الملائكة لكل ملك منهم الركنين اثنين ووجه أسد ووجه نسر ووجه ثور وهم قيام على فواصلها أعطوا بالأرض والسموات ورؤوسهم تحت الكرسي والكرسي

١٩٩ - (أخرج الدينوري عن خالد بن الوليد قال: إن العرش ثقيل على حملة العرش من أول النهار فإذا قام الملك عليهم

٢٠٠ - (أخرج البيهقي في شعب الإبراهيم عن أبي بصير قال: بلغني بكر بن مضر عن صخر بن عبد الله عن زيد بن أسد قال: بلغني أن من حملة العرش لمن يسيل من عينه أمثال الدم فإذا رفع رأسه قال: سبحانك ما نخشى حتى خشيتك العرش وجعل لكن الذين يخلفون باسمي كاذبين لا يعلمون.

٢٠١ - (أخرج ابن مردويه عن أم محمد بنت علي بن أبي طالب قال: بلغني أن من حملة العرش من حملة العرش على صورة نبيك وجلاه في تخوم

٢٠١ - الدر المنثور ٣٤٦/٥ وذكره السيوطي وعزله لا في معرفة عن أم سعد رضي الله عنها.

الأرض وجناحاه في المشرق وشفته تحت العرش.

٢٠٢ - (أخرج) عبد بن حميد وابن مردويه والبيهقي في الأساء والصفات عن ابن عباس قال حملة العرش ما بين كعب أحدهم إلى أسفل قدمه مسيرة خمسمائة عام وذكر أن خطوة ملك الموت ما بين الشرق إلى المغرب.

٢٠٣ - (أخرج) عبد بن حميد عن عكرمة قال: حملة العرش كلهم صور قيل لعكرمة وما صور فأمال خده قليلاً.

٢٠٤ - (أخرج) عبد بن حميد عن مسرة قال: لا تستطيع الملائكة الذين يحملون العرش أن ينظروا إلى ما فوقهم من شعاع النور.

٢٠٥ - (أخرج) عبد بن حميد عن مسرة قال: حملة العرش أرجلهم في الأرض السفلى ورؤوسهم قد خرقت العرش وهم خشوع لا يرفعون طرفهم وهم أشد خوفاً من أهل السماء السابعة وأهل السماء السابعة أشد خوفاً من أهل السماء التي تليها والتي تليها أشد خوفاً من التي تليها.

٢٠٦ - (أخرج) ابن أبي شيبة في المصنف عن أبي أمامة قال: إن الملائكة الذين يحملون العرش يتكلمون بالفارسية.

٢٠٧ - (أخرج) عبد بن حميد وابن المنذر عن مسرة في قوله تعالى: ﴿ويحمل عرش ربك فوقهم يومئذ ثمانية﴾ قال أرجلهم في التخوم ورؤوسهم عند العرش لا يستطيعون أن يرفعوا أبصارهم من شعاع النور.

٢٠٨ - (أخرج) ابن جرير وابن المنذر وابن أبي حاتم عن ابن عباس في قوله ﴿ويحمل عرش ربك فوقهم يومئذ ثمانية﴾ قال: ثمانية صفوف من الملائكة لا يعلم عدتهم إلا الله.

٢٠٩ - (وأخرج) عبد بن حميد عن الضحاك في الآية قال: يقال ثمانية صفوف لا يعلم عدتهم إلا الله ويقال: ثمانية أملاك ورؤوسهم عند العرش في السماء السابعة وأقدامهم في الأرض السفلى وهم قرون كقرون الوعلة ما بين أصل قرن أحدهم إلى منتهاه مسيرة خمسمائة عام.

ما جاء في الروح عليه السلام

قال تعالى: ﴿تَنزِلُ الْمَلَائِكَةُ وَالرُّوحُ فِيهَا﴾. وقال: ﴿يَوْمَ يَقومُ الرُّوحُ وَالْمَلَائِكَةُ صَفًّا﴾.

٢١٠ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير وابن المنذر وابن أبي عمير وابن أبي عمير والبيهقي في الأسماء والصفات من طريق ابن أبي عمير عن أبي بصير عن عبد بن عباس قال: الروح من أعظم الملائكة خلقاً.

٢١١ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن الضحاك قال: الروح حليج لله: يقوم بين يدي الله يوم القيامة، وهو أعظم الملائكة خلقاً. لوسع جميع الملائكة، فالخلق إليه ينظرون فمن أحبهم أحبوا الله ومن أبغضهم أبغضوا الله.

٢١٢ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير وابن المنذر وابن أبي عمير والبيهقي في الأسماء والصفات بسند ضعيف عن أبي طالب قال: الروح ملك له سبعون ألف وجه لكل لسان سبعون ألف لغة يسبح الله بتلك اللغة كل تسبيحة ملكاً يطير مع الملائكة إلى يوم القيامة.

٢١٣ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير وابن المنذر وابن أبي عمير عن ابن عباس قال: الروح ملك ولد آدم له سبعون ألف جناح جناحان منها ما بين المشرق والمغرب، وله ألف لسان ولسانان ولسانان وشفتان يسبحان الله إلى يوم القيامة.

٢١٤ = (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن وهب قال: الروح ملك من الملائكة له عشرة آلاف جناح جناحان منها ما بين المشرق والمغرب له ألف وجه لكل وجه ألف لسان وشفتان يسبحان الله إلى يوم القيامة.

٢١٥ - (وأخرج) ابن المنذر وأبو الشيخ عن مقاتل بن حيان قال: الروح أشرف الملائكة وأقربهم من الرب وهو صاحب الوحي.

٢١٦ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير عن ابن مسعود قال: الروح في السماء الرابعة وهو أعظم من السماوات والجبال والملائكة يسبح كل يوم اثني عشر ألف تسبيحة يخلق الله تعالى من كل تسبيحة ملكاً من الملائكة يجيء يوم القيامة صفواً وحده.

٢١٧ - (وأخرج) مسلم وأبو داود والنسائي عن عائشة أن رسول الله ﷺ كان يقول في ركوعه وسجوده «سبح قدوس رب الملائكة والروح».

٢١٨ - (وأخرج) عبد الرزاق وعبد بن حميد وابن جرير وابن المنذر وابن أبي حاتم وأبو الشيخ والبيهقي في الأسماء والصفات عن مجاهد قال: الروح خلق على صورة بني آدم.

٢١٩ - (وأخرج) عبد الرزاق وعبد بن حميد وابن المنذر وأبو الشيخ عن مجاهد قال: الروح يأكلون وهم أيدي وأرجل ورؤوس ويتناولون الملائكة.

٢٢٠ - أبو داود، كتاب استفتاح الصلاة تفريع أبواب الركوع والسجود ب ١٥١ حديث رقم ٨٧١ ورواه بلفظه عن عائشة رضي الله عنها.
وانظر النسائي كتاب الانتصاح ب ٩٨، ١٦١ / البيهقي ٨٧/٢ و ١٠٩ و ١٣١/٥
/ إحياء علوم الدين ٣٢٨/١ / تفسير القرطبي ٢٧٧/١ / الإتحافات السنية ٣/٧٥، ٦٤/٥، ٩٦ و ١٧١.

والروح تسعة والروح والكروبيون عشرة فالروح جزء والكروبيون تسعة أجزاء.

٢٢٧ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم عن ابن أبي نجيح قال: الروح حافظة على الملائكة.

٢٢٨ - (وأخرج) ابن الأنباري في كتاب الأضداد عن مجاهد قال: الروح خلق من الملائكة لا تراهم الملائكة كما لا ترون أنتم الملائكة.

ما جاء في رضوان ومالك وخزنة النار عليهم السلام

قال تعالى: ﴿ونادوا يا مالك ليقض علينا ربك قال إنكم ما تكون﴾ وقال تعالى ﴿وقال الذين في النار لخزنة جهنم﴾ الآية وقال تعالى ﴿عليها ملائكة خلاط شداد﴾. الآية وقال ﴿عليها تسعة عشر وما جعلنا أصحاب النار إلا ملائكة وما جعلنا عدتهم إلا فتنة للذين كفروا﴾ الآية وقال تعالى ﴿سندع الزبانية﴾.

٢٢٩ - (وأخرج) القتيبي (١) في عيون الأخبار عن طائوس أن الله عز وجل خلق مالكا وخلق له أصابع على عدد أهل النار، فما من أهل النار يعذب إلا ومالك يعذبه بأصبع من أصابعه فوالله لو وضع مالك أصبعاً من أصابعه على الساء لأذابها.

٢٣٠ - (وأخرج) الضياء المقدسي في صفة النار عن أنس سمعت رسول الله ﷺ يقول: والذي نفسي بيده لقد خلقت ملائكة جهنم قبل أن تخلق جهنم بألف عام فهم كل يوم يزدادون قوة إلى قوتهم.

٢٣١ - (وأخرج) عبد الله بن أحمد في زوائد الزهد عن أبي عمران الجوني قال: بلغنا أن خزنة النار تسعة عشر ما بين منكي أحدهم مسيرة

(١) ويقال: القتيبي وهو عبد الله بن مسلم بن قتيبة، اللقمي والأديب المشهور، قيل الرواية، صدوق.

٢٢٠ - (وأخرج) عبد بن حميد وابن

أعظم خلقاً من الملائكة ولا ينزل ملك إلا

٢٢١ - (وأخرج) عبد بن حميد وابن

ابن عباس قال: الروح خلق من خالق الله

من السماء ملك إلا ومعه واحد من الروح

٢٢٢ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم

مجاهد عن ابن عباس أن النبي ﷺ قال: لا

ملائكة لهم رؤوس وأيدي وأرجل، ثم يجر

صفاً قال: هؤلاء جند وهؤلاء جند.

٢٢٣ - (وأخرج) عبد الرزاق

الشيخ والبيهقي في الأساء والصفات عن

يشبهون الناس وليسوا بالناس لهم أيدي

٢٢٤ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم

قال: ما يبلغ الجن والإنس والملائكة

٢٢٥ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم

﴿يوم يقوم الروح والملائكة صفاً﴾ قال

القيامه صمط من الروح وصمط من الملائكة

٢٢٦ - (وأخرج) أبو الشيخ عن

أجزاء فالإنس جزء والجن تسعة أجزاء

فالجن جزء والملائكة تسعة، والملائكة

٢٢٢ - الدر المنثور ٦/٢٩٩ وعزم السويدي

حاتم وابن مردويه عن ابن عباس رضي الله عنهما

الأرض ورؤوسهم في السماء.

٢٣٧ - (وأخرج) الواحدي في أسباب النزول وابن عساكر في

تاريخه من طريق إسحق بن بشر عن جوير عن الضحاك عن ابن عباس قال: لما عبر المشركون رسول الله ﷺ بالفاقة قالوا «ما لهذا الرسول يأكل الطعام ويمشي في الأسواق» حزن رسول الله ﷺ لذلك فنزل عليه جبريل فقال: السلام عليك يا رسول الله رب العزة يقرئك السلام ويقول لك وما أرسلنا قبلك من المرسلين إلا أنهم ليأكلون الطعام ويمشون في الأسواق فيبيننا جبريل والنبي ﷺ يتحدثان إذ ذاب جبريل حتى صار مثل الهوذة فقال رسول الله ﷺ «مالك ذبت حتى صرت مثل الهوذة» قال: يا محمد فتح باب من أبواب السماء لم يكن فتح قبل ذلك إذ عاد جبريل إلى حاله فقال: يا محمد أبشر هذا رضوان خازن الجنة فأقبل رضوان حتى سلم ثم قال يا محمد رب العزة يقرئك السلام ومعه سبط من نور يتلأأ ويقول لك ربك هذه مفاتيح خزائن الدنيا مع ما لا يتقصد لك مما عندي في الآخرة مثل جناح بعوضة، فنظر النبي ﷺ إلى جبريل كالشهير له، فضرب جبريل بيديه إلى الأرض فقال تواضع لله فقال يا رضوان لا حاجة لي في الدنيا، فقال رضوان: أصبت أصاب الله بك. ويرون أن هذه الآية أنزلها رضوان «تبارك الذي إن شاء جعل لك خيراً من ذلك جنات تجري من تحتها الأنهار ويجعل لك قصوراً».

٢٣٨ - (وأخرج) البخاري ومسلم عن ابن عباس قال قال رسول الله ﷺ «رأيت ليلة أسري بي موسى بن عمران رجلاً طويلاً جمعداً كأنه من رجال شنوءة ورأيت عيسى بن مريم مرسوع الخلق إلى الحمرة

٢٣٨ - مسند أحمد ٢٤٥/١ ورواه بلفظه عن ابن عباس ولم يذكر فيه [ورأيت

مالكا خازن جهنم والريخال في آيات آراهن الله تعالى].

وانظر مشكاة المصابيح ٥ رقم ٥٧١٥ / كتر العمال رقم ٣٢٢٧١.

مائة خريف، ليس في قلوبهم رحمة إنما خلقوا للعذاب لضرب الملك منهم الرجل من أهل النار الضربة فيتركه طحينياً من لدن قرنه إلى قدمه.

٢٣٢ - (وأخرج) ابن جرير عن كعب قال: ما بين منكبي الخازن من خزنتها مسيرة خمسمائة سنة، مع كل واحد منهم عمود وشمتان يدفع به الدفع يصعد به في النار سبعمائة ألف.

٢٣٣ - (وأخرج) ابن المنذر عن مجاهد قال: حدثت أن النبي ﷺ وصف خزان جهنم فقال «كأن أعينهم البرق وكان أفواههم الصياصي يجرون أشعارهم، لهم مثل قوة الثقلين يقبل أحدهم بالآفة من الناس يسوقهم. على رقبته جبل حتى يرمى في النار فيرمى بالآفة عليهم».

٢٣٤ - (وأخرج) ابن المبارك في الزهد وابن أبي عمير عن عبد بن حميد وابن المنذر والبيهقي في البعث من طريق الأزرقي عن عمرو بن يحيى عن يحيى بن عمار قال كنا عند أبي العوام فقرا هذه الآية «وطئها نكاح حسرة» فقال ما تقولون أتسعة عشر ملكاً أو تسعة عشر ألفاً؟ قال لا بل تسعة عشر ملكاً، فقال ومن أين علمت ذلك؟ قلت لأن الله يقول (وما جعلنا عدتهم إلا فتنة للذين كفروا) قال صدقت نعم يا رسول الله ملكاً ويبدأ كل واحد منهم مرزبة من حديد لها شعيرات يخرج بها الضربة يهوي بها سبعين ألفاً بين منكبي كل ملك منهم عشرة آلاف وكذا، قال القرطبي المراد بقوله عليها تسعة عشر رؤوساً لهم رؤس الجمل الذرزة فلا يعلم عدتهم إلا الله عز وجل.

٢٣٥ - (وأخرج) هناد بن السري في كتاب الزهد عن كعب قال:

يؤمر بالرجل إلى النار فيبتدره مائة ألف ملك.

٢٣٦ - (وأخرج) الفريابي وعبد بن حميد وابن جرير وابن المنذر وابن أبي حاتم عن عبد الله بن الحارث قال: الزبانية أرجلهم في

٢٤٦ - (أخرج) ابن جرير وابن أبي حاتم عن السدي قال:
السجل ملك موكل بالصحف فإذا مات الإنسان دفع كتابه إلى السجل
فظواه ورفعاه إلى يوم القيامة.

٢٤٧ - (أخرج) ابن أبي حاتم وابن عساکر عن أبي جعفر الباقر
قال: السجل ملك، وكان هاروت وماروت من أعوانه، وكان له كل
يوم ثلاث لمحات ينظرون في أم الكتاب فنظر نظرة لم تكن له فأبصر فيها
خلق آدم وما فيه من الأمور، فأسر ذلك إلى هاروت وماروت فلما قال
تعالى ﴿إني جاعل في الأرض خليفة قالوا أتجعل فيها من يفسد فيها﴾
قالا ذلك استتظالة على الملائكة.

٢٤٨ - (أخرج) أحمد بن حنبل وعبد بن حميد في مسندهما وابن أبي
الدنيا في كتاب العقوبات وابن حبان في صحيحه والبيهقي في شعب
الإيمان عن عبد الله بن عمر أنه سمع رسول الله ﷺ يقول ﴿إن آدم لما
أهبطه الله إلى الأرض قالت الملائكة أي رب أتجعل فيها من يفسد
فيها ويسفك الدماء ونحن نسبح بحمدك ونقدس لك قال إني أعلم
ما لا تعلمون﴾ قالوا ربنا نحن أطوع لك من بني آدم، قال الله
تعالى: هلموا ملكين من الملائكة حتى يهبطهما إلى الأرض فننظر
كيف يعملان فقالوا: ربنا هاروت وماروت فأهبطا إلى الأرض فتمثلت لهما
الزهرة امرأة من أحسن البشر فجاءتها فسألاها نفسها فقالت: لا والله
حتى تكلم بهذه الكلمة من الإشرak، قال لا والله لا نشرك بالله أبداً
فذهبت عنهما ثم رجعت بصبي تحمله، فسألاها نفسها فقالت لا والله
حتى تقتلنا هذا الصبي، قال والله لا نقتله أبداً، فذهبت ثم رجعت
بقلح من خمر تحمله فسألاها نفسها، فقالت لا والله حتى تشربا هذا
الخمر فشربا فسكرا فوقعا عليها وقتلا الصبي، فلما أفاقا قالت المرأة والله

والبياض سبط الرأس ورأيت مالكا خازن جهنم والبدجان في آيات
أراهن الله تعالى.

٢٣٩ - (أخرج) ابن مردويه عن عمر قال: لما أسروني بمرور الله
ﷺ رأى مالكا خازن النار فإذا رجل عابس يعرف الغضب في وجهه

٢٤٠ - (أخرج) أبو بكر الواسطي في فضائل بيت المقدس عن
أبي سلمة قال رأى عبادة بن الصامت على شرفي بيت المقدس يسبح
فقبل له: ما يبكيك؟ فقال من هاهنا حدثني رسول الله ﷺ أنه رأى
مالكا يقلب حجراً كالقطف.

٢٤١ - (أخرج) الدلمي عن علي قال قال رسول الله ﷺ: إذا
أراد الله بعبد خيراً بعث إليه ملكاً من خزان الجنة فتحط به حتى
نفسه بالزكاة.

٢٤٢ - (أخرج) الخليلي في مشيخته عن أبيه قال قال رسول
الله ﷺ «أنا أول من يفرع باب الجنة فيقوم الخازن فيقول من أنت؟
فأقول أنا محمد فيقول أقوم فأفتح لك ولم أقم لأحد قبلك ولا أقوم لأحد
بعدك».

٢٤٣ - (أخرج) عبد بن حميد عن علي في قوله تعالى ﴿كطي
السجل﴾ قال مالك.

٢٤٤ - (أخرج) عبد بن حميد عن عطية قال السجل اسم ملك.
٢٤٥ - (أخرج) ابن جرير وابن أبي حاتم عن ابن عمر قال:
السجل ملك فإذا صعد بالاستغفار قال كتبها نوراً.

٢٤١ - جمع الجوامع رقم ١١١٢ وعزه السيوطي للدلمي عن علي رضي الله
عنه.

وانظر تنزيه الشريعة ١٤١/٢ / كشف الغطاء ٣٠٩/٢ / تذكرة
الموضوعات ص ٦٣.

ما تركتها شيئاً أبيتناه عليّ إلا قد فعلتناه حين سكرتما، فخيراً عند ذلك بين عذاب الدنيا والآخرة. فاختاراً عذاب الدنيا» .

٢٤٩ - (وأخرج) البيهقي في شعب الإيمان عن ابن عمر قال قال رسول الله ﷺ «أشرفت الملائكة على الدنيا فرأت بني آدم يعصون فقال: يا رب ما أجهل هؤلاء ما أقل معرفة هؤلاء بعظمتك!» فقال الله عز وجل لو كنتم في مسلاخهم لعصيتوني فيالوا كيف يكون هذا ونحن نسبح بحمدك ونقدس لك فقال فاختاروا منكم ملكين فاختاروا هاروت وماروت، ثم أهبطا إلى الأرض وركبت فيهما شهوات بني آدم ومثلت لها امرأة فها عصا حتى واقعا المعصية فقال الله اختاراً عذاب الدنيا والآخرة فنظر أحدهما إلى صاحبه قال ما تقول فاختار عذاب الدنيا والآخرة ينقطع وإن عذاب الآخرة لا ينقطع، فاختاراً عذاب الدنيا فيها اللذات ذكر الله في كتابه ﴿وما أنزل على الملكين الآية﴾ .

٢٥٠ - (وأخرج) الحاكم في المستدرک وصححه عن ابن عمر أنه كان يقول: أطلعت الحمراء بعد؟ فإذا رأها قائل، لا مرحباً بكم قال إن ملكين من الملائكة هاروت وماروت سالا الله أن يهبطا إلى الأرض، فكانا يقضيان بين الناس فإذا أمسيا تكلمتا بكلمات فخرجتا بها إلى الساء، فقبض الله لهما امرأة من أحسن الناس وألقبت عليها الشهوة وألقبت في أنفسها فلم يزلوا حتى وعدتها ميعاداً فأتتهما للميعاد فقيلت علماني الكلمة التي تخرجان بها فعلمناها فنكلمت بها فخرجت إلى الساء.

٢٤٩ - الجامع الكبير ٥٠٩/٢ وذكره السيوطي عن ابن عمر رضي الله عنهما.

وفيه [فراأت بني آدم يعصون] وكلمة [مسلاخهم] غير كلمة [مسلاخهم].
شعب الإيمان ١١٣/١ ورواه بلفظه ثم قال البيهقي في تعليقه: ورويناه موقوفاً من وجه آخر عن مجاهد عن ابن عمر، وهو الأضح فإن ابن عمر أنه أخذته عن كعب.

فمسخت فجعلت كما ترون، فلما أمسيا تكلمتا بالكلمة فلم يعرجا فبعث إليهما إن شئتما فعذاب الآخرة وإن شئتما فعذاب الدنيا فقال أحدهما لصاحبه بل نختار عذاب الدنيا.

٢٥١ - (وأخرج) إسحاق بن راهويه في مسنده وعبد بن حنيد في تفسيره وابن أبي الدنيا في كتاب العقوبات وابن جرير وأبو الشيخ في العظمة والحاكم في المستدرک وصححه عن علي بن أبي طالب قال إن هذه الزهرة تسميها العرب الزهرة والمعجم أنهايد، وكان المكان يحكمان بين الناس فأتتها فرأياها فقالت لهما الزهرة: ألا تجرباني بما تصعدان به إلى الساء وما تهبطان به إلى الأرض فقالا باسم الله الأعظم، قالت ما أنا بمواتيكا حتى تعلمانية فقال أحدهما لصاحبه علمها إياه فقال كيف بنا بشدة عذاب الله؟ قال الآخر انا نرجو سعة الله فعلمها إياه فنكلمت به فطارت إلى الساء، ففرغ ملك في الساء لصعودها فطأ رأسه فلم يجلس بعد ومسحها الله فكانت كركباً.

٢٥٢ - (وأخرج) ابن راهويه وابن مردويه في تفسيره عن علي قال قال رسول الله ﷺ لعن الله الزهرة فإنها هي التي فنتت الملكين هاروت وماروت.

٢٥٣ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم عن ابن عباس قال: إن أهل ساء الدنيا أشرفوا على الأرض فأروهم يعملون بالمعاصي فقالوا يا رب أهل الأرض يعملون بالمعاصي فقال الله عز وجل: أنتم معي وهم غيب عني، فقبل لهم اختاروا منكم ثلاثة فاختاروا منهم ثلاثة على أن يهبطوا إلى الأرض فيحكموا ما بين أهل الأرض وجعل فيهم شهوة الأدميين

٢٥٢ - تذكرة الموضوعات ص ١١٠ وأشار القتيبي إلى الحديث وعزاه لأبي نعيم عن علي وقال: الصحيح وفتحة على كعب كذا قال البيهقي .

فأمروا أن لا يشربوا خمراً ولا يقتلوا نفساً ولا يزنوا ولا يسجدوا لوثن، فاستقال منهم واحد فأقيل وأهبط اثنان إلى الأرض، فأتتها امرأة من أحسن الناس يقال لها أناهيد، فهويها جميعاً ثم أتيا منزلها فاجتمعا عندها فأراداها، فقالت لهما: لا حتى تشربا خمري وتقتلا ابن جاري وتسجدنا لوثني. فقالا: لا نسجد ثم شربا من الخمر ثم قلا ثم سجدا فأشرف أهل الساء عليها، وقالت لهما أخبراني بالكلمة التي إذا قلتماها طرما فأخبرها فطارت فمسخت جمرة وهي هذه الزهرة، وأما هما فأرسل إليهما سليمان بن داود فخيرهما بين عذاب الدنيا والآخرة فاختارا عذاب الدنيا فهما مناطان بين السماء والأرض.

٢٥٤ - (وأخرج) ابن النضر وابن أبي حاتم والحاكم وصححه والبيهقي في شعب الإيمان عن ابن عباس قال: لما وقع الناس من بعد آدم فيما وقعوا فيه من المعاصي والكفر بالله قالت الملائكة في السماء: رب هذا العالم الذي إنما خلقتهم لعبادتك وطاعتك قد وقعوا فيما وقعوا فيه وركب الكفر وقتل النفس وأكل مال الحرام والزنا والسرقة وشرب الخمر فجعلوا يدعون عليهم ولا يعذرونهم، فقتل إثمهم في غيب فلم يعذروهم فقيل لهم: اختاروا منكم من أفضلكم ملكين أمرهما وأنهاهما فاختراروا هاروت وماروت فأهبطا إلى الأرض وجعل لهما شهوات بني آدم وأمرهما أن يعبداه ولا يشركا به شيئاً ونهاهما عن قتل النفس الحرام وأكل مال الحرام وعن الزنا والسرقة وشرب الخمر فلبثا في الأرض زماناً يحكمان بين الناس بالحق، وذلك في زمان إدريس وفي ذلك الزمان امرأة حسنها في النساء كحسب الزهرة في سائر الكواكب وأنها أتيا عليها فخصمها لها في القول وأراداها على نفسها فأبى إلا أن يكونا على أمرها ودينها فسألاها عن دينها فأخرجت لهما صنماً فقالت هذا أعبده فقالا لا حاجة لنا في عبادة هذا فذهب فتابا ما شاء الله، ثم أتيا عليها فأراداها على نفسها

ففعلت مثل ذلك فذهبها ثم أتيا عليها فأراداها على نفسها، فلما رأت أنها أتيا أن يعبداه الصنم فقالت لهما اختارا إحدى الخلال الثلاث إما أن تعبداه هذا الصنم وإما أن تقتلا هذا النفس وإما أن تشربا الخمر فقالا: هذا لا ينبغي وأهون الثلاثة شرب الخمر، فشربا الخمر فأخذت منها فواقعا المرأة فخشيت أن يجبر الإنسان عنهما فقتلاه، فلما ذهب عنهما السكر وعلموا ما وقعوا فيه من الخطيئة أرادوا أن يصعدوا إلى السماء فلم يستطيعوا وحيل بينهما وبين ذلك، وكشف الغطاء فيما بينهما وبين أهل السماء، فنظرت الملائكة إلى ما وقعوا فيه، فعجبوا كل المعجب وعرفوا أنه من كان في غيب فهو أقل خشية، فجعلوا بعد ذلك يستغفرون لمن في الأرض، فقيل لهما اختارا عذاب الدنيا أو عذاب الآخرة فقالا: أما عذاب الدنيا فإنه ينقطع ويذهب، وأما عذاب الآخرة فلا انقطاع له فاخترتا عذاب الدنيا فجعلتا يابل فهما يعذبان.

٢٥٥ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي حاتم عن مجاهد قال: كنت نازلاً على عبد الله بن عمر في سفر فلما كان ذات ليلة قال لغلظه: أنظر طلعت الحمراء لا مرجحاً بها ولا أهلاً ولا حيها الله هي صاحبة الملكين قالت الملائكة رب كيف تدع عصاة بني آدم وهم يسفكون الدم الحرام ويتهكرون محارمك ويفسدون في الأرض، قال إني قد ابتليتهم ففعل إن ابتليكم مثل الذي ابتليتهم به ففعلتم كالذي يفعلون قالوا لا، قال فاختراروا من خياركم اثنين فاختراروا هاروت وماروت فقال لهما إني مهبطكم إلى الأرض وعاهد إليكما أن لا تشركا ولا تزنيا ولا تخونا فأهبطا إلى الأرض وألقي عليها الشيبق وأهبطت لهما الزهرة في أحسن صورة امرأة، فعرضت لهما فأراداها على نفسها فقالت إني على دين لا يصلح لأحد أن يأتيني إلا من كان على مثله، قالا وما دينك قالت المجوسية قالا الشرك هذا شيء لا تقربه فمكثت عنهما ما شاء الله ثم تعرضت لهما

يعرج به فلم يقدر على ذلك فعلم أن ذلك لحظية كانت منه، فأتى صاحب الشجرة فسأله أن يشفع له إلى ربه، فصلى ودعا للملك، وطلب الملك إلى ربه أن يكون هو يقبض نفسه ليكون أهون عليه من ملك الموت، فأتاه حين حضر أجله فقال: إني طلبت إلى ربي أن يشفعني فيك كما شفعتك في، وأن أكون أنا أقبض نفسك فمن حيث شئت قبضتها، فسجد سجدة فخرجت من عينه دمعة فمات.

ما جاء في الرعد والبرق عليها السلام

قال تعالى ﴿ويسبح الرعد بحمده والملائكة من خيفته﴾.

٢٥٧ - (أخرج) أحمد والترمذي وصححه، والنسائي وابن المنذر وابن أبي حاتم وأبو الشيخ في العظمة وابن مردويه وأبو نعيم في الدلائل والفضياء في المختارة عن ابن عباس قال: أقبلت يهود إلى رسول الله ﷺ فقالت: أخبرنا ما هذا الرعد؟ قال «ملك من ملائكة الله موكل بالسحاب، يبناه حراق من نار يزرجه به السحاب، يسوقه حيث أمره الله، قالوا: فما هذا الصوت الذي نسمع؟ قال «صوته» قالوا صدقت.

٢٥٨ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي الدنيا في كتاب المطر وابن جرير وابن المنذر والبيهقي في سننه عن علي بن أبي طالب قال: الرعد ملك والبرق ضربة السحاب بمخراق من حديد.

٢٥٩ - (وأخرج) ابن المنذر وأبو الشيخ عن ابن عباس قال: الرعد ملك يسوق السحاب بالتسيح كما يسوق الحادي الإبل بجذاته.

٢٦٠ - (وأخرج) البخاري في الأدب وابن أبي الدنيا عن ابن

٢٥٧ - الدر المنثور ٤/٥٠٥ وذكره السيوطي في حديث طويل وعزاه للترمذي

وصححه، وأحمد والنسائي وابن مردويه وابن المنذر وابن أبي حاتم وأبي الشيخ في العظمة وأبو نعيم في الدلائل والفضياء في المختارة عن ابن عباس رضي الله عنهما.

فأرادها على نفسها فقالت ما شئتوا غير أن لي زوجاً أكره أن يطلق عليّ هذا مني فافتضح فإن أقرتما لي بديني وشرطتها أن تصعدا بي إلى السماء فقلت، فأقرا لها بديتها وأتياها فيها يريان ثم صعدا بها إلى السماء فلما انتهيا إلى السماء اختطفت منها وقطعت أجنحتها فوقعتا خائفتين ناديين يكيان، وفي الأرض نبي يدعو بين الجمعتين فإذا كان يوم الجمعة أحجب، فقالا لو أتينا فلائناً فسألناه يطلب لنا التوبة فأتياه فقال: رحمك الله كيف يطلب أهل الأرض لأهل السماء؟ قالوا إنا قد ابتلينا، قال: اتيتاني في يوم الجمعة، فأتياه فقال ما أحببت فيكما بشيء اتيتاني في الجمعة الثانية، فأتياه فقال اختارا فقد خيرتما فإن أحببنا معافاة الدنيا وعذاب الآخرة، وإن أحببنا فعذاب الدنيا وأنتما يوم القيامة على حكم الله قال أحدهما الدنيا لم يعض منها إلا القليل وقال الآخر ويحك إني قد أطعمتك في الأول فأطعمني الآن فاختارا عذاب الدنيا؛ لهذه القصة طرق أخرى كثيرة جمعها الحافظ ابن حجر في جزء مفرد، وقال في كتابه القول المسدد في الذب عن مسند أحمد، إن الواقف عليه يكاد يقطع بوقوع هذه القصة لكثرة الطرق الواردة فيها وقوة مخرج أكثرها وقد وقفت على الجزء الذي جمعه فوجدته أورد فيه بضعة عشر طريقاً، وقد جمعت أنا طرقها في التفسير فبلغت نيفاً وعشرين طريقاً.

ذكر قصة ملك آخر عليه السلام

٢٥٦ - (وأخرج) ابن أبي شيبة في المصنف عن عبد الله بن عيسى قال: كان فيمن كان قبلكم رجل عبد الله أربعين سنة في البر، قال: يارب قد اشتقت أن أعبدك في البحر، فأتى إلى قوم فاستحملهم فحملوه وجررت بهم سفيتهم ما شاء الله أن تجري ثم قامت، فإذا شجرة في ناحية الماء فقال: ضعوني على هذه الشجرة فوضعهوه وجررت بهم سفيتهم فأراد ملك أن يعرج إلى السماء فكلم بكلامه الذي كان

٢٨٧ - (وأخرج الطبراني في الأوسط وأبو الشيخ من طريق سالم بن أبي الجعد عن ابن عباس قال قال رسول الله ﷺ «إن مما خلق الله ديكاً يرأته على الأرض السابعة وعرفه تنطو تحت العرش قد أحاط جناحه بالأفقيين فإذا بقي ثلث الليل الآخر ضرب بجناحيه ثم قال سبحوا الملك القدوس سبحان ربنا الملك القدوس لا إله لنا غيره، فيسمعها من بين الخافقين إلا الثقلين» فيرون أن الديكة إنما تضرب بأجنحتها وتصرخ إذا سمعت ذلك.

٢٨٨ - (وأخرج أبو الشيخ عن أبي صادق قال الديكة تجاوب الملائكة بالنسبح هل رأيتم طيراً يصيح بالليل.

٢٨٩ - (وأخرج أبو الشيخ عن ابن أبي عمرة قال حين يقول الملك: سبحوا القدوس فحينئذ تحرك الطير أجنحتها.

٢٩٠ - (وأخرج أبو الشيخ عن عبد الحميد بن يوسف قال صح ديك عند سليمان عليه السلام فقال سليمان هل تدرين ما يقول هذا؟ قالوا لا: قال فإنه يقول: إذكروا الله يا غافلين.

٢٩١ - (وأخرج الطبراني عن صفوان بن عسان قال: إن لله ديكاً تحت العرش جناحه في الهواء ويرأته في الأرض، فإذا كان في الأسحار وأذان الصلوات خفق بجناحه وصفق بالنسبح فتسبح الديكة تحييه بالنسبح.

٢٩٢ - (وأخرج ابن عدي والبيهقي في شعب الإيمان وضعفه عن

٢٨٧ - اللؤلؤ المصنوعة ٣٢/١.

٢٩٢ - جمع الجوامع رقم ٦٩٦١ وعزاه السيوطي لابن عدي والبيهقي في شعب الإيمان، وضعفه عن جابر رضي الله عنه، وعنده لفظ (هاج) غير لفظ (صاح) وفي الباب أربعة أحاديث بلفظ (إن لله ديكاً كلها ضعيفة).

جابر بن عبد الله قال قال رسول الله ﷺ «إن لله ديكاً رجلاه في التخوم وعنقه تحت العرش منطوية فإذا كان هنة من الليل صاح سبح قدوس فصاحت الديكة».

٢٩٣ - (وأخرج ابن عدي عن العرش بن عميرة قال قال رسول الله ﷺ إن لله تعالى ديكاً يرأته في الأرض السفلى وعنقه تحت العرش يصرخ عند مواقيت الصلاة ويصرخ له ديك السماوات ساء ساء ثم يصرخ بصراخ ديك السماوات ديكة الأرض سبح قدوس رب الملائكة والروح.

٢٩٤ - (وأخرج الدلمي في مسند الفردوس عن أم سعد، امرأة من المهاجرات، قالت قال رسول الله ﷺ «العرش على ملك من لوؤل على صورة ديك رجلاه في التخوم السفلى وعنقه مثنية تحت العرش وجناحاه بالشرق والمغرب فإذا سبح الله ذلك الملك لم يبق شيء إلا سبح الله عز وجل».

ما جاء في السكينة عليه السلام

٢٩٥ - (أخرج الطبراني في الأوسط عن علي رضي الله عنه قال «إذا ذكر الصالحون فحي هلا بعمرو، ما كنا أصحاب محمد نبعث أن السكينة تنطق على لسان عمر رضي الله عنه. قال ابن الأثير في النهاية السكينة هنا ملك.

٢٩٦ - (وأخرج الطبراني عن أسيد بن حضير أنه أتى النبي ﷺ

٢٩٣ - كثر العمال رقم ٣٥٢٨ أنظر حديث ٢٨٤.

٢٩٤ - الدر المنثور ٣٤٦/٥ وعزاه السيوطي لابن مردويه عن أم سعد رضي الله عنها.

فقال يا رسول الله إني كنت أقرأ البارحة سورة الكهف فجاء شيطان حتى غطى فمي فقال النبي ﷺ تلك السكينة جاءت حتى تسمع القرآن.

٢٩٧ - (وأخرج الطبراني عن أبي سلمة قال بينا أسيد بن حضير الأنصاري يصلي بالليل فإذا غشي مثل السحابة فيها مثل المصابيح والمرأة نائمة إلى جنبي وهي حامل، والفرس مربوط في الدار فخشيت أن تنفر الحصان فنفرع المرأة فتلقي ولدها فانصرفت من صلاتي فقال اقرأ يا أسيد فإن ذلك ملك استمع القرآن.

ما جاء في ملك الجبال عليه السلام

٢٩٨ - (أخرج أحمد والبخاري ومسلم عن عائشة أنها قالت قلت للنبي ﷺ أتى عليك يوم أشد من يوم أحد؟ قال «لقد لقيت من قومك وكان أشد ما لقيت منهم يوم العقبة إذ عرضت نفسي على ابن عبد ياليل ابن عبد كلال فلم يجيني إلى ما أردت فانطلقت وأنا مهموم على وجهي فلم أستفق إلا وأنا بقرن الثعالب فرفعت رأسي فإذا أنا بسحابة قد أظلنتني فنظرت فإذا فيها جبريل فناداني فقال إن الله قد سمع قول قومك لك وما ردوا عليك وقد بعث إليك ملك الجبال لتأمره بما شئت فيهم فناداني ملك الجبال فسلم عليّ ثم قال يا محمد إن شئت أطبق عليهم الأخشيش، قال النبي ﷺ بل أرجو أن يخرج الله من أصلابهم

٢٩٨ - فتح الباري ١٦٦/٧ وأشار إلى الحديث ولم يذكره.

- مشكاة المصابيح رقم ٥٨٤٨ وذكره باللفظ وقال متفق عليه.

وانظر إحياء علوم الدين ١٣٩/٤ / تحاف السادة المثقين ٨٨/٩.

تفسير ابن كثير ٢٥٩/٣ / رياض الصالحين ص ٢٨٥.

كنز العمال رقم ٣١٩٨٢ وعزاه السيوطي لأحمد، والبخاري، ومسلم عن

عائشة رضي الله عنها.

من يعبد الله وحده لا يشرك به شيئاً».

٢٩٩ - (وأخرج ابن أبي حاتم عن عكرمة قال قال رسول الله ﷺ «جاءني جبريل فقال يا محمد إن ربك يقرئك السلام وهذا ملك الجبال قد أرسله معك وأمره أن لا يفعل شيئاً إلا بأمرك فقال له ملك الجبال إن شئت ددمت عليهم الجبال وإن شئت رميتهم بالحصباء وإلا شئت خسفت بهم الأرض قال يا ملك الجبال فإني أأتي بهم لعلهم أخرج منهم ذرية يقولون لا إله إلا الله، فقال ملك الجبال أنت كسماك ربك رؤوف رحيم».

ما جاء في رميائيل خازن أرواح المؤمنين عليه السلام

٣٠٠ - (وأخرج ابن أبي الدنيا في ذكر الموت عن وهب بن منبه قال: إن أرواح المؤمنين إذا قبضت ترفع إلى ملك يقال له رميائيل وه خازن أرواح المؤمنين.

ما جاء في دومة خازن أرواح الكفار عليه السلام

٣٠١ - (أخرج ابن أبي الدنيا في ذكر الموت من طريق أبيان بن تغلب عن رجل من أهل الكتاب قال: الملك الذي على أرواح الكفار يقال له دومة.

ما جاء في فتان القبر عليهم السلام

٣٠٢ - (أخرج الترمذي وحسنه وابن أبي الدنيا والأجري في

٣٠٢ - موارد الطمان رقم ٧٨٠ ورواه بنحو من لفظه.

وانظر شرح السنة ٤١٦/٥ قال البيهقي حديث حسن.

مشكاة المصابيح رقم ١٣٠ / جمع الجوامع ٢٣١٨ / كنز العما

٤٢٥٠٠.

Appendix B

Chapter Details for Leiden MS Or. 474(28)

A Table Cross-referencing the MS [Or. 474/28] and the Dār al-Kutub al-^cIlmīyya Edition

Chapter	Hadith Nos.	DKI	Leiden MS	
			Begins	Ends
Preface	1	pp. 9 – 10	fol. 187v, l. 1	fol. 187v, l. 15
Substance	2 - 4	pp. 10 - 11	fol. 187v, l. 15	fol. 187v, l. 21
Great Number	5 - 26	pp. 11 - 16	fol. 187v, l. 21	fol. 188v, l. 19
Archangels	27 – 35	pp. 16 - 19	fol. 188v, l. 19	fol. 189r, l. 26
Gabriel	36 – 77	pp. 19 - 29	fol. 189r, l. 26	fol. 191v, l. 10
Michael	78 – 84	pp. 29 – 31	fol. 191v, l. 10	fol. 192r, l. 5
Israfil	85 – 106	pp. 31 – 37	fol. 192r, l. 5	fol. 193r, l. 22
Angel of Death	107 - 171	pp. 37 - 53	fol. 193r, l. 22	fol. 197r, l. 14
Throne Bearers	179 – 209	pp. 56 - 62	fol. 197v, l. 20	fol. 199r, l. 11
The Spirit	210 – 228	pp. 62 – 65	fol. 199r, l. 11	fol. 199v, l. 22
Ridwan etc.	229 – 242	pp. 65 – 68	fol. 199v, l. 23	fol. 200v, l. 9
Al-Sijill	243 – 247	pp. 68 – 69	fol. 200v, l. 9	fol. 200v, l. 23
Hārūt & Mārūt	248 – 256	pp. 69 – 74	fol. 200v, l. 23	fol. 202r, l. 16
Sakīna	295 - 297	pp. 83 - 84	fol. 204r, l. 9	fol. 204r, l. 17

Appendix C

Textual Variants: Leiden MS Or. 474(28)

MS Variants [Leiden MS Or.474/28]

Chapter	No.	Fol.	Line	MS Reading	DKI Reading
Preface	-	187v	1	Marginalia: السابعة والعشرون في الملائكة من وجوه	
	-	187v	1	بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم <u>وبه تقتي</u>	بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
	-	187v	2	اما بعد حمد الله	الحمد لله
	-	187v	3	فهذا تأليف	فهذه تأليف
	-	187v	4	استوعبت فيها	استوعبت فيه
	-	187v	7	الملائكة ينتظم معابن (?)	الملائكة ينتظم في معان
	-	187v	10	ولا يدعون الهة	ولا يدعون آلهة
	-	187v	12	Omitted	الاعتراف بان منهم رسلا يرسل الى من يشاء من البشر وقد يجوز ان يرسل بعضهم الى الارض ويتبع ذلك
	-	187v	16	عن ابن عمر عن النبي	عن ابن عمر عن <u>عمر عن النبي</u>
Substance	2	187v	17- 18	اخرج عن عائشة	اخرج مسلم عن عائشة
	2	187v	18- 19	Hadīth inserted	
Great Abundance	6	187v	25	ما في السماء سماء منها موضع	ما في السماوات شيء منها موضع
	8	187v	29	تُنط	
	9	187v	31	النبي	رسول الله
		188r	1	قائم فذلك قوله تعالى	قائم ذلك قوله
	10	188r	2	بينما	بيننا
		188r	4	موضع قدم الا عليه ملك	موضع قدم الا عليها ملك
	11	188r	6	لقيامه قالوا سبحانك	القيامه قالوا جميعاً سبحانك
		188r	7	عبادتك انا لم	عبادتك الا انا لم
	12	188r	9-10	ذلك اسماء مكبوسات	ذلك السماوات والارض مكبوسات
	14	188r	14	فاذا خرج قطرت منه	فاذا خرج قطر منه
		188r	14	من نور فخلق من كل قطرة	من نور فيخرج من كل قطرة

Great Abundance	15	188r	16	رب من معك	يا رب ن معك
	20	188r	25	اجنحتهم فرقا من الله	اجنحتهم خوفاً من الله
		188r	26	Ḥadīth inserted	
	21	188r	31	موضع اهاب الا فيه ملك ساجد	موضع الا فيه ساجد
	22	188v	2	قال ان الله	قال ان الله تعالى
		188v	2	فتسعة	تسعة
		188v	4-5	من بقي من الملائكة الذين يحملون العرش وهم ايضاً الذين يسحون الليل والنهار ولا يفترون ومن بقي من الملائكة لا امر الله	من بقي من الملائكة لا امر الله
	23	188v	6	ابن خبيب ابن عبد الرحمن بن سلمان الاغيش	خبيب ابن عبد الرحمن بن سلمان الاغيش
	24	188v	10	فرائصهم ما منهم ملك	فرائص من مخافعه ما منهم ملك
25	188v	18	وانا لنحن الصافون وانا لنحن المسيحون	انا لنحن المسيحون	
Four Archangels	27	188v	20-21	ابن ابي شيبه وابن ابي حاتم والبيهقي في الشعب وابو الشيخ في العظمة عن ابن سابط	ابن ابي حاتم وابو الشيخ في العظمة ولييهقي في الشعب عن ابن سابط
		188v	22	اما السرافيل فموكل القطر	اما ميكائيل فموكل القطر
	28	188v	23	الدنيا جمع بين حفظهم وما في ام الكتاب	الدنيا جمع من حفظهم وقابل ام الكتاب
		188v	20	[Mentioned at the beginning of the ḥadīth]	...رواه ابن ابي شيبه
	29	188v	28	بينما	بينما
	30	189r	12	خمسة الاف سنة	خمسين الف سنة
	32	189r	15	Omitted	
	35	189r	25	لا بل اسال الله الرفيق الاعلى / الا على	لا بل اسال الله الرفيق الاعلى
Gabriel	36	189r	28	معبد	
	43	189v	6	Omitted	رضي الله عنها
	44b	189v	12	يا محمد كيف ياتك جبريل	يا محمد كيف ياتك الذي ياتك يعني جبريل
	48	189v	23	Omitted	مسيرة
	49	189v	24	اسحاق الهاشمي	اسحاق

Gabriel	50	189v	26	ابن جرير عن حذيفة وابن جرير وقتادة دخل	ابن جرير عن حذيفة وابن جرير وقتادة دخل
		189v	27	حُبك حُبك	
	52	190r	1	فقعد فنزل جبريل على خشبة	فقعد جبريل على خشبة
	53	190r	7	ما كنتُ	
	54	190r	12	راسه كالحبك	راسه كالجبل
	56	190r	20	لقد دخلت الداخل اغتماماً بكلام الناس مما بي من الحمى فدخل علي داخل	فدخل علي داخل
		190r	21	رجلاً بعدك قط اكرم	رجلاً قط بعدك اكرم
	60	190v	5	دعى المؤمن قال يا جبريل	دعى المؤمن قال الله يا جبريل
	62	190v	10	عبد الله ابن عمير	عبد الله ابن عمر
	68	190v	26	The ḥadīth runs on from the last with <i>qāla</i> (no <i>akhraja</i>) as per the DKI edition	
		190v	27-29	محمد بن عبد الله بن الفضل بن عاصم عن عمرو بن قتادة بن عمر بن قتادة بن النعمان الامصاري عن ابيه قتادة بن النعمان قال قال رسول الله	ابو محمد عبد الله بن الفضل بن عاصم بن عمر بن قتادة بن النعمان الامصاري عن ابيه عمر عن قتادة بن النعمان قال قال رسول الله
		191r	1	Omitted	وتسهلي وتوسعي وتطبيبي لاعدائي حتى يكرهوا لقائي
	69	191r	3	احنف اضجم اعسر	احنف اصمع اعسر
		191r	6	قل الا	قل له الا
		191r	7	فقال له قل بلا يا رسول الله	فقال له قل بلا
70	191r	9	Large gap between <i>akhraja</i> and Abū 'l-Shaykh – name missing (?)		
71	191r	14	Omitted	وذكر ابراهيم ونوحاً ولي صاحبان احمدهما يا عر باللين والآخر بالشدة وكل مصيب	
72	191r	19	مسيرة سبعين عاماً	مسيرة سبعين سنة	

Gabriel	74	191r	30	فيقول جبريل <u>وملك الموت</u>	فيقول جبريل: <u>ملك الموت</u>
	75	191v	5	وجهك الباقي الكريم وعبدك وعبدك جبريل	وجهك الباقي الكريم وعبدك جبريل
Michael	78	191v	10	ابن عبد المنذر	ابن المنذر
	84	191v	25	Omitted	ابو عبد الله الحسين الدينوري
		191v	30	Omitted	ابو علي بن موسى
		191v	30	Omitted	ابو موسى بن جعفر
		191v	32	Omitted	ابن علي بن علي طالب
		191v	32	وقال اشهد بالله لقد حدثنا جبريل وقال...	Omitted
Isrāfil	85	192r	6	Ornamentation	
		192r	6 – 7	الصور من لؤلؤة	الصور لؤلؤة
		192r	7	ضفاء الزجاجة	ضفاء الزجاج
		192r	9	من ثقب واحد	من ثقب واحدة
		192r	9	كوة كاستدار	كوة كاستدارة
	87	192r	17	مستعد ينظر نحو العرش	مستعد ينظر حول العرش
	88	192r	18	ابي سعيد الخذري	ابي سعيد الخذري
	90	192r	22	عن ملك الله الذي يليه اسرافيل ثم	عن ملك الله الذي يليه قال ان الملك الذي يليه اسرافيل ثم
	91	192r	23	احمد والحاكم وابن مردويه عن ابن سعيد	احمد والحاكم عن ابن سعيد
	93	192v	5	بكذا فلا تهبط	بكذا فلا يهبط
	94	192v	6	Omitted (but a space left)	اخرج
		192r	8	ليس دونه شيء	ليس لدونه شيء
	95	192r	11	عن عبد الحرث ان كعبا	عن عبد الرحمن بن الحارثان كعبا
		192r	12		يقول في اسرافيل شيئاً قالت نعم سمعت رسول الله صلعم يقول
	97	192r	20	قال رسول الله صلعم	قال النبي صلعم
	99	192v	29	فقالت عائشة هكذا سمعت رسول الله صلعميقول	فقالت عائشة هكذا سمعت رسول الله صلعم
	100	193r	1	In black	اخرج

Isrāfil	102	193r	2	Omitted	لاثنى عشرة ساعة من النهار و[لاثنى]
	103	193r	6	نعم رب	نعم يا رب
	104	193r	10	بشيء كتب في اللوح المحفوظ فنحى اللوح حتى	بشيء كتب في اللوح حتى
		193r	10-11	اسرافيل قد عطي وجهه بجناحه	اسرافيل قد عطي راسه بجناحه
	193r	11	فان كان الى السماء	فان كان الى اهل السماء	
	193r	12	Omitted	الى ميكائيل وان كان الى اهل الارض دفعه	
	193r	12	Omitted	اللوح يدعى به ترتعد فرائصه فيقال له هل بلغت فيقول نعم فيقال من يشهد لك فيقول اسرافيل فيدعى اسرافيل	
	193r	12	فيقال له قد بلغك	فيقال له هل بلغك	
	106	193r	15	البزار والطبراني والبيهقي في السماء والصفات عن ابن عمرو	الطبراني في الاوسط والبيهقي في الاسماء والصفات والبزار عن ابن عمرو
		193r	16	الى النبي	الى الرسول الله
193r		16	اهل الارض فليحاكم الى اسرافيل	اهل لارض فلنتحاكم الى اسرافيل	
Angel of Death	107	193r	27	فارسل اخر	فارسل لها اخر
		193r	29	Marked (ink stain?) after: كلها من طيبها	
	108	193v	2	بلله منك عن ينقص مني	بلله منك عن تنقص مني
	112	193v	14	اجله قبض روحه فاذا قبض روحه اقبل	اجله قبض روحه اقبل
		193v	16	والله ما اكلت لها رزقا	والله ما اكلت لكم رزقا
		193v	16	...لها عمرا	... لكم عمرا
		193v	16	...لها اجلا	... لكم اجلا
	113	193v	20	تسيب الناس ومنها	تسيب الناس يعني...
		193v	20	الاقباض	الانتفاض
	115	193v	22	Placed after 116	
116	193v	24	Placed before 115		

Angel of Death	115	193v	25	على بابهِ سبع مرات	على بابهِ كل يوم سبع مرات
		193v	25	ينظر حاله	ينظر حاله
	119	193v	32	الحارث بن الخزرج <u>عت</u> ابيه قال	الحارث بن الخزرج قال
		193v	32	ونظر الى ملك الموت [Corrected in margin]	ونظر الى ملك الموت
		194r	6	الى انا تصفحهم	الى انا اصفحهم
		194r	6	حتى لا انا اعرف	حتى لانا اعرف
		194r	8	بلغني عنه انما	بلغني انما
		194r	8	الصلى فاذا نظر عند...	الصلى فاذا حضر عند...
	120	194r	12	السارة	الشارة
		194r	13	لي منك قال ادبر	لي منك اشياء ما ارلها فيك قال ادبر
		194r	15	ornamentation: dot in a circle	
	122	194r	22	فبيسره	فبيسره
		194r	23	فبشره فقال	فبشره بذلك فقال
	123	194r	32	سلم	اسلم
		194v	1	وعين في قفاه	وعينان في قفاه
		194v	2	باذن الله فيكون	باذن الله فتكون
	124	194v	5	ههنا	ها هنا
		194v	6	ان الله سخر [؟] لي	ان الله يخر لي
		194v	6	ما اي اطرافها	ما ايا اطرافها
	126	194v	9	من حيث شاء وجعلت له	من حيث وجعل له
	129	194v	16	ابن جرير في قوله تعالى...	وابن جرير وابو الشيخ في العظمة عن قتادة في قوله...
	131	194v	21	قال ملك جالس...	قال ملك الموت جالس...
	133	194v	29 - 30	... عز وجل قوى [؟] لملك الموت الدنيا حتى جعلها كالطست	... عز وجل قوى ملك الموت حتى جعلها كالطست
134	194v	32	ملائكة من مكانة الرحم والعذاب	ملائكة من مكانة الرحم وملائكة من ملائكة العذاب	
135	195r	2	ابن ابي حاتم	ابن ابي الدنيا	

Angel of Death	135	195r	3ff	بين فخذني ملك الموت فاذا توفى نفسا طيبا دفعها الى ملائكة الرحمة فاذا توفى نفسا خبيثة دفعها الى ملائكة العذاب.	LEI MS: §135 is confused with §134; §135b [LEI] is the same as §135 [DKI]
	135b	195r	N/A	Omitted	فيقبض الروح فيعطى هؤلاء لهؤلاء وهؤلاء لهؤلاء يعني ملائكة الرحمة وملائكة العذاب
	136	195r	11	تحت العرش فيلني	تحت العرش فتلقى
	136	195r	11	صكا	صكاك
	138	195r	12-13	ما انا باعلم ذلك	ما انا اعلم بذلك
	139	195r	14	حتى يؤمر بقبضه	حتى يؤمر بقبضها
	142	195r	20	Ornamental nūn at end of line	
	144	195r	23	راشد بن سعد	راشد بن سعيد
	146	195v	1	لسيقت	لشيقت
	146	195v	2 – 3	ورد الله عليه حينه	ورد الله عليه عينه
	149	195v	12 – 3	... اليك حاخة قال علمت حاجتك	... اليك حاخة قال قد علمت حاجتك
	149	195v	13	... في ادريس وقد بقي من عمره محي اسمه	... في ادريس وقد محي اسمه
	150	195v	16	فقال ان خليلك سالك ان...	فقال ان خليلك سال ان...
	150	195v	18	شربت شرابا قط قال لا	شربت شرابا قال لا
	154	196r	1	فز عا لم يموت	فز عا ثم يموت
	157	196r	6	ابن انس وقد ساله	ابن انس وساله
	158	196r	10	عسكر الموات	عسكر الموت
	160	196r	13	وله رسل من الملائكة	وله رسول من الملائكة
			13	النفس في تعرة (?)	النفس في ثغرة
	163	196r	19	الربيع المسودي عن فوائده عن	الربيع المسودي في فوائده عن
	166	196r	27f	hadith inserted	
			32-1	قال السلام	قال له السلام
			1	يا ولي الله الله	يا ولي الله والله
			3	... الواعظ يقول سمعت محمد بن الحسن يقول سمعت ابي	... الواعظ يقول سمعت ابي

Angel of Death	166	196v	4	على كف الموت	على كف ملك الموت
				من النور امر ان...	من النور ثم امره ان...
	167	196v	8	يا رسول الله لك حاجة	يا رسول الله لك حاجة
		196v	14	فجعلت العجب وانظر اليه	فجعلت اتعجب وانظر اليه
	168	196v	20	كنت اعجب عنه اريد ان اقبضه	كنت اعجب عنه امرت اقبضه
	169	196v	25	هو قريب الان ياتي	هو قريب الان ياتي
		196v	29	ولا يسلم بعده	ولا يسلم على احد بعده
		196v	32	على ادمي بعدك قالوا	على ادمي بعدك قال
	171	197r	4	ابن النجار في تاريخه انبائنا (?)	ابن النجار في تاريخه اخبرنا
		197r	6	Omitted	القاضي ابو العلاء محمد بن علي الواسطي
		197r	7	ابو محمد عبد الله بن احمد بن المايح السجزي	ابو محمد عبد الله بن احمد بن عبد الله بن المايح السجزي
		197r	9	Omitted	جعفر بن محمد
		197r	10	Omitted	ابن محمد بن علي
		197r	13	Omitted	ميكائيل
197r		14	مدن الخمر كالعباد وثن	مدن الخمر كالعباد وثن	
Bearers of the Throne		179	197v	22	الدارمي في كتاب الرد الجهمية
	197v		23	الحاكم	الحاكم في كتاب الرد الجهمية
	197v		23	ابن عباس	العباس
	181	197v	29	منكبه	منكبيه
	181b	197v	30	Extra hadith inserted	
	182	198r	4	ابن	حيث
	185	198r	8	زادان	زادان
	186	198r	11	يقول اربعة منهم	يقول اربعة منهم
	187	198r	13	ثمانية ن الملائكة	ن الملائكة
The Spirit	210	199r	14-15	الروح ملك من	الروح من
		212	199r	20	الله تعالى
	212	199r	21	Ornamental <i>nūn</i> at end of line	
		199r	22	ملائك	ملائكة

The Spirit	213	199r	23	فيهما	منهما
	216	199r	29	السموات	السموات
	217	199r	30	Ornamental <i>nūn</i> at end of line	
	221	199v	7	ما نزل	ما ينزل
	225	199v	17	سماطا	صماتا
		199v	17	سماط	صمات
		199v	17	سماط	صمات
	226	199v	20	تسعة والكروبيون	تسعة والروح والكروبيون
199v		18- 20	و	ف	
Riḍwān, Mālik and the Guardians of the Fire	229	199v	27	طاووس	طاوس
		199v	28	ملكاً	مالكاً
		199v	29	اصابعاً	اصابع
	232	220r	4	مائة	خمسمائة
	234	220r	11	بلا	لا بل
		220r	12	وبيد كل ملك منهم	وبيد كل واحد منهم
	235	220r	16- 18	Extra hadith inserted	
	236	220r	18- 19	Different <i>isnād</i> used	
	237	220r	20	Omitted	اخرج
		220r	25	الهودة	الهودة
		220r	26	الهودة	الهودة
		220r	27	ابشر يا محمد	يا محمد ابشر
		220r	30	Omitted	الى جبريل
	240	220v	9	صلعم رأى	صلعم انه رأى
220v		9	ملكاً	مالكاً	
Al-Sijill	243	220v	10	New title added: ما جاء في السجل عليه السلام	
	244	220v	16	Omitted	عن عطية
	247	220v	20	هروت	هاروت
220v		22	هروت	هاروت	
Hārūt & Mārūt	248	220v	23	عليهما السلام	Omitted
		220v	28	قال الله تعالى لالمالكة هلموا	قال الله تعالى هلموا
	249	201r	8	قالوا فاختروا	قال فاختروا
		201r	8	هروت	هاروت
	250	201r	14	فاهبط هروت وماروت الى الارض	Omitted

		201r	16	فقيض لهما	فقيض الله لهما	
Hārūt & Mārūt	250	201r	18	فعلماها الكلمة	فعلماها	
	251	201r	19	اسحق	اسحاق	
		201r	22	فارادها	فراياها	
		201r	23	بمواتيتكما	بمواتيتك	
		201r	24	كيف لنا	كيف بنا	
		201r	24	Scribal correction added to text: سعد < سعة		
		201r	24	سعة رحمة الله	سعة الله	
		252	201r	27	هروت	هاروت
	253	201r	28-29	على اهل الارض	على الارض	
		201r	31	فيحكموا بين	فيحكموا ما بين	
		201v	3	فقال لا	فقالت اهما لا	
		201v	5	فاخبرها	فاخبرها	
		201v	6	وعذاب الاخرة	والاخرة	
		254	201v	12	هروت	هاروت
			201v	17	فغبرا	فغابا
	201v		17	فارادها	فارادها	
	201v		18	Omitted	ففعلت... على نفسها	
	201v		24	اختاروا	اختارا	
	255	201v	29	فعل	فعل	
		201v	30	هروت	هاروت	
		202r	2	ارادها	ارادها	
		202r	12	اطلعتك	اطعتك	
		202r	12	In red: لهذه القصة طرف		
		202r	15	اكثرها انتهى وقد	اكثرها انتهى وقد	
		202r	15	على جزئه	على الجزء	
202r	16	والله سبحانه وتعالى اعلم	Omitted			
Sakīna	295	204r	10	عن علي رضي الله عنه اذا ذكر	عن علي رضي الله عنه اذا ذكر	
	297	204r	15	الانصاري يصلي قال اذ بالليل فاذا غشيني	الانصاري يصلي بالليل فاذا غشيني	
		204r	16	فخشيت ان تنفر الفرس	فخشيت ان تنفر الحصان	
		204r	17	ولدها فانصرفت	ولدها فانصرف	
Tempters	302	204v	8-9	اتاه ملكان اسودان ازرقان	اتاه ملكان ازرقان	
		204v	12	فيقول هو عبد الله	فيقول ما كان تقول هو عبد الله	

Appendix D

Al-Suyūṭī's Sources

Sources Used by al-Suyūṭī in the Ḥadīth Section

The following is a table giving the full names of the sources used by al-Suyūṭī in those ḥadīth from *Al-Ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik* translated in this thesis. The table includes:

- (i) the name, as used by al-Suyūṭī (and other classical Arabic texts)
- (ii) the full name of the author
- (iii) the author's date of death
- (iv) a reference to either Sezgin's *Geschichte der arabischen Schriftums* or, where appropriate, Brockelmann's *Geschichte des arabischen Literatur*.

? indicates an uncertain attribution

X indicates an author that I have been unable to trace

<i>Name in Text</i>	<i>Full Name</i>	<i>Died</i>	<i>GAS</i>	<i>GAL</i>
°Abd al-Razzāq	Abū Bakr °Abd al-Razzāq ibn Hammām ibn Nāfi° al-Ḥimyārī	211 / 827	I:99	
°Abd ibn Ḥamīd	Abū Muḥammad °Abd ibn Ḥamīd [a.k.a. °Abd al-Ḥamīd] ibn Naṣr al-Kissī	249 / 963	I:113	
Abū 'l-Ḥusayn ibn al-°Arīf	X			
Abū 'l-Rabi° al-Mas°ūdī	X			
Abū 'l-Shaykh	Abū Muḥammad °Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Ja°far ibn Hayyān Abū 'l-Shaykh	369 / 979	I:200-1	
Abū Bakr al-Wāsiṭī	Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Wāsiṭī	320 / 932	I:659-60	

Abū Dā'ūd	Abū Dā'ūd Sulaymān ibn al-Ash'at ibn Ishāq al-Azdi al-Sijistānī	275 / 888	I:149	
Abū Nu'aym	Abū Nu'aym 'Alī ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī ibn Ishāq al-Isfahānī	430 / 1038		I:362
Abū Ya'la	Abū Ya'la Ahmad ibn 'Alī ibn al-Muthannā al-Tamīmī al-Mawṣilī	307 / 919	I:171-2	
Aḥmad	Abū 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥanbal	241 / 855	I:502-9	
Bayhaqī, al-	Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī al-Bayhaqī	458 / 1066		I:363
Bazzār, al-	Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn 'Amr ibn 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Baṣrī al-Bazzār	292 / 905	I:162	
Bukhārī, al-	Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mughīra al-Bukhārī al-Ju'fī	250 / 870	I:115f	
Dārimī, al	Abū Sa'īd 'Uthmān ibn Sa'īd ibn Khālid al-Sijistānī al-Dārimī	282 / 895	I:600-1	
Daylamī, al-	Shams al-Dīn Abū Thābit Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Daylamī	589 / 1193	I:648	II:207
Dinawārī, al-	Abū Bakr 'Alī ibn Marwān al-Dinawārī al-Mālikī	310 / 922	I:521-2	I:154
Ḍiyā', al-	Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahīd al-Maqdisī	643 / 1245		I:112; SI:690
Firyābī, al-	Abū Bakr Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥassan al-Firyābī or 'Alī Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Wāqid al-Firyābī ¹	301 / 913 212 / 827	I:40 I:166	
Hākīm, al-	Abū 'Alī Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Hamdawayh al-Dabbī al-Hākīm al-Nīsābūrī	321 / 933	I:221-2	
Hannād ibn al-Sarī	Hannād ibn al-Sarīy ibn Mus'ab al-Dārimī al-Kufī	243 / 857	I:111	
Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā	Abū Bakr 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Ubayd ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā	281 / 894		SI:247
Ibn Abī Ḥātim	Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Abī Ḥātim Muḥammad ibn Idrīs ibn al-Munadhīr al-Tamīmī al-Ḥanzalī al-Rāzī	327 / 938	I: 178-9	
Ibn Abī Shayba	'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn 'Uthmān ibn Abī Shayba al-'Absī al-Kūfī	235 / 849	I:108-9	
Ibn Abī Zamanān	Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Isā ibn Abī Zamanān al-Marrī al-Ilībrī	399 / 1008	I:46	
Ibn al-Anbārī	Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad ibn Beshshār al-Anbārī	327 / 939		I:119
Ibn 'Asākir	Abū 'l-Qāsim 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Hibat Allāh Thiqat al-Dīn ibn 'Asākir	571 / 1176		I:331
Ibn al-Mubārak	'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak ibn Wāḍih al-Ḥanzalī	181 / 797	I:95	

¹ Without further information, such as titles of works, it is impossible to tell who is being cited, as both were scholars of *tafsīr* and ḥadīth; Heinen suggests 'Alī Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf; Heien, *Islamic Cosmology*, p. 274.

Ibn al-Mundhir	Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mundhir al-Mundhir al-Nisābūrī	318 / 930	I:495-9	
Ibn al-Najjār	Abū 'I-Ḥassan Muḥammad ibn Ja ^ḥ far ibn Muḥammad al-Tamīmī ibn al-Najjār	402 / 1011	I:350	
Ibn Hanbal	<i>See Ahmad</i>			

Ibn Ḥajar	Abū 'l-Faḍl °Abd Allāh ibn °Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥajar Shihāb al-Dīn al-°Asqalānī	852 / 1449	II:67-70
Ibn Ḥibbān	Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥibbān al-Tamīmī al-Ḥanzalī al-Bustī	354 / 965	I:189-91
Ibn Jarīr	See al-Ṭabarī		
Ibn Khuẓayma	Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ishāq ibn Khuẓayma al-Sulamī al-Nīsābūrī	311 / 924	I:601
Ibn Mājāh	Abū °Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Yazīd ibn Mājāh al-Qazwīnī	273 / 886	I:147-8
Ibn Mandah	Abū °Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ishāq ibn Mandah	395 / 1005	I:214-5
Ibn Mardawayh	Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Mūsā ibn Mardawayh ibn Fūrah al-Isfahānī	410 / 1019	I:225
Ibn Qutayba	Abū Muḥammad °Abd Allāh ibn Muslim ibn Qutayba	276 / 889	I:120
Ibn Sa°d	Abū °Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Sa°d ibn Manī° al-Baṣrī al-Zuhrī Kātib al-Wāqidi	230 / 845	I:300-1
Ishāq ibn Rāhwayh / Rāhūya	Abū Ya°qub Ishāq ibn Ibrahīm ibn Makhlad ibn Rāhūya [Rāhwayh] al-Ḥanzalī al-Marwazī	238 / 853	I:109-10
Juwaybir	Juwaybir ibn Sa°d	95 / 714	I:30
Khalīl, al-	Abū Ya°lā al-Khalīl ibn °Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Khalīl al-Khalīlī ²	446 / 1054	-
Khaṭīb, al-	Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn °Alī ibn Thābit al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī	403 / 1071	I:329
Marwazī, al-	?Abū 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn °Abd Allāh al-Ḥākim al-Shahīd al-Marwazī	334 / 945	I:443
Muslim	Muslim ibn al-Hajjāj al-Qurayshī al-Nīsābūrī	261 / 875	I:136-43
Nasā°ī, al-	Abū °Abd al-Rahmān Aḥmad ibn °Alī ibn Shu°ayb ibn °Alī al-Nasā°ī	303 / 915	I:167f
Qutbī, al-	See <i>Ibn Qutayba</i>		
Ṣābūnī, al-	Abū °Uthmān Ismā°īl ibn °Abd al-Rahmān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṣābūnī	373 / 983	I:362
Sa°d ibn Mansūr	Abū °Uthmān Sa°d ibn Mansūr ibn Shu°ba al-Khurāsānī	227 / 842	I:104

² From the information provided by Ibn Khallikān, this appears to be the correct attribution, as al-Khalīlī is said to be a ḥadīth scholar and biographer; however I have been unable to trace the author any further, see Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a°yān wa-ambā° abnā° al-zamān*; (tr. MacGukin de Slane), *Ibn Khallikān's Biographical Dictionary* (London: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1842 – 1871) Vol. 1, p. 53 n. 3 and Vol. 4, p. 27.

Silafī, al-	Abū Tāhir °Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Silāfī	576 / 1181		I:365
Ṭabarānī, al-	Abū °I-Qāsim Sulaymān ibn Aḥman ibn Ayyūb al-Lakhmi al-Ṭabarānī	360 / 971	I:195-7	
Ṭabarī, al-	Abū Ja°far Muḥammad ibn Jarīr ibn Yazīd al-Ṭabarī	310 / 923	I:323-8	
Ṭayālisī, al-	Muḥammad ibn Ja°far ibn Muḥammad ibn Ja°far al-Ṭayālisī	327 / 938		SI:184
Tirmidhī, al-	Abū °Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn °Alī al-Tirmidhmī al-Ḥakīm	318 / 930	I:653-9	
°Uqaylī, al-	Abū Ja°far Muḥammad ibn °Amr ibn Mūsā ibn Ḥammad al-°Uqaylī al-Ḥijāzī	322 / 934	I:177	
Wāhidī, al-	Abū °I-Ḥasan °Alī ibn °Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn °Alī ibn Mattūya al-Wāhidī al-Nīsābūrī	468 / 1075		I:411-2

Al-Suyūṭī's Sources arranged by date of death:

<i>Name in Text</i>	<i>Full Name</i>	<i>Died</i>
Juwaybir	Juwaybir ibn Sa'īd	95 / 714
Ibn al-Mubārak	°Abd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak ibn Wāḍih al-Ḥanzalī	181 / 797
°Abd al-Razzāq	Abū Bakr °Abd al-Razzāq ibn Hammām ibn Nāfi° al-Ḥimyārī	211 / 827
Firyābī, al-	°Alī Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Wāqid al-Firyābī ³	212 / 827
Sa'īd ibn Maṣṣūr	Abū °Uthmān Sa'īd ibn Maṣṣūr ibn Shu'ba al-Khurāsānī	227 / 842
Ibn Sa'd	Abū °Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Sa'd ibn Manī° al-Baṣrī al-Zuhrī Kātib al-Wāqidī	230 / 845
Ibn Abī Shayba	°Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn °Uthmān ibn Abī Shayba al-°Absī al-Kūfī	235 / 849
Ishāq ibn Rāhwayh / Rāhūya	Abū Ya'qub Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Makhlad ibn Rāhūya [Rāhwayh] al-Ḥanzalī al-Marwazī	238 / 853
Aḥmad	Abū °Abd Allāh Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Hanbal	241 / 855
Hannād ibn al-Sarī	Hannād ibn al-Sarīy ibn Mus'ab al-Dārimī al-Kuḥfī	243 / 857
°Abd ibn Ḥamīd	Abū Muḥammad °Abd ibn Ḥamīd [a.k.a. °Abd al-Ḥamīd] ibn Naṣr al-Kisī	249 / 963
Bukhārī, al-	Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mughīra al-Bukhārī al-Ju'fī	250 / 870
Muslim	Muslim ibn al-Hajjāj al-Qurayshī al-Nisābūrī	261 / 875
Ibn Mājah	Abū °Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Yazīd ibn Mājah al-Qazwīnī	273 / 886
Abū Dā'ūd	Abū Dā'ūd Sulaymān ibn al-Ash'at ibn Ishāq al-Azdī al-Sijistānī	275 / 888
Ibn Qutayba	Abū Muḥammad °Abd Allāh ibn Muslim ibn Qutayba	276 / 889
Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā	Abū Bakr °Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn °Ubayd ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā	281 / 894
Dārimī, al	Abū Sa'īd °Uthmān ibn Sa'īd ibn Khālid al-Sijistānī al-Dārimī	282 / 895
Bazzār, al-	Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn °Amr ibn °Abd al-Khāliq al-Baṣrī al-Bazzār	292 / 905
Nasā'ī, al-	Abū °Abd al-Rahmān Aḥmad ibn °Alī ibn Shu'ayb ibn °Alī al-Nasā'ī	303 / 915

³ Following Heinen (see above).

Abū Ya'la	Abū Ya'la Aḥmad ibn °Alī ibn al-Muthannā al-Tamīmī al-Mawṣilī	307 / 919
Dinawārī, al-	Abū Bakr °Alī ibn Marwān al-Dinawārī al-Mālīkī	310 / 922
Ṭabarī, al-	Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Jarīr ibn Yazīd al-Ṭabarī	310 / 923
Ibn Khuzayma	Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Iṣḥāq ibn Khuzayma al-Sulamī al-Nisābūrī	311 / 924
Ibn al-Mundhir	Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mundhir al-Mundhirī al-Nisābūrī	318 / 930
Tirmidhī, al-	Abū °Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn °Alī al-Tirmidhmī al-Ḥakīm	318 / 930
Abū Bakr al-Wāsiṭī	Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Wāsiṭī	320 / 932
Ḥākim, al-	Abū °Alī Muḥammad ibn °Alī ibn Hamdayh al-Ḍabbī al-Ḥākim al-Nisābūrī	321 / 933
°Uqaylī, al-	Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn °Amr ibn Mūsā ibn Ḥammad al-°Uqaylī al-Ḥijāzī	322 / 934
Ibn Abī Ḥātim	Abū Muḥammad °Abd al-Rahmān ibn Abī Ḥātim Muḥammad ibn Idrīs ibn al-Munadhīr al-Tamīmī al-Ḥanzalī al-Rāzī	327 / 938
Ṭayālīsī, al-	Muḥammad ibn Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn Ja'far al-Ṭayālīsī	327 / 938
Ibn al-Anbārī	Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad ibn Beshshār al-Anbārī	327 / 939
Marwazī, al-	?Abū °l-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn °Abd Allāh al-Ḥākim al-Shahīd al-Marwazī	334 / 945
Ibn Ḥibbān	Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥibbān al-Tamīmī al-Ḥanzalī al-Bustī	354 / 965
Ṭabarānī, al-	Abū °l-Qāsim Sulaymān ibn Aḥman ibn Ayyūb al-Lakhmi al-Ṭabarānī	360 / 971
Abū °l-Shaykh	Abū Muḥammad °Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Ja'far ibn Hayyān Abū °l-Shaykh	369 / 979
Ṣābūnī, al-	Abū °Uṭhmān Ismā'īl ibn °Abd al-Rahmān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṣābūnī	373 / 983
Ibn Mandah	Abū °Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Iṣḥāq ibn Mandah	395 / 1005
Ibn Abī Zamanīn	Abū °Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn °Abd Allāh ibn °Isā ibn Abī Zamanīn al-Marri al-Ilībrī	399 / 1008
Ibn al-Najjār	Abū °l-Ḥassan Muḥammad ibn Ja'far ibn Muḥammad al-Tamīmī ibn al-Najjār	402 / 1011
Khaṭīb, al	Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn °Alī ibn Thābit al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī	403 / 1071
Ibn Mardawayh	Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Mūsā ibn Mardawayh ibn Fūrah al-Ṣfahānī	410 / 1019
Abū Nu'aym	Abū Nu'aym °Alī ibn °Abd Allāh ibn °Alī ibn Iṣḥāq al-Ṣfahānī	430 / 1038
Khalīlī, al-	Abū Ya'la al-Khalīlī ibn °Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Khalīlī	446 / 1054

Bayhaqī, al-	Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn °Alī al-Bayhaqī	458 / 1066
Wāhidī, al-	Abū °I-Ḥasan °Alī ibn °Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn °Alī ibn Mattūya al-Wāhidī al-Nīsābūrī	468 / 1075
Ibn °Asākir	Abū °I-Qāsīm °Alī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Hibat Allāh Thiqat al-Dīn ibn °Asākir	571 / 1176
Silafī, al-	Abū Tāhir °Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Silafī	576 / 1181
Daylamī, al-	Shams al-Dīn Abū Thābit Muḥammad ibn °Abd al-Malik al-Daylamī	589 / 1193
Ḍiyā', al-	Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn °Abd al-Wahīd al-Maqdisī	643 / 1245
Ibn Ḥajar	Abū °I-Faḍl °Abd Allāh ibn °Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥajar Shihāb al-Dīn al-°Asgalānī	852 / 1449

Works Cited by Al-Suyūṭī

Name	Short Title	Full Title in GAS / GAL	Ḥadīth No.	GAS	GAL
°Abd ibn Ḥamīd	<i>Musnad</i>	<i>Al-Musnad al-kabīr</i>	248	I:113 §1	
	<i>Tafsīr</i>	No longer extant	251	I:113 §2	
Abū Bakr al-Wāṣiṭū	<i>Faḍā'il bayt al-maqdis</i>	?	240		
Abū Nu'aym	<i>Al-Ḥilya</i>	<i>Kitāb ḥilyat al-abiyyā' wa-tabagāt al-aṣfiyā'</i>	57, 82, 90, 96, 117, 125, 131, 158, 162		I:362 §1
Abū 'I-Rabī' al-Mas'ūdī	<i>Al-Ma'rifa</i>	Not listed	119		
	<i>Fawā'id</i>	Not listed	163		
Abū 'I-Shaykh	<i>Kitāb al-azama</i>	<i>Kitāb al-azama</i> or <i>Kitāb 'azamat Allāh wa-makhlūqātihi</i>	2, 27, 30, 123, 125, 129, 130, 251	I:201 §1	
al-Bayhaqī	<i>Tafsīr</i>	No longer extant	128, 166b		
	<i>Al-Asmā'</i>	Not listed	106, 108, 181b, 182, 193, 202, 210, 212, 223, 246, 249, 254		
	<i>Al-Ba'th</i>	Not listed	75, 86, 234		
	<i>Al-Dalā'il</i>	<i>Kitāb al-dalā'il al-nubūwwa</i>	52		I:363 §3
	<i>Shu'ab al-īmān</i>	<i>Al-Jāmi' al-muṣannaf fī shu'ab al-īmān</i>	Preface, 6, 24, 27, 60, 68, 97, 166, 166b, 186, 200		I:363 §5
al-Dārimī	<i>Kitāb al-radd 'alā al-jahmiyya</i>	<i>Kitāb al-radd 'alā al-jahmiyya</i>	179	I:601 §2	
al-Dīnawarī	<i>Al-Mujālisā</i>	<i>Kitāb al-mujālisā</i>	12, 136, 144, 197		I:154 §1

al-Diyā'	<i>Al-Mukhtāra</i>	<i>Al-Mukhtāra</i>	10		I:690 §10
	<i>Ṣifāt al-nār</i>	Not listed ⁴	230		
al-Ḥakīm	<i>Kitāb al-radd^c alā al-jahmiyya</i>	Not listed	179		
Hannād al-Sārī	<i>Al-Mustadrak</i>	<i>Al-Mustadrak^c alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn</i>	250, 251		I:221 §1
Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā	<i>Kitāb al-zuhd</i>	<i>Kitāb al-zuhd</i>	235		I:111 §1
	<i>Kitāb al-^c aqūbāt</i>	Not listed	248, 251		
	<i>Dhikr al-mawt</i>	Not listed ⁵	112, 120		
Ibn Abī Shayba	<i>Al-Muṣannaḥ</i>	<i>Al-Muṣannaḥ (al-Musnad)</i>	111, 206		I:108 §3
Ibn Abī Zamanīn	<i>Al-Sunna</i>	? <i>Risāla fī^c aqīdat ahl al-sunna</i>	93		I:46 §1
Ibn al-Anbārī	<i>Kitāb al-aḍḍād</i>	<i>Kitāb al-aḍḍād</i>	228		I:119 §1
Ibn al- ^c Arīf	<i>Fawā'id</i>	Not listed	163		
Ibn ^c Asākir	<i>Ta' rīkh</i>	<i>Ta' rīkh madīnat Dimashq</i>	65, 237		I:331 §1
Ibn Ḥajar	<i>Lisān al-mizān</i>	<i>Lisān al-mizān</i>	84		II:68 §4
Ibn Ḥanbal	<i>Musnad</i>	<i>Al-Musnad</i>	248		I:504 §1
	<i>Al-Zuhd</i>	<i>Kitāb al-zuhd</i>	35, 67, 73, 110, 111, 116, 125, 139		I:506 §3
Ibn Ḥibbān	<i>Al-Qawl al-musaddad</i>	<i>Al-Qawl al-musaddad fī 'l-dhabb^c an Musnad al-Imām Ahmad</i>	255		I:505
	<i>Ṣaḥīḥ</i>	<i>Al-Musnad al-ṣaḥīḥ^c ala al-taqāsim wa- 'l-anwā'</i>	84, 248		I:190 §1
Ibn Mandah	<i>Kitāb al-radd^c alā al-jahmiyya</i>	<i>Kitāb al-radd^c alā al-jahmiyya</i>	5		I:215 §3
	<i>Al-Ma^c rifa</i>	<i>Ma^c rifat al-ṣaḥāba</i>	25, 119		I:215 §1

⁴ However a work with the title *Ṣifāt al-janna* is listed (GAL SI:690 §12), and the *Ṣifāt al-nār* is likely to be part of this text, or a companion work.

⁵ The work is no longer extant, but it has been reconstructed by Leah Kinberg; see Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā (reconstructed Leah Kinberg), *Kitāb al-mawt wa-kitāb al-qubūr* (Haifa: University of Haifa, 1983).

Ibn Mardawayh	<i>Tafsīr</i>	No longer fully extant	252	I:225 §5
Ibn al-Mundhir	<i>Tafsīr</i>	<i>Tafsīr al-Qur'ān</i>	21	I:496 §1
Ibn al-Najjār	<i>Ta'rikh</i>	<i>Ta'rikh Baghdād</i> ⁶	84, 118, 171	I:350 §1
Ishāq ibn Rāhwayh	<i>Musnad</i>	<i>Al-Musnad</i>	251	I:110
al-Khalīlī	<i>Mashaykha</i>	<i>Al-Mashaykha</i> ⁷	242	
al-Khaṭīb	<i>Rūwāt Maik</i>	Not listed	157	
al-Marwazī	<i>Al-Janā'iz</i>	Possibly part of his <i>al-Kāfi fī 'l-fiqh</i>	148, 165	I:443
al-Qutbī / Ibn Qutayba (?)	<i>Uyūn al-akhbār</i>	<i>Uyūn al-akhbār</i>	229	I:121 §1
al-Sābūnī	<i>Al-Mi'atayn</i>	<i>Kitāb al-mi'atayn</i>	60	I:363
Al-Silafī	<i>Al-Mashaykha al-Baghdādīyya</i>	<i>Mu'jam shuyūkh Baghdād</i>	166b	I:365 §2
al-Ṭabarānī	<i>Al-Awsat</i>	<i>Al-Mu'jam al-awsat</i>	99, 106, 295	I:196 §2
	<i>Al-Kabīr</i>	<i>Al-Mu'jam al-kabīr</i>	119	I:196 §1
al-Tirmidhī	<i>Nawādir al-usūl</i>	<i>Nawādir al-usūl fī ma'rifat akhbār al-rasūl</i>	80	I:655 §9
al-Uqaylī	<i>Al-Du'afā'</i>	<i>Kitāb al-du'afā' (wa-'l-matrūkīn)</i>	156	I:177 §1
Al-Wāhidī	<i>Asbāb al-nuzūl</i>	<i>Kitāb asbāb al-nuzūl</i>	237	I:411 §1

⁶ There is also a *Ta'rikh Kūfā* by the same author (GAS I:350 §2) but it is most likely to be his more famous *Ta'rikh Baghdād*.

⁷ See the note on al-Khalīlī above.

Sources Used by al-Suyūṭī in the *Khāṭima*

<i>Name in Text</i>	<i>Full Name</i>	<i>Died</i>	<i>GAS</i>	<i>GAL</i>
Abū Shāma	Shihā al-Dīn Abū 'l-Qāsim °Abd al-Rahmān ibn Ismā'īl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn °Uthmān ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Maqdisī al-Shāfi'ī Abū Shāma	665 / 1268		SI:550
Abū Ya'la al-Ḥanbalī	Abū Ya'la Muḥammad ibn ibn °Alī al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Farrā'	458 / 1065	I:513	SI:686
Al-Qādī Abū Bakr	See Abū Ya'la al-Ḥanbalī	615 / 1286		SI:126
al-Qādī Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī	Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Tayyib ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Bāqillānī al-Qādī	403 / 1013	I:608	
Al-Qādī °Iyād	°Iyād ibn Mūsā al-Yaḥsubī	544 / 1149		I:369
Al-Safawī al-Urmawī	See Şafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī			
Badr al-Dīn al-Zarkashī	Badr al-Dīn Abū °Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Bahādur ibn °Abd Allāh al-Turkī al-Miṣrī al-Zarkashī	794 / 1392		SI:108
Bayhaqī, al-	Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn °Alī al-Bayhaqī	458 / 1066		I:363
°Alā' al-Dīn al-Qunawī	°Alā al-Dīn Abū 'l-Ḥasan °Alī ibn Ismā'īl ibn Yūsuf al-Qunawī	727 / 1327		II:105
°Izz al-Dīn ibn °Abd al-Salām	°Izz al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad °Abd al-Azīz ibn °Abd al-Salām al-Sulamī	660 / 1262		
°Izz al-Dīn ibn Jāma'a	°Izz al-Dīn ibn Jāma'a	767 / 1366		
Fakhr al-Dīn	Fakhr al-Dīn Abū °Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn °Umar al-Rāzī	606 / 1209		SI:359
Ghazālī, al-	Abū Ḥamīd Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ghazālī	509 / 1111		SI:744
Ḥākim, al-	Abū °Alī Muḥammad ibn °Alī ibn Hamdawayh al-Dabbī al-Ḥākim al-Nisābūrī	321 / 933		
Ḥalīmī, al-	Abū °Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥalīm al-Ḥalīmī	403 / 1012	I:607	
Ibn al-Ṣalāh	Taqī al-Dīn Abū °Amr °Uthmān ibn Ṣalāh al-Dīn Abū 'l-Qāsim °Abd al-Rahmān ibn °Uthmān ibn Mūsā ibn Abī 'l-Naṣr ibn al-Ṣalāh al-Shahrazūrī	643 / 1243		SI:610
Ibn Ḥajar	Abū 'l-Faḍl °Abd Allāh ibn °Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥajar Shihāb al-Dīn al-°Asqalānī	852 / 1449		II:67-70
Imām al-Ḥarmayn	Abū 'l-Ma'ālī °Abd al-Malik ibn Abī Muḥammad °Abd Allāh ibn Yūsuf al-Juwaynī	445 / 1053		SI:671

Abū Ishāq al-Isfarā'īnī	Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Isfarā'īnī	418 / 1025		
Jurjānī, al-	? Abū °Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ja°far al-Farawī al-Jurjānī al-Yazdī	408 / 1018	I:223	
Kalābādihī, al-	Tāj al-Islām Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Kalābādihī al-Ḥanafī	384 / 999	I:668	
Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn °Arabī al-Šūfī	Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn °Abd Allāh ibn °Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn [al-] °Arabī al-Ḥātimī al-Tā°ī al-Shaykh al-Akbar	638 / 1240		SI:790
Nasafī, al-	Najm al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ al-Nasafī	536 / 1142		
Nawawī, al-	Abū Zakariyyā° Yaḥya ibn Sharāf ibn Mūrī ibn Ḥasan ibn Ḥusayn ibn Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Nawawī	676 / 1278		SI:680
Qurṭubī, al-	Aḥmad ibn °Umar al-Anṣārī al-Qurṭubī	656 / 1258		I:384
Rāfi°ī, al-	Abū °I-Qāsim °Abd al-Karīm ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Rāfi°ī al-Qazwīnī	623 / 1226		I:393
Sa°d al-Dīn al-Taftazānī	Sa°d al-Dīn Mas°ūd ibn °Umar al-Taftazānī	791 / 1389		I:295
Şafā al-Dīn al-Urmawī	Şafī al-Dīn Abū °I-Thana° Maḥmūd ibn Abī Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ḥamīd al-Urmawī	723 / 1323		SII:15
Shams al-Dīn Ibn Qayyim	Shams al-Dīn Abū °Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ayyūb ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya al-Zar°ī al-Dimashqī al-Ḥanbalī	751 / 1350		SII:126
Sirāj al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī	Shaykh al-Islām Sirāj al-Dīn °Umar ibn Raslān al-Bulqīnī al-Kinānī al-°Asqalānī	805 / 1403		SII:110
Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī	Abī Naşr °Abd al-Wahhāb ibn °Alī ibn °Abd al-Kāfi Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī	771 / 1370		SII:105
Tāj al-Dīn ibn °Aṭā°	Tāj al-Dīn ibn °Aṭā° Allāh °Abbās	709 / 1309		
Tayyibī, al-	X			

Al-Suyūṭī's Sources arranged by date of death:

<i>Name in Text</i>	<i>Full Name</i>	<i>Died</i>
Hākīm, al-	Abū °Alī Muḥammad ibn °Alī ibn Hamdawayh al-Dabbī al-Ḥākīm al-Nīsābūrī	321 / 933
Kalābādihī, al-	Tāj al-Islām Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Kalābādihī al-Ḥanafī	384 / 999
Ḥalīmī, al-	Abū °Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥalīm al-Ḥalīmī	403 / 1012
al-Qādī Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī	Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Tayyib ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Bāqillānī al-Qādī	403 / 1013
Jurjānī, al-	? Abū °Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ja°far al-Farawī al-Jurjānī al-Yazdī	408 / 1018
Abū Ishāq al-Isfarā'inī	Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Isfarā'inī	418 / 1025
Imām al-Ḥarmayn	Abū 'l-Ma°alī °Abd al-Malik ibn Abī Muḥammad °Abd Allāh ibn Yūsuf al-Juwaynī	445 / 1053
Abū Ya°lā al-Ḥanbalī	Abū Ya°lā Muḥammad ibn ibn °Alī al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Farrā'	458 / 1065
Bayhaqī, al-	Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn °Alī al-Bayhaqī	458 / 1066
Ghazālī, al-	Abū Ḥamīd Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ghazālī	509 / 1111
Nasafī, al-	Najm al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ al-Nasafī	536 / 1142
Al-Qādī °Iyād	°Iyād ibn Mūsā al-Yaḥsubī	544 / 1149
Fakhr al-Dīn	Fakhr al-Dīn Abū °Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn °Umar al-Rāzī	606 / 1209
Al-Qādī Abū Bakr	See Abū Ya°lā al-Ḥanbalī	615 / 1286
Rāfi°, al-	Abū 'l-Qāsim °Abd al-Karīm ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Rāfi° al-Qazwīnī	623 / 1226
Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn °Arabī al-Ṣūfi	Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn °Abd Allāh ibn °Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn [al-] °Arabī al-Ḥatīmī al-Tāfi° al-Shaykh al-Akbar	638 / 1240
Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ	Taqī al-Dīn Abū °Amr °Uthmān ibn Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Abū 'l-Qāsim °Abd al-Rahmān ibn °Uthmān ibn Mūsā ibn Abī 'l-Naṣr ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī	643 / 1243
Qurṭubī, al-	Aḥmad ibn °Umar al-Anṣārī al-Qurṭubī	656 / 1258
°Izz al-Dīn ibn °Abd al-Salām	°Izz al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad °Abd al-Azīz ibn °Abd al-Salām al-Sulamī	660 / 1262

Abū Shāma	Shihā al-Dīn Abū 'l-Qāsim °Abd al-Rahmān ibn Ismā'īl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn °Uthmān ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Maqdisī al-Shāfi'ī Abū Shāma	665 / 1268
Nawawī, al-	Abū Zakariyyā' Yaḥya ibn Sharāf ibn Mūrī ibn Ḥasan ibn Ḥusayn ibn Muhyī al-Dīn al-Nawawī	676 / 1278
Tāj al-Dīn ibn °Aṭā'	Tāj al-Dīn ibn °Aṭā' Allāh °Abbās	709 / 1309
Şafā al-Dīn al-Urmawī	Şafī al-Dīn Abū 'l-Thanā' Maḥmūd ibn Abī Bakr Muḥammad ibn Hamīd al-Urmawī	723 / 1323
°Alā' al-Dīn al-Qunawī	°Alā' al-Dīn Abū 'l-Ḥasan °Alī ibn Ismā'īl ibn Yūsuf al-Qunawī	727 / 1327
Shams al-Dīn Ibn Qayyim	Shams al-Dīn Abū °Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ayyūb ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya al-Zar'ī al-Dimashqī al-Ḥanbalī	751 / 1350
°Izz al-Dīn ibn Jāma °a	°Izz al-Dīn ibn Jāma °a	767 / 1366
Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī	Abī Naṣr °Abd al-Wahhāb ibn °Alī ibn °Abd al-Kāfi Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī	771 / 1370
Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftazānī	Sa'd al-Dīn Mas'ūd ibn °Umar al-Taftazānī	791 / 1389
Badr al-Dīn al-Zarkashī	Badr al-Dīn Abū °Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Bahādur ibn °Abd Allāh al-Turkī al-Miṣrī al-Zarkashī	794 / 1392
Sirāj al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī	Shaykh al-Islām Sirāj al-Dīn °Umar ibn Raslān al-Bulqīnī al-Kinānī al-°Asqalānī	805 / 1403
Ibn Ḥajar	Abū 'l-Faḍl °Abd Allāh ibn °Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥajar Shihāb al-Dīn al-°Asqalānī	852 / 1449
Tayyibī, al-	X	

Appendix E

The Authorities of the *Ḥadīth*

Index of Authorities

The authorities cited by al-Suyūṭī are only given with a short name in most instances. The table below gives the full names as given in Volume 8 of A. J. Wensinck's, *Concordance de la Tradition Mustumane*.

- X : marks an authority I have been unable to trace
- * : marks a name which could refer to a number of different people
- ? : marks a possible, although not definite, authority

Cited Name	Full Name	CTM	§
al-A ^c amash	Sulaymān ibn Mihrān al-A ^c mash	142	147
al- ^c Abbās ibn ^c Abd al-Muṭṭalib	al- ^c Abbās ibn ^c Abd al-Muṭṭalib ibn Hishām Abū 'l-Faḍl	141	179
^c Abd al- ^c Alā al-Tamīmī	X		111
^c Abd Allāh	*		183
^c Abd Allāh ibn Burayda	^c Abd Allāh ibn Burayda ibn al-Ḥaṣīb al-Aslamī	145	224
^c Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥarīth	? ^c Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥarīth ibn Nawfal	146	94, 99, 236
^c Abd Allāh ibn ^c Amr	<i>see Ibn ^cAmr</i>		21
^c Abd Allāh ibn ^c Umar	^c Abd Allāh ibn ^c Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb Abū ^c Abd al-Raḥmān	157	62, 248
Abū 'l- ^c Awām	X		234
^c Abd al-Azīz ibn Abī Ruwād	X		66
^c Abd al-Azīz ibn ^c Umayr	X		38
Abū 'l-Muthnā al-Ḥimṣī	Muslim ibn al-Muhtannā Abū 'l-Muthannā	254	135
^c Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Salmān ¹	^c Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Salmān Abū 'l-A ^c yas	173	23
^c Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Zayd ibn Aslam	X		12
Abū 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib	Abū Ṭālib ibn ^c Abd al-Muṭṭalib	128	84, 171
Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī	X		92
Abū Dharr	Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī	78	8, 63
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Abū 'Imrān al-Jawnī	^c Abd al-Malik ibn Ḥabīb al-Azdī al-Jawnī Abū ^c Imrān	179	67, 231
Abū Ja ^c far al-Bāqir	X		247
Abū Mālik	Abū Mālik al-Ghifārī	237	108, 190, 198
Abū Qays al-Azdī	X		136
Abū Sa ^c īd	*		99
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Abū Sa ^c īd al-Khudrī	Abū Sa ^c īd al-Khudrī	99	86, 88
Abū Salāma	Abū Sa ^c īd al-Raḥmān ibn Salmān Abū 'l-A ^c is from his father.	107	240, 297

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Abū Sinān	°Ṭsā ibn Sinān Abū Sinān		216	104
Abū Umāma	? Abū Umāma ibn Ta'āba al-Anṣārī al-Ḥārithī		17	89, 152, 206
°Ā'isha	°Ā'isha bint Abī Bakr		135	2, 9, 35, 42, 43, 55, 95, 145, 217
al-°Alā' ibn Ḥārūn	X			17
°Alī [ibn Abī Ṭālib]	°Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib Abū 'l-Ḥasan		197	65, 83, 196, 212, 241, 243, 251, 252, 295
°Alī ibn Ḥusayn	°Alī ibn Ḥusayn ibn °Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib Zayn al-°Abdīdīn		197	36
°Ammār ibn Abī °Ammār	°Ammār ibn Abī °Ammār		200	52
°Amr al-Bakālī	X			22
°Amr ibn Murra	°Amr ibn Murra		212	64
Anas	see <i>Anas ibn Mālīk</i>			45, 74, 75, 79, 118, 156, 230, 242
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Ash°ath ibn Aslam	X			123
°Āṭā ibn al-Sā'ib	°Āṭā ibn al-Sā'ib		192	76
°Āṭā' ibn Yīṣār	°Āṭā' ibn Yīṣār		192	116, 142
°Āṭiyya	*		192	244
al-Awzā'ī	°Abd al-Raḥmān ibn °Amr al-Awzā'ī Abū °Amr		175	15, 100, 101
al-Barā' ibn °Azāb	Al-Barā' ibn °Āzīb ibn al-Ḥārith al-Anṣārī Abū °Umāra al-Awsī		27	166
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Ḥudhayfa	?Ḥudhayfa ibn al-Yamān al-°Absī		57	50, 77
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al-Ḥakam ibn Ubān	X			161
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Ḥārūn ibn Ri'āb	X			186
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Ḥasan ibn ʿAtiyya	X		184
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Ibn Abī Jabala	X		103
Ibn Abī Nujjīh	ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī Nujjīh Yasār al-Thaqafī	169	227
Ibn ʿAbbās	ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbbās Abū ʿAbbās	151	18, 29, 37, 40, 48, 49, 54, 56, 82, 97, 98, 108, 122, 127, 132, 134, 149, 153, 159, 169, 180, 195, 202, 208, 210, 213, 221, 222, 237, 238, 253, 254
Ibn ʿAmr	ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀs al-Qurashī	163	2b, 5, 106
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Ibn Jurayj	ʿAbd al-Malik ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Jurayj	180	50
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Ibn Sābiṭ	ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Sābiṭ Abū Sābiṭ	173	27, 28
Ibn Shihāb	Muḥammad ibn Muslim ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī Abū Bakr	248	53
Ibn ʿUmar	<i>see ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar</i>		1, 245, 249, 250
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Kaʿb	Kaʿb al-Aḥbār ibn Māṭī ʿal-Ḥimyari	232	16, 20b, 93, 95, 115, 121, 232, 235
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al-Khazraj)				
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Maymūna bint Sa'd	Maymūna bint Sa'd		269	58
Maysara	*		268	205, 207, 209b
Mu'ādh ibn Jabal	Mu'ādh ibn Jabal al-Anṣārī Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān		257	158
Muḥammad ibn al-Munkadir	Muḥammad ibn al-Munkadir Abū Bakr		249	150
Muḥammad ibn Ka'b al-Qurẓī	Muḥammad ibn Ka'b al-Qurẓī		248	154, 166b
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Muqātil ibn Ḥayyan	X			215
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Mūsā ibn Abī 'Ā'isha	Mūsā ibn Abī 'Ā'isha		267	39
Qatāda	*		224	50, 129
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Shurayḥ ibn 'Abd Allāh	X			46
Sulaymān ibn Ma'amar al-Kilābī	X			157

al-Suddī	Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Karīma al-Suddī	13	246
Ṭāwus	Ṭāwus ibn Kaysan al-Yamānī Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān	128	229
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Thābit al-Banānī	Thābit ibn Aslam al-Banānī Abū Muḥammad	37	117
ʿUbayd ibn ʿUmayr	ʿUbayd ibn ʿUmayr ibn Qatāda Abū ʿAsim	183	120
ʿUmar	ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb Abū Hafṣ	201	239
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ʿUrwa	*	190	193
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Zayd ibn Rūmān	X		4
Zayd ibn Thābit	Zayd ibn Thābit al-Anṣārī Abū Saʿīd	89	109
Ziyād al-Numayrī	X		155
Ziyād ibn Abī Hayya	? Ziyād ibn Jubayr ibn Hayya al-Thaqafī	88	200
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Unknown	N/A		24
Unknown (father of Abū ʿI-Malīḥ)	X		34
Unknown (some companions)	N/A		108

Appendix F

Summary of the *Ḥadīth* Not Translated

Summary of *Ḥadīth* Not Translated

172 – 177 The Angel of the Rain

- 172 al-Baghawī and al-Ṭabarānī
An angel comes to Muḥammad and tells him that his community will kill Ḥusayn at Karbalā’.
- 173 al-Ṭabarānī
An angel comes to Muḥammad and tells him that his community will kill Ḥusayn at Karbalā’.
- 174 Ibn Jarīr
When Abraham was cast into the fire of Nimrod, the Guardian of the Rain prayed for him.
- 175 Abū ‘Awāna and al-Ḍiyā’
An angel drives the clouds and he has a rope.
- 176 al-Ṭayālīsī, Aḥmad and Muslim
A man hears a voice in the clouds and then follows the clouds to Yemen; he then meets the Angel of the Rain.
- 177 al-Dīnawarī
When Abraham was cast into the fire of Nimrod, the Guardian of the Rain prayed for him.

178 The Angel of the Veil

- 178 Iṣḥāq ibn Rahwayh, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, al-Ṭabarānī and Abū ‘l-Shaykh

The heaven of this world has invisible waves; the Second Heaven is made of white marble; the Third Heaven is made of iron, the Fourth Heaven is made of copper; the Fifth Heaven is made of silver; the Sixth Heaven is made of gold; and the Seventh Heaven is made of rubies; above that is a desert of light and no one knows what is above it except God, Most High. The angel responsible for the veil is called Mīṭātrūsh.

256 Another Angel

- 256 Ibn Abī Shayba
A pious man wishes to worship God in the sea and he is taken there by a group of people. The man asks to be left by a tree in a river. An angel wanted the pious man to go to heaven, so God commands the Angel of Death to take his soul.

257 – 267 Thunder and Lightning

- 257 Aḥmad, al-Tirmidhī, al-Nasā'ī, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Abū 'l-Shaykh, Ibn Mardawayh, Abū Nu'aym and al-Diyā'

An angel is responsible for the clouds; the angel has a whip to drive the clouds; thunder is the sound of his voice.

- 258 Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā
Thunder is an angel and lightning is the sound of the clouds being driven with a whip.

- 259 Ibn al-Mundhir and Abū 'l-Shaykh
Thunder is an angel.

- 260 al-Bukhārī and Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā
Thunder is an angel.

- 261 Ibn Jarīr and Ibn Mardawayh
Thunder is an angel; his voice is thunder and lightning is his whip.

- 262 Abū 'l-Shaykh
Thunder is an angel.

- 263 Ibn Mardawayh
An angel is responsible for moving the clouds; lightning is the raising of the angel's whip and thunder is the sound of the whip being cracked.

- 264 Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā
Lightning is an angel coming into view.

- 265 Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Abū 'l-Shaykh
Thunder is the sound of the Angel of the Cold clapping and lightning is when he looks at the people on Earth.

- 266 Ibn Mardawayh
There is an angel responsible for moving the clouds; he is called Rūfīl.

- 267 Ibn Abī Ḥātim
Lightning is an angel; the angel has four faces: a face of a human, an eagle, a lion and a bull; lightning is when the angel flicks its tail.

268 – 273 Ismā'īl

- 268 al-Ṭabarānī and Abū 'l-Shaykh
There is an angel in heaven called Ismā'īl who is in charge of 70,000 angels.

- 269 Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Ibn Mardawayh and al-Bayhaqī
During the *miʿrāj* Muḥammad sees Ismāʿīl, who is responsible for the Second Heaven; he is in charge of 70,000 angels; each angel has an army of 100,000 angels.
- 270 Abū ʿl-Shaykh
There is an angel in heaven called Ismāʿīl.
- 271 al-ʿAdani
Before the Prophet’s death, Gabriel comes to him three times; on the third day Gabriel shows Muḥammad the angel Ismāʿīl, who is the Angel of Death.
- 272 al-Shāfiʿī
Ismāʿīl is an angel that has command over 100,000 angels; each of these angels has command over 100,000 angels.
- 273 al-Bayhaqī
Ismāʿīl is an angel that has command over 70,000 angels; each of these angels has command over 70,000 angels.

274 Sadluqan

- 274 Abū ʿl-Shaykh
Ṣadluqān is an angel; his toe is a ninth of the size of the seas.

275 – 276 Riyāfil

- 275 Abū ʿl-Shaykh
Riyāfil was the angel that accompanied Dhū ʿl-Qarnayn; he tells Dhū ʿl-Qarnayn how the angels worship God in heaven.
- 276 Ibn Abī Ḥatim
Dhū ʿl-Qarnayn asks Riyāfil about the Water of Life.

277 – 278 Dhū ʿl-Qarnayn

- 277 Ibn Abī Ḥatim
Dhū ʿl-Qarnayn was an angel.
- 278 Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥatim and Abū ʿl-Shaykh
Dhū ʿl-Qarnayn was an angel.

279 Dhū 'l-Nurayn

- 279 Ibn 'Asākir
Dhū 'l-Nurayn was an angel.

280 – 294 The Cockerel

- 280 Abū 'l-Shaykh
There is an angel in heaven in the form of Cockerel; when the Cockerel praises God in heaven, the earthly cockerels reply.
- 281 Abū 'l-Shaykh
The Cockerel is underneath the Throne; its claws are made of pearls, and its spurs are made of green chrysolite; it causes the cockerels to crow at dawn.
- 282 Abū 'l-Shaykh
The Cockerel's feet are on the Seventh Earth and it passes through the Seven Heavens.
- 283 al-Ṭabarānī, Abū 'l-Shaykh and al-Ḥākim
The Cockerel's feet are on the Seventh Earth and it passes through the Seven Heavens.
- 284 Abū 'l-Shaykh
The Cockerel's feet are on the Seventh Earth, its head is under the Throne and its wings are in the air.
- 285 Abū 'l-Shaykh
God has a Cockerel in the lowest heaven; its chest is made of gold, its stomach is made of silver, and its legs are made of sapphires, its claws are made of emeralds, and its claws are under the lowest earth. It has a wing in the East and a wing in the West, its neck is under the Throne and its crest is made of light, protecting the space between the Throne and the Seat; it flutters his wings every night, three times.
- 286 Abū 'l-Shaykh
God has a Cockerel; its two wings are ornamented with chrysolite, pearls and sapphires. It has a wing in the East and a wing in the West, its feet are on the lowest earth and its head is under the throne. It causes the cockerels to crow at dawn. On the Day of Resurrection it will be told to stop beating its wings.
- 287 al-Ṭabarānī and Abū 'l-Shaykh
The Cockerel's feet are on the Seventh Earth and its neck is under the Throne. It calls out to the Earth three times each night.
- 288 Abū 'l-Shaykh
Cockerels reply to the angels and praise God.

- 289 Abū 'l-Shaykh
When the angel says 'Praise the Holy One', the cockerels on earth flap their wings.
- 290 Abū 'l-Shaykh
A cockerel crowed in the presence of Solomon and he told people that it was praising God.
- 291 al-Ṭabarānī
God has a Cockerel under the Throne; its wings are in the air and its claws are on the earth; when it is dawn, and it is the time of the call to prayer, it flaps its wings and the cockerels praise God.
- 292 Ibn °Addī and al-Bayhaqī
The Cockerel's feet are on the extremities of the Earth and its neck is under the Throne. It calls out to the Earth three times each night.
- 293 Ibn °Addī
God has a Cockerel; its claws are on the lowest earth and its neck is under the Throne. It calls out when it is the time for the ritual prayers; the cockerel calls out to the heavens: 'Exalt! Exalt!' Then the Cockerel of the heavens and the cockerels of the earth call out.
- 294 al-Daylamī
The Throne is on an angel made of pearls in the image of a cockerel; its feet are on the boundaries of the lowest [earth] and its neck is under the throne; its wings are in the East and the West; when that angel worships God, there does not remain anything except the praise of God.

298 – 299 The Angel of the Mountains

- 298 Aḥmad, al-Bukhārī and Muslim
Ibn °Abd Yālayl ibn °Abd Kalāl was approached by Muḥammad to enter into a treaty, but he refused. At Qarn al-Tha'ālib Muḥammad looked to heaven and saw Gabriel. Gabriel tells him that God has sent him the Angel of the Mountains to help Muḥammad. The Angel of the Mountains asks Muḥammad if he would like him to cause the mountains to fall up Ibn °Abd Yālayl and his people. Muḥammad says no, but asks that their children may become Muslims.
- 299 Ibn Abī Ḥātim
Gabriel informs Muḥammad that God has sent him the Angel of the Mountains to help Muḥammad. The Angel of the Mountains tells Muḥammad that he can do anything he wants. Muḥammad says that he does not want anything, other than for people to profess *tawḥīd*. The Angel tells Muḥammad that he is very merciful.

300 Ramyā'il

- 300 Ibn Abī 'l-Dunya
The souls of the believers are handed over to Ramyā'il.

301 Dūma

- 301 Ibn Abī 'l-Dunya
The souls of the unbelievers are handed over to Dūma.

302 – 311 The Tempters of the Grave

- 302 al-Tirmidhī, Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā, al-Ājurrī and al-Bayhaqī
An account of the events in the grave.
- 303 al-Ṭabarānī and Ibn Mardawayh
A description of Munkar and Nakīr.
- 304 Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā and Abū Nu^caym
An account of human interaction with angels, including references to: The Angel of the Womb, the angel that accompanies an individual until puberty, The Noble Watching Scribes and the Angels of the Grave (unnamed).
- 305 al-Bayhaqī
A description of Munkar and Nakīr.
- 306 al-Ṭabarānī
The names of the two angels who come to the grave are Munkar and Nakīr.
- 307 Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā
A description of Munkar and Nakīr.
- 308 Juwaybir
An account of what happens at the moment of death and the questions asked by the angels in the grave.
- 309 Abū Nu^caym
There are three Angels of the Grave: Ankar, Nākūr and Rūmān.
- 310 Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Qaṭṭān
There are four Angels of the Grave: Munkar, Nakīr, Nākūr and their master, Rūmān.
- 311 Ibn al-Najjār
The angels of the daytime are kinder than the angels of the night.

312 – 406 The Noble Watching Scribes

- 312 Ibn al-Mundhir and Abū ‘l-Shaykh
There are two angels: one writes down good deeds, the other bad deeds. The angel of good deeds is on the right, the angel of bad deeds is on the left. If the person is walking, one is in front and the other is behind; if the man is sitting, one is on the left and the other is on the right; if the man is sleeping, one is by the man’s head and the other is by his feet. There are two angels responsible for the man at night and another two responsible for him during the day; a fifth angel is with the man continuously.
- 313 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
An exegesis of Q 6:60.
- 314 Ibn Abī Zamanīn
There are four scribes: two for the night and two for the day; they come together at the dawn prayers.
- 315 Mālik, al-Bukhārī, Muslim, al-Nasā’ī and Ibn Ḥibbān
Angels follow people at night and day and they come together at the dawn prayers.
- 316 Ibn al-Mundhir and Ibn Abī Ḥātim
An exegesis of Q 13:11; the scribes note down individuals’ deeds.
- 316b¹ Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir and Ibn Abī Ḥātim
An exegesis of Q 13:11; the scribes note down individuals’ deeds.
- 317 Ibn Jarīr and Ibn al-Mundhir
An exegesis of Q 13:11; the scribes note down individuals’ deeds.
- 318 [Ibn Jarīr]² and Ibn al-Mundhir
An exegesis of Q 13:11; the angels alternate between day and night.
- 319 [Ibn Jarīr] and Ibn al-Mundhir³
An exegesis of Q 13:11 & 50:17; if the person is walking, one is in front and the other is behind; if the man is sitting, one is on the left and the other is on the right; the angel on the right, writes things down without the approval of the angel on the left, but the angel on the left has to seek approval from the angel on the right. if the man is sitting, one is on the left and the other is on the right; if the man is sleeping, one is by the man’s head and the other is by his feet.
- 320 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
An exegesis of Q 13:11; the Scribes are ordered by God to do what they do.

¹ Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 205v, ll. 12 – 14.

² Added in the Leiden MS; fol. 205v, l. 14.

³ The Leiden MS combines §318 & 319 (fol. 205v, l. 15); the DKI edition also omits *akhrāja*, so this hadīth appears to be a continuation of §318.

- 321 Ibn Jarīr
An exegesis of Q 50:17; there are two angels: one writes down good deeds, the other bad deeds. The angel of good deeds is on the right; the angel of bad deeds is on the left.
- 322 al-Daylamī
The two angels sit on the teeth, and the person's tongue is their pen and his spit their ink.
- 323 Abū Nu^ʿaym
The name of the Scribe of Misdeeds is Qa^ʿīd.
- 324 Ibn Jarīr and Ibn Abī Ḥātim
An exegesis of Q 50:17; the scribe writes down everything that a person talks about; but on Thursday, the scribe notes down both what the individual says and does.
- 325 Ibn Abī Shayba, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Ibn Mardawayh and al-Ḥākim
An exegesis of Q 50:17; the angel only writes down deeds and sins, it does not write down mundane things.
- 326 Ibn al-Mundhir
The angel of good deeds only writes down actions that reward and strengthen his companion.
- 327 Ibn Abī 'I-Dunyā
The scribe of good deeds is on the right and the scribe of bad deeds is on the left. When an individual does a good deed, the angel writes it down ten times; when an individual does a bad action, the angel of good deeds tells the angel of bad deeds to hold off writing it against the individual until Thursday, in case the person repents.
- 328 Ibn Abī Shayba and al-Bayhaqī
Once a man was riding a donkey and it stumbled and the man said: 'I have stumbled'; the angel of bad deeds said that it was a bad action and the angel of good deeds thought that it was a good action; the angel of bad deeds was called away, but the angel of good deeds remained and wrote it down.
- 329 Ibn al-Mundhir
The angels write down everything an individual says, even in illness.
- 330 al-Khaṭṭīb
The angels write down everything an individual says, even in illness.
- 331 Ibn Jarīr
There are two scribes at night and two during the day.
- 332 Ibn Abī 'I-Dunyā
The human's tongue is the angel's pen and his spit his ink.

- 333 Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā
An exegesis of Q 50:17; the angel on the right writes down good deeds and the one on the left, bad deeds.
- 334 Abū 'l-Shaykh
If an individual does a sinful act, it is not recorded for three hours, so that the person can seek forgiveness.
- 335 al-Ṭabarānī and Abū Nu'aym
If an individual does a sinful act, it is not recorded for six hours, so that the person can seek forgiveness.
- 336 al-Ṭabarānī, Ibn Mardawayh and al-Bayhaqī
Good actions are written down ten times, but bad actions are only recorded once; if an individual does a sinful act, it is not recorded for six or seven hours, so that the person can seek forgiveness.
- 337 Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā and Ibn 'Asākir
When a person dies, the angels remain with the individual in the grave, in case the person seeks forgiveness.
- 338 Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā and al-Ḥākim
The first to know of an individual's death are the scribes, as they descend every day with the individual's *rizq*; when it is not given, they know that the person will die.
- 339 Ibn Mardawayh
When the angels hand over their reports, the angel of bad deeds leaves his records in *al-Sijjīn*.
- 340 al-Ṭabarānī
At the end of the day, the angel looks at the devil's book; if the angel finds any good actions recorded in the devil's book, the angel wipes it out and records it as a good action ten times. When individuals go to sleep they should say 33 *takbīrs*, 34 *taḥmīds* and 33 *tasbīhs*.
- 341 Aḥmad
A man said 'Praise be to God' many times and the angel noted it down and magnified them.
- 342 'Abd Allāh and al-Dīnawarī
The angels take their records up to heaven after the evening prayers.
- 343 Ibn al-Mubārak, Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā and Abū 'l-Shaykh
When the angels hand over their reports, the angel of bad deeds leaves his records in *al-Sijjīn* and the angel of good deeds leaves his records in *'Illiyun*.
- 344 al-Daylamī
God told the scribes not to record anything while an individual is angry.

- 345 Ibn Abī Shayba and al-Bayhaqī
The angel of bad deeds departs from an individual when he is ill, and the angel of good deeds is instructed to note down what the person normally did when he was not ill.
- 346 Ibn Abī ‘l-Dunya and al-Bayhaqī
The angel of bad deeds does not record anything when an individual is ill, and the angel of good deeds is instructed to note down what the person normally did when he was not ill.
- 347 Aḥmad, Ibn Abī Shayba and al-Bayhaqī
The angel of good deeds is instructed to note down what the person normally did when he was not ill.
- 348 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
Concerning how the angels write down their records.
- 349 al-Tirmidhī
When a servant tells a lie, the angel is separated from him by a mile from the stench which comes from him.
- 350 Ibn Abī Shayba
The angel of good deeds is instructed to note down what the person normally did when he was not ill.
- 351 Ibn ‘Asākir
The angel of bad deeds does not record anything when an individual is ill, and the angel of good deeds is instructed to note down what the person normally did when he was not ill.
- 352 al-Ḥākim
When a person is ill, God reveals to the Scribes: ‘I have bound my servant in some of my chains. If I take him, I will forgive him; if I keep him alive, during the time of his illness I will stop his sin being recorded.’
- 353 al-Ṭabarānī
The angel of good deeds is instructed to note down what the person normally did when he was not ill.
- 354 Ibn Abī Shayba, al-Ṭabarānī, al-Dāraqūṭnī and al-Bayhaqī
The angel of good deeds is instructed to note down what the person normally did when he was not ill.
- 355 Aḥmad and al-Bukhārī
When an individual stands to pray, he should not spit in front of him, for that is the direction of God; and he should not spit on his right, as there is an angel on his right; he should spit on his left or under his foot.

- 356 Saʿīd ibn Maṣū̄r
Individuals should keep their sandals on their feet or place them in front of them; there is an angel on their right and there is their brother's angel on their left.
- 357 Ibn Abī Shayba
When an individual stands to pray, he should not spit in front of him; and he should not spit on his right, as there is an angel on his right; he should spit on his left or under his foot.
- 358 Ibn Abī Shayba
The Prophet saw spit on the *qibla*, and he reproached the people and told them not to spit in front of them, or to their right.
- 359 ʿAbd al-Razzāq and Ibn Abī Shayba
Fiddling with stones causes pain to an angel.
- 360 Ibn ʿAsākir
A man is told to spit on his left, not on his right.
- 361 Ibn Abī Shayba
Fiddling with stones during prayer is a habit from the Devil.
- 362 Ibn Mājāh and al-Ṭabarānī
A man says a prayer and the scribes seek confirmation from God whether it is a good or bad action.
- 363 al-Bazzār
The Scribes record all actions.
- 364 al-Ṭabarānī
Angels get embarrassed by nudity and if there are any children present when an adult reveals him or herself, the child could be taken by a devil.
- 365 al-Bayhaqī
Angels get embarrassed by nudity.
- 366 al-Bayhaqī
Angels remain with individuals constantly, except when two people have sexual intercourse.
- 367 ʿAbd al-Razzāq
Angels stay away from two things: human excrement and sexual intercourse.
- 368 al-Bazzār
Angels get embarrassed by nudity; angels stay away from three things: human excrement, those in *janāba* and those that need a major ritual ablution (*ghusl*).

- 369 Ibn Mardawayh
A man is praised for performing *tayammum*; angels stay away from an individual in two cases: when he is on the toilet and when he is with his wife; a person should conceal himself behind a wall or a camel.
- 370 al-Dīnawarī
If a man finishes the Qur'ān, the angel kisses him between the eyes.
- 371 Ibn Abī Shayba
Whoever uncovers his genitals, the angel has turned away from him.
- 372 °Abd al-Razzāq and Ibn Abī Shayba
The angels never look when you reveal yourself.
- 373 Ibn Abī Shayba
When a man goes to bed virtuously, the angel anoints him.
- 374 al-Bayhaqī
The angel of good deeds is instructed to note down what the person normally did when he was not ill.
- 375 al-Ṭayālisī and al-Bayhaqī
The angel of good deeds is instructed to note down what the person normally did when he was not ill.
- 376 al-Ḥākīm
The angel of good deeds is instructed to note down what the person normally did when he was not ill.
- 377 Abū 'l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī
When an individual dies, the angels go up to heaven, but God tells them to return to the graves of the faithful and worship God there.
- 378 al-Dāraqūtnī
When an individual dies, the angels go up to heaven, but God tells them to return to the graves of the faithful and worship God there.
- 379 Ibn al-Jawzī
When an individual dies, the angels go up to heaven, but God tells them to return to the graves of the faithful and worship God there.
- 380 Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā
The angels thank or curse their companion when he dies, depending on whether the person has lived a godly or ungodly life.
- 381 Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā
The angels thank or curse their companion when he dies, depending on whether the person has lived a godly or ungodly life.

- 382 Ibn ʿAsākir
When a servant repents, God makes the Scribes forget his sin.
- 383 ʿAbd al-Razzāq, Sammūya and al-Ṭabarānī
Believers should keep their beards and teeth clean for the Scribes.
- 384 Abū Nuʿaym
Believers should keep their beards and teeth clean for the Scribes.
- 385 Abū Nuʿaym
Believers should clean their teeth, as they are the seats of the Scribes; there is nothing more harmful to them than a remnant of food.
- 386 al-Shīrāzī
Whoever takes a bath uncovered, the two angels curse him.
- 387 al-Dīnawarī
When an individual thinks about doing a good action, it is written down once; when the individual does it, it is written down ten times; when a servant thinks of doing a bad action, it is not written down, but is written down once, when he does it. The angels know about an individual's intentions by smell.
- 388 al-Dīnawarī
Every person has five angels: one on the left, one on the right, one in front and one behind and one above him.
- 389 al-Dīnawarī
An exegesis of Q 50:18; the angels are between a person's two canines.
- 389b Aḥmad
A person does not speak good things, without the angels saying much of it.
- 390 al-Daylamī
Believers should refrain from kneeling down after sunset as it is painful for the two angels.
- 391 Ibn Jarīr
There is an angel on the right, which is responsible for good deeds and which has authority over the angel on the left. If a person does a good action, it is recorded ten times; when a person does a bad action, the angel asks the one of the right if it can write the action down; the angels on the right says, 'No' as the person may seek forgiveness. The angel on the left asks the angel on the right three times, after which the angel on the right tells the angel on the left to write it down.
An exegesis of Q 50:18 & 13:11; there is an angel on a person's forehead; when he bows down, the angel raises him; when the person is proud, the angel beats him. There are two angels on a person's lips and they only record when a person says: 'God bless him and grant him salvation.' There is an angel standing on your mouth which prevents snakes from entering; and

two angels on your eyes. There are ten angels and two sets for the day and the night, making twenty angels in total.

- 392 °Abd al-Razzāq, al-Firyābī, Ibn al-Mundhir and Ibn Abī Ḥātim
An exegesis of Q 13:11; when a person dies, the angels leave an individual.
- 393 Ibn Jarīr, Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Abū ‘l-Shaykh
An exegesis of Q 13:11; the angels protect an individual from *jinn*.
- 394 Ibn Jarīr
The angels protect an individual while he sleeps; nothing can kill him until his *ajal*.
- 395 Ibn Jarīr
The angels protect an individual while he sleeps; nothing can kill him until his *ajal*.
- 396 Ibn Jarīr
The angels protect an individual while he sleeps; nothing can kill him until his *ajal*.
- 397 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
An exegesis of Q 13:11; every individual has two angels during the day and two angels during the night; they guard the individual.
- 398 Sa‘īd ibn Maṣṣūr, Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir and Ibn Abī Ḥātim
An exegesis of Q 13:11; concerning a variant reading of Ibn °Abbās.
- 399 Ibn Jarīr
An exegesis of Q 13:11; concerning a variant reading of Abū Ibn Ka‘b.
- 400 Sa‘īd ibn Maṣṣūr, Ibn Jarīr and Ibn Abī Ḥātim
An exegesis of Q 13:11; concerning a variant reading of Ibn °Abbās.
- 401 Ibn al-Mundhir and Abū ‘l-Shaykh
An exegesis of Q 13:11; the angels protect an individual; nothing can kill him until his *ajal*.
- 402 Abū Dā’ūd, Ibn Abū ‘l-Dunyā and Ibn °Asākir
The angels protect an individual; nothing can kill him until his *ajal*.
- 403 Ibn Abī ‘l-Dunyā
Three hundred and sixty angels are responsible for a believer, which protect him; these include: an angel for sight, seven angels who drive away events which have not been ordained. If you were able to, you would see devils everywhere stretching their hands out to take people.

- 404 Ibn Jarīr and Abū ‘l-Shaykh
If you were able to, you would see devils everywhere stretching their hands out to take people.
- 405 Ibn Abī Shayba
The angels show people the rewards of the pious and the punishments of the impious, so that they may learn.
- 406 ‘Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad
A believer and an unbeliever go fishing. The believer says a prayer to God before casting his net, and the unbeliever prays to his gods, before casting his. The unbeliever catches many fish, but the believer does not. Eventually the believer catches a fish, but when he picks it up, it wriggles out of his hand and returns to the sea. The believer’s angel complains to God, but God shows the angel the places set for the believer and the unbeliever in heaven, and the angel sees that the believer receives a great reward.

407 – 408 The Angels Responsible for the Leaves of the Trees

- 407 al-Bayhaqī
Angels write down and record details about leaves as they fall off trees.
- 408 al-Bayhaqī
An angel helps a Muslim to find his way when he is lost on his way to Mecca.

409 – 410 Sharahīl and Harahīl

- 409 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
Sharahīl is the angel responsible for the night; Harahīl is the angel responsible for the day.
- 410 al-Ṭabarānī
Unnamed angels are responsible for the coming of the day and the night.

411 – 412 Irtiyā’il

- 411 Ibn ‘Asākir
Irtiyā’il removes grief from human hearts.
- 412 Ibn Abī ‘l-Dunyā and Ibn ‘Asākir
Irtiyā’il removes grief from human hearts.

413 – 414 The Angel responsible for Cemeteries

- 413 Ibn Baṭṭa
An angel is responsible for cemeteries; the angel calls to those burying the deceased.
- 414 al-Daylamī
An angel is responsible for cemeteries; the angel calls to those burying the deceased.

415 – 422 The Angel which bears the Fish and the Rock

- 415 al-Bazzār, Ibn ʿAddī and Abū ʿl-Shaykh
Under the earth is a sea, which is above a rock, which is above a fish.
- 416 Abū ʿl-Shaykh
Under the earth is a sea, which is above a rock, which is above a fish.
- 417 Ibn Abī Ḥātim
Under the earth is a sea, which is above a rock, which is above a fish.
- 418 Ibn Abī Ḥātim
Four angels surround the rock at the bottom of the Earth.
- 419 Ibn Abī Ḥātim
Under the earth is a sea, which is above a rock, which is above a fish.
- 420 Abū ʿl-Shaykh
There are four angels responsible for each of the corners of the rock
- 421 Ibn Abī Ḥātim
The distance between each of the earths is 500 years and under the Seventh Earth is a sea, which is above a rock, which is above a fish.
- 422 Ibn Jarīr
Q 68:1; under the earth is a fish; under the fish is a sea; under the sea is an angel; the angel is on a rock; and the rock is on the wind.

423 – 429 The Guardians of the Winds

- 423 Ibn Abī Ḥātim and al-Ḥākim
The wind is kept in the Second Earth and was released when God destroyed the people of ʿĀd.
- 424 Abū ʿl-Shaykh
The wind was released when God destroyed the people of ʿĀd.

- 425 Abū 'l-Shaykh, al-Dāraqūtnī, Ibn Mardawayh and Ibn 'Asākir
Water and wind are only dropped onto the Earth by a set amount, except for Noah's flood and the destruction of the people of 'Ād.
- 426 al-Firyābī, 'Abd ibn Ḥamīd and Ibn Jarīr
Water and wind are only dropped onto the Earth by a set amount, except for Noah's flood and the destruction of the people of 'Ād.
- 427 Ibn Jarīr
Water and wind are only dropped onto the Earth by a set amount, except for Noah's flood and the destruction of the people of 'Ād.
- 428 Abū 'l-Shaykh
The wind was released when God destroyed the people of 'Ād.
- 429 Ibn 'Asākir
The wind was released when God destroyed the people of 'Ād.

430 – 434 The Angel of the Sun

- 430 Abū 'l-Shaykh
The noblest angel is the Angel of the Sun and he is the most influential over the Angel of Death.
- 431 Ibn Abī Shayba
The sun is driven by 360 angels.
- 432 al-Ṭabarānī, Abū 'l-Shaykh and Ibn Mardawayh
Seven angels are responsible for the sun.
- 433 Ibn al-Mundhir
The sun does not rise until 70,000 angels have called out to it.
- 434 Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Abū 'l-Shaykh
Two angels are responsible for the sun.

435 The Angel of the Shade

- 435 Ibn Jarīr
Abraham was protected by the Angel of the Shade when he was thrown into the Fire of Nimrod.

436 – 443 The Angel of the Womb

- 436 Aḥmad, al-Bukhārī and Muslim
One angel is responsible for the sperm, another for the clot and another for the embryo; God predestines whether the individual will be happy or wretched, male or female, and the individual's *rizq* and *ajal*.
- 437 Aḥmad
After 40 days an angel comes to womb and writes down whether the individual will be happy or wretched, male or female, short or tall; and the individual's *rizq*, health and *ajal*.
- 438 al-Bazzār, Abū Yaʿlā and al-Dāraqūṭnī
God predestines whether the individual will be happy or wretched and male or female.
- 439 Muslim
After 42 days an angel comes to the womb; an account of embryogenesis; the angel writes down whether the individual will be male or female and the individual's *rizq*.
- 440 al-Ṭabarānī
After 40 days an angel comes to the womb; an account of embryogenesis; the angel writes down whether the individual will be male or female and the individual's *ajal*.
- 441 al-Bāwardī
After 72 days an angel comes to the womb; an account of embryogenesis; the angel writes down whether the individual will be male or female and the individual's *ajal*.
- 442 ʿUṭhmān ibn Saʿīd al-Dārimī
After 40 days an angel comes to the womb; an account of embryogenesis; the angel writes down whether the individual will be wretched or happy.
- 443 Abū Nuʿaym
An account of embryogenesis.

444 The Angel of the Foetus

- 444 Abū ʿl-Shaykh
An angel is responsible for the foetus; when the mother lies down, the angel raises the foetus' head so that it does not drown in blood.

445 – 447 The Angel responsible for the Blessing of the Prophet

- 445 al-Ṭabarānī
If a Muslim blesses the Prophet, God blesses him with a blessing that is worth ten good deeds and which cancels out ten bad deeds.
- 446 al-Ṭabarānī and al-Baghawī
Whenever anyone blesses the Prophet, the angels bless the individual tenfold.
- 447 al-Ṭabarānī
Whenever anyone blesses the Prophet, the angels bless him tenfold; whenever anyone wishes the Prophet peace, the angels wish the individual peace tenfold.

448 The Angels which Creates Jewellery for the People in the Garden

- 448 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
God has an angel that makes jewellery for the inhabitants of paradise.

449 – 457 The Angel of the Prophet’s Prayer

- 449 al-‘Uqaylī, al-Ṭabarānī, Abū ‘l-Shaykh and Ibn al-Najjār
An angel stands on the Prophet’s grave and tells the Prophet who has blessed him.
- 450 al-Ṭabarānī
An angel stands on the Prophet’s grave and tells the Prophet who has blessed him.
- 451 Ibn Abī Shayba
An angel stands on the Prophet’s grave and tells the Prophet who has blessed him.
- 452 al-Khaṭṭīb
An angel stands on the Prophet’s grave and tells the Prophet who has blessed him.
- 453 al-Bayhaqī
An angel stands on the Prophet’s grave and tells the Prophet who has blessed him.
- 454 al-Daylamī
An angel stands on the Prophet’s grave and tells the Prophet who has blessed him.
- 455 al-Ṭabarānī
An angel stands on the Prophet’s grave and tells the Prophet who has blessed him.

- 456 al-Bayhaqī
An angel stands on the Prophet's grave and tells the Prophet who has blessed him and extra blessings are granted for those that do so on Friday and Friday nights.
- 457 Aḥmad, al-Nasā'ī, Ibn Ḥibbān, al-Ṭabarānī, al-Ḥākim, Abū 'l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī
God has angels that tell the Prophet of the peace of the community.

458 – 460 The Angel of the Yemeni Corner

- 458 Ibn Abī Shayba and al-Bayhaqī
An angel prays for Muslims as they pass the Yemeni Corner of the Ka'ba.
- 459 Ibn Mardawayh
An angel prays for Muslims as they pass the Yemeni Corner of the Ka'ba.
- 460 al-Jindī
An angel prays for Muslims as they pass the Yemeni Corner of the Ka'ba.

461 The Angel responsible for the Stoning Pillars of Minā

- 461 al-Azraqī
An angel is responsible for the *jimār*.

462 – 465 The Angel responsible for the Qur'ān

- 462 Al-Ḥākim
If someone pronounces the words of the Qur'ān incorrectly whilst reciting it, an angel corrects it.
- 463 Abū Sa'īd al-Salmān
If someone pronounces the words of the Qur'ān incorrectly whilst reciting it, an angel corrects it.
- 464 al-Daylamī
If someone pronounces the words of the Qur'ān incorrectly whilst reciting it, an angel corrects it.
- 465 al-Khaṭīb
If someone pronounces the words of the Qur'ān incorrectly whilst reciting it, an angel corrects it.

466 The Angel Responsible for saying ‘The Most Merciful...’

- 466 al-Ḥākīm
An angel blesses and grants the requests of those that say: ‘The Most Merciful of those that Merciful’ three times.

467 – 470 The Angel responsible for the prayer of those hidden

- 467 Ibn Saʿd
Two angels are responsible for dealing with prayers for the deceased.
- 468 Ibn Abī Shayba, Muslim, Abū Dāʿūd and Ibn Mājah
An angel prays for someone who prays for the deceased.
- 469 Ibn Abī Shayba
An angel prays for someone who prays for the deceased.
- 470 Ibn Abī Shayba
An angel prays for someone who prays for the deceased.

471 The Angel responsible for Crying

- 471 Ibn ʿAsākir
A human does not cry until an angel rubs the individual’s liver with his wing.

472 The Angels responsible for Faith, Life and other things

- 472 al-Dinawārī
After the scattering of the people of Babel, a number of angels disperse to different areas of the world.

473 The Angel responsible for Livelihoods

- 473 al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī
Angels are responsible for giving sustenance to humans.

474 The Angel responsible for Ritual Prayer

- 474 al-Ṭabarānī and al-Ḍiyāʿ al-Maqdisī
God has an angel that calls out to humans at the times of the ritual prayers.

475 – 477 The Angel responsible for funerary rites

- 475 al-Rāfiʿī
Angels walk with funerary processions.

476 Saʿīd ibn Mansūr
Angels walk with funerary processions.

477 al-Bayhaqī
Angels walk with funerary processions.

478 – 484 The Angel that delights Hasan and Husayn

478 al-Ṭabarānī and Ibn ʿAsākir
Muḥammad is told that Ḥasan and Ḥusayn will be responsible for the young men in heaven.

479 Ibn Manda
Muḥammad is told that Ḥasan and Ḥusayn will be responsible for the young men in heaven and that Fātima will be responsible for the women.

480 Ibn Mandah, Abū Nuʿaym and Ibn ʿAsākir
Muḥammad is told that Ḥasan and Ḥusayn will be responsible for the young men in heaven and that Fātima will be responsible for the women.

481 Aḥmad
If an angel comes down to earth, it has never been down to earth before.

482 al-Ṭabarānī
Muḥammad is told that Ḥasan and Ḥusayn will be responsible for the young men in heaven.

483 al-Ṭabarānī
Muḥammad is told that Ḥasan and Ḥusayn will be responsible for the young men in heaven.

484 al-Bayhaqī
Muḥammad is told that Ḥasan and Ḥusayn will be responsible for the young men in heaven.

485 The Angel responsible for the plants

485 Ibn Abī Ḥātim
Angels are responsible for plants; the distance between the ankles and shoulders of the Bearers of the Throne is a distance of 500 years.

486 – 487 The Angel responsible for the Sea

486 Aḥmad and Abū ʿl-Shaykh
An angel is responsible for the sea; when it puts its foot into the sea, the sea rises and when it lifts it out, the sea falls; this is the ebb and flow of the sea.

- 487 Ibn Abī Hātim
An angel is responsible for the sea; if it did not hold it back, it would flood the earth.

488 – 489 The Angel responsible for the Noble Tomb

- 488 Abū ‘1-Shaykh
Angels visit the Tomb of the Prophet.
- 489 Al-Azraqī
70,000 angels pray in the *Bayt al-ma‘mūr*, then they circumambulate the Ka‘ba.

490 – 491 The Cherubim

- 490 Ibn ‘Asākir
On the cherubim; the distance between their collar bone and their earlobes is a distance of 500 years.
- 491 Abū ‘1-Shaykh
The Spirit is under the wings of the Cherubim, who carry the Throne.

492 The Spirits

- 492 al-Bayhaqī
The spirits are in the Seventh Heaven; on the Night of Power they descend to Earth and pray for all those who are praying in the mosque.

493 – 545 On the Characteristics of the Angels

- 493 al-Ṭabarānī
An unnamed angel can devour the world in one bite.
- 494 Abū ‘1-Shaykh
The distance between an unnamed angel’s shoulder and ear is a distance of 100 years.
- 495 Abū ‘1-Shaykh
Concerning an angel made of light and snow.
- 496 Abū ‘1-Shaykh
Concerning an angel made of snow and fire.
- 497 Abū ‘1-Shaykh
Concerning an angel made of snow and fire.

- 498 Abū 'l-Shaykh
The angels fall silent when they see an unnamed angel with 360 heads.
- 499 Abū 'l-Shaykh
The angels fall silent when they see an unnamed angel, which has a vast number of eyes and tongues which praise God. The Bearers of the Throne have horns, and the distance between the horns and their heads is 500 years.
- 500 Abū 'l-Shaykh
There are 70,000 angels standing in ranks.
- 501 Abū 'l-Shaykh
Concerns eight angels which praise God.
- 502 Ibn 'Asākir
The Prophet saw an angel that was the same size as the Ka'ba.
- 503 Abū 'l-Shaykh
The angels watch and comment on the behaviour of humans.
- 504 Abū 'l-Shaykh
Concerning the angel at the gate of Heaven.
- 505 Abū Ya'lā and Ibn 'Asākir
The angels say 'Praise the Holy Angel' every morning.
- 506 Ibn 'Asākir
The angels say 'Praise the Holy Angel' every morning.
- 507 al-Ṭabarānī
An angel says 'Praise the Holy Angel' every morning.
- 508 Aḥmad, al-Bukhārī, Muslim, al-Tirmidhī, Ibn Ḥibbān and Abū Nu'aym
Concerning the judgement of humans.
- 509 'Abd ibn Ḥamīd and al-Ḥākim
Angels come down from heaven and stop to listen to people remembering God.
- 510 Ibn al-Najjār
Angels come down from heaven and stop to listen to people remembering God.
- 511 Abū 'l-Shaykh
The Throne is made of rubies; angels have 70,000 wings
- 512 al-Ṭabarānī
Angels accompany cavalry detachments, except groups in which the horses are adorned with bells.

- 513 Ibn Lāl
Concerning the creation of the angels.
- 514 al-Daylamī
God has made angels responsible for the *ḥaram*.
- 515 al-Daylamī
Angels talk about what humans say.
- 516 al-Daylamī
Angels cry out every night: ‘Sons of the forty seeds, the time for harvest is approaching.’
- 517 al-Ḥākīm and al-Bayhaqī
The *bayt al-ma‘mūr* is in the Seventh Heaven and 70,000 angels visit it everyday and will not return to it.
- 518 al-‘Uqaylī, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Ibn Mardawayh
Gabriel enters a river of paradise and from the drops of rain, angels are created. The *bayt al-ma‘mūr* is in the Seventh Heaven and 70,000 angels visit it everyday and will not return to it.
- 519 al-Ṭabarāni and Ibn Mardawayh
Concerning the *mi‘rāj*; Muhammad is shown the *bayt al-ma‘mūr* in the Seventh Heaven; he is told that 70,000 angels visit it everyday and will not return to it.
- 520 Ishāq ibn Rahwayh, Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim and al-Bayhaqī
The *bayt al-ma‘mūr* is in the Seventh Heaven and 70,000 angels visit it everyday and will not return to it.
- 521 al-Bayhaqī
The *bayt al-ma‘mūr* is in the Seventh Heaven and 70,000 angels visit it everyday and will not return to it.
- 522 al-Jindī
The *bayt al-ma‘mūr* is in the Seventh Heaven and 70,000 angels visit it everyday and will not return to it.
- 523 ‘Abd al-Razzāq, Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir and al-Jindī
Adam is shown the *bayt al-ma‘mūr* and told to build the Ka‘ba in the same form.
- 524 Ibn Jarīr
The Ka‘ba is built in the place where Adam descended to earth and it is in the same form as the *bayt al-ma‘mūr*.
- 525 al-‘Azraqī
When Adam feared Satan, he sought help from God and God sent angels to protect him in the Ka‘ba and made it a sacred site.

- 526 Hannād al-Sārī
There are two angels in heaven who comment on hypocrisy and greed.
- 527 Ibn Mājah
Gabriel tells Muḥammad that the angels seen at the Battle of Badr were the best of the angels.
- 528 al-Ṭabarānī
Gabriel tells Muḥammad that the angels seen at the Battle of Badr were the best of the angels.
- 529 Ibn Jarīr, Abū Ya[°]lā, al-Ḥākim and al-Bayhaqī
At the Battle of Badr, Gabriel came down with 1000 angels on the Prophet's right hand side, and Michael and Isrāfil came down with 1000 angels each on the Prophet's left hand side.
- 530 Ibn Abī Shayba
Angels have not died, except at the Battle of Badr.
- 531 al-Ṭabarānī
A detachment of angels came down to Earth at the Battle of Badr, wearing white turbans; at the Battle of Ḥunayn they wore red turbans; the angels have not been hit on any day other than the Battle of Badr.
- 532 Ibn Abī Ḥātim
The angels killed at Badr by hitting people on their necks.
- 533 al-Ṭabarānī
The detachment of angels wore black turbans at the Battle of Badr and red turbans at the Battle of Ḥunayn.
- 534 Ibn Jarīr
The angels wore yellow turbans at the Battle of Badr.
- 535 Ibn Abī Shayba and Ibn Jarīr
The angels were the first rank at the Battle of Badr.
- 536 Ibn Abī Shayba, Ibn al-Mundhir and Ibn Abī Ḥātim
The angels' horses had white wool on the sides of their faces and their noses.
- 537 [°]Abd ibn Ḥamīd and Ibn Jarīr
Q 3:125; The angels' horses had white wool on the sides of their faces and their noses.
- 538 Aḥmad and Muslim
A Muslim became harassed by a polytheist and then he heard the cracking of a whip behind him, and the sound of horse and the polytheist was struck by the whip and went green. The Prophet told him it was from the auxiliaries in the Third Heaven.

- 539 Abū Nu^ʿaym al-Bayhaqī
At the Battle of Ḥunayn someone saw a man in white.
- 540 al-Wāḥidī and al-Bayhaqī
Muḥammad asks Gabriel about the angels at the Battle of Badr.
- 541 Abū Nu^ʿaym
A vision concerning Abū Bakr and ʿUmar.
- 542 al-Ḥākīm
The Prophet has a dream about a black sheep; Abū Bakr interprets the vision
- 543 Ibn Sa^ʿd
The Prophet has a vision in which he sees Hanzala ibn Abī ʿĀmīr being washed by angels.
- 544 al-Ṭabarānī and Abū ʿl-Shaykh
The Prophet sees a vision of an angel standing on earth, with one foot on the ground and the other on top of the sky.
- 545 Abū ʿl-Shaykh
The space between an angel's earlobe and collarbone is a distance of 7000 years.

546 – 681 General Traditions About Angels

- 546 Abū ʿl-Shaykh
Angels are created and do not have hearts.
- 547 Abū ʿl-Shaykh
Q 21:20; angels were created to glorify God.
- 548 al-Bukhārī
Angels were created to be God's servants.
- 549 Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Abū ʿl-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī
Q 21:20; angels were created to serve and worship God.
- 550 Abū ʿl-Shaykh
A prayer of the angels.
- 551 al-Bayhaqī
Angels were created standing in ranks, kneeling and prostrating.
- 552 Aḥmad
Devils are warded off with the words 'What God wills'.

- 553 Abū 'l-Shaykh
Concerning the creation of the angels.
- 554 Abū 'l-Shaykh
The angels worship God in heaven during the night.
- 555 Abū 'l-Shaykh
God does not talk to the angels.
- 556 Abū 'l-Shaykh
The decrees of God pass through the heavens.
- 557 Abū 'l-Shaykh
Wahy sounds like ringing to the angels and when they hear it, they think it is the Day of Resurrection.
- 558 al-Ṭabarānī, Ibn Mardawayh, Abū 'l-Shaykh and al-Bayhaqī
The decrees of God pass through the heavens and *wahy* sounds like ringing to the angels; when they hear it, they think it is the Day of Resurrection.
- 559 Abū Nu^caym
An angel on earth does not go up to heaven without saying 'There is no power or strength, save in God.'
- 560 al-Khaṭṭīb and al-Daylamī
An angel on earth does not go up to heaven without saying 'There is no power or strength, save in God.'
- 561 Abū 'l-Shaykh and Ibn ^cAsākir
^cUmar wished to punish a hypocrite, who performed the ritual prayers sitting down.
- 562 Abū 'l-Shaykh, al-Ḥakīm and al-Bayhaqī
Angels were created standing in ranks, kneeling and prostrating; an angelic prayer.
- 563 Abū 'l-Shaykh.
Angelic prayers.
- 564 Abū 'l-Shaykh
Angelic prayers.
- 565 Abū 'l-Shaykh
A description of each of the Seven Heavens and the forms of the angels.
- 566 al-Shāfi^cī
Adam performs the pilgrimage and is told by the angels that they have been performing it for 2000 years.

- 567 Saʿīd ibn Maṣṣūr, Ibn Abī Shayba and al-Bayhaqī
Angels are present with humans when they pray.
- 568 al-Bayhaqī
Angels are present with humans when they pray.
- 569 ʿAbd al-Razzāq and Saʿīd ibn Maṣṣūr
Angels are present with humans when they pray.
- 570 ʿAbd al-Razzāq
Angels are present with humans when they pray.
- 571 ʿAbd al-Razzāq
Angels are present with humans when they pray.
- 572 Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿĀmir
A Muslim sees angels praying in a mosque at dawn.
- 573 Saʿīd ibn Maṣṣūr and Ibn Abī Shayba
A Muslim sees angels praying in a mosque at dawn.
- 574 Saʿīd ibn Maṣṣūr and Ibn Abī Shayba
The angels dislike those who rested on the *qibla* after two prostrations during the dawn prayers.
- 575 al-Daylamī
God made the acceptance of *tawḥīd* incumbent on humans and angels.
- 576 al-Bayhaqī
Angels pray for humans for as long as they are prostrating.
- 577 Abū ʿUbayd
ʿUmar recited *Sūrat al-Fātiḥa* and said that it was the prayer that the angels said during the night.
- 578 Saʿīd ibn Maṣṣūr
Angels are present with humans when they pray.
- 579 al-Bayhaqī
Angels are present with humans when they pray during the night.
- 580 al-Daylamī
Angels are present with humans when they pray.
- 581 al-Rāfiʿī
A description of an unnamed angel with 1000 heads, each head with a 1000 faces (*etc.*)
- 582 Mālik, al-Bukhārī and Muslim
A house with idols is not entered by angels.

- 583 Mālik, Aḥmad, al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Mājah
A house with idols is not entered by angels.
- 584 Ibn Mājah
A house with idols and dogs is not entered by angels.
- 585 al-Baghawī, al-Ṭabarānī and Abū Nu^caym.
Angels do not accompany travellers with bells.
- 586 Aḥmad, Muslim, Abū Dā'ūd and al-Tirmidhī
Angels do not accompany travellers with bells or a dog.
- 587 Aḥmad
Angels do not accompany riding beasts with bells or go into houses with bells.
- 588 Sa^cīd ibn Maṣṣūr
Angels do not enter a house with urine in it.
- 589 al-Ṭabarānī
Angels do not enter a house with urine in it.
- 590 Ibn Abī Shayba
Angels do not enter a house with a tambourine in it.
- 591 Ibn Abī Shayba
Angels do not enter a house with a tambourine in it.
- 592 al-Ṭabarānī
Angels do not enter a house with someone who is in a state of *junub* or anointed with *khāluq* in it.
- 593 Aḥmad and Abū Dā'ūd
Angels do not attend the funerals of unbelievers, or those anointed with saffron or who are ritually impure.
- 594 al-Ṭabarānī
An angel does not come near a group that has severed the bonds of kinship.
- 595 Abū Dā'ūd, al-Nasā'ī and al-Ḥākim
Angels do not enter a house with someone who is in a state of *junub* in it, or if there is a dog or idols in it.
- 596 al-Nasā'ī
Angels do not accompany travellers who are carrying a cowbell.
- 597 Abū Dā'ūd
Angels do not accompany travellers who are carrying a cowbell.

- 598 al-Bayhaqī
Angels pray for individuals for as long as their tables are set.
- 599 al-Bukhārī, Muslim and al-Bayhaqī
Angels do not go near someone who has eaten garlic, onion or leek.
- 600 al-Bayhaqī
Angels are hurt by whatever hurts humans.
- 601 Saʿīd ibn Maṣū̄r
A person is told to wash the head of someone who has died with water and to sprinkle his bed with water.
- 602 Ibn Mandah
A man says a prayer before going to bed.
- 603 al-Tirmidhī, al-Ḥākim and al-Bayhaqī
An angelic prayer.
- 604 Aḥmad
The angels are proud of pious men.
- 605 Ibn ʿAsākir
Angels reward those who bless the prophet on Thursday and Friday nights.
- 606 Ibn ʿAsākir
Angels come to Damascus on Friday nights and pray for the sick.
- 607 al-Bayhaqī
Angels reward those who bless the prophet on Thursday and Friday nights.
- 608 al-Daylamī
Angels reward those who bless the prophet on Thursday and Friday nights.
- 609 Abū ʿl-Shaykh
Adam performs the pilgrimage and is told by the angels that they have been performing it for 2000 years.
- 610 Ibn Abī Shayba
When a specific prayer of supplication is used, 70,000 angels pray for the believer to be forgiven.
- 611 Ibn Abī Shayba and al-Kharāʾifī
People are protected from the devils if they say different prayers; the angels comment that they have acted correctly.
- 612 Ibn Ṣaṣarī
People are protected from the devils if they say different prayers; the angels comment that they have acted correctly.

- 613 Ibn Mājah
People are protected from the devils if they say different prayers; the angels comment that they have acted correctly.
- 614 al-Bukhārī, Muslim, Abū Dā'ūd, al-Tirmidhī, al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Mājah
Whoever says 'Amen' after the imam, the angels say 'Amen' and the individual's sins are forgiven.
- 615 al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Mājah
Whoever says 'Amen' after the imam, the angels say 'Amen' and the individual's sins are forgiven.
- 616 °Abd al-Razzāq
Whoever says 'Amen' after the imam, the angels say 'Amen' and the individual's sins are forgiven.
- 617 °Abd al-Razzāq
Whoever says 'Amen' after the imam, the angels say 'Amen' and the individual's sins are forgiven.
- 618 Mālik, al-Bukhārī, Muslim, Abū Dā'ūd, al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā'ī
Whoever says 'Amen' after the imam, the angels say 'Amen' and the individual's sins are forgiven.
- 619 Sa'īd ibn Maṣṣūr and Ibn Abī Shayba
The first rank is like a rank of angels
- 620 Muslim
The ranks of angels are crammed tight, one after the other.
- 621 Ibn °Asākir
The angels bless those who wear turbans on Fridays.
- 622 al-Ṭayālīsī
The angels stretch out their wings for those who seek knowledge.
- 623 al-Bayhaqī
The angels stretch out their wings for those who seek knowledge.
- 624 al-Ṭabarānī
The angels do not see any human entertainment except for betting and fighting.
- 625 al-Daylamī
The angels wear the *izār* when they are in the presence of God.
- 626 al-Ṭayālīsī and al-Bayhaqī
The angels were wearing turbans at the battles of Badr and Ḥunayn.
- 627 Ibn °Asākir
The angels wear turbans.

- 628 al-Ṭabarānī
The angels wear turbans.
- 629 Abū 'l-Shaykh
Concerning the creation of horses.
- 630 °Abd al-Razzāq, °Abd ibn Ḥamīd and Ibn Jarīr
The angels wore yellow turbans and rode black and white horses at the Battle of Badr.
- 631 al-Bayhaqī
When a believer is ill, two angels are responsible for the individual.
- 632 Mālik and al-Bayhaqī
When a believer is ill, two angels are responsible for the individual.
- 634 al-Ṭabarānī and Ibn al-Sunnī
When someone sneezes and says 'Lord of the Two Worlds', the angels bless the individual.
- 635 al-Bayhaqī
When someone sneezes and says 'Lord of the Two Worlds', the angels bless the individual.
- 636 al-Bukhārī
The angels come down to Earth in the clouds.
- 637 al-Ṭabarānī
Angels give people wisdom.
- 638 al-Bazzār and al-Bayhaqī
Angels give people wisdom.
- 639 Abū 'l-Faṭḥ al-Azdī
God listened to the prayers of Moses.
- 640 al-Kharā'itī
On the right hand side of the Throne is someone who calls out to the Seven Heavens.
- 641 Abū Nu°aym
If God loves a servant, He casts His love into the hearts of His angels; if God hates a servant, He casts His hate into the hearts of the angels.
- 642 al-Ṭabarānī
The angels bless the child of a slave-girl.

- 643 al-Ṭabarānī
When a daughter is born to a man, the angels bless the family and cover her in their wings.
- 644 Muḥammad ibn Naṣr, Abū Ya[°]lā', Ibn Ḥibbān and al-Ḥākim
When someone goes to bed, an angel comes to him and encourages him to do a good action as his last action of the day; a devil also comes to him and encourages him to do a bad action as his last action of the day. Whichever action the individual chooses, the respective angel or devil remains with him for the night. The same happens when the individual wakes in the morning.
- 645 Abū 'l-Shaykh
When someone wakes up in the morning, an angel comes to him and encourages him to do a good action as his first action of the day; a devil also comes to him and encourages him to do a bad action as his first action of the day. Whichever action the individual chooses, the respective angel or devil remains with him for the day.
- 646 al-Ṭabarānī
The angels reward the saying of a particular prayer during the ritual prayers.
- 647 al-Ṭabarānī
The angels reward the saying of a particular prayer during the ritual prayers.
- 648 al-Ṭabarānī
The angels reward the saying of a particular prayer during the ritual prayers.
- 649 al-Bayhaqī
A man should not engage in trade or military leadership until he is able to do so.
- 650 al-Bayhaqī
When God hates a servant, God sends an angel to the individual to surround him with luxury.
- 651 al-Ṭabarānī and al-Bayhaqī
God puts believers to the test.
- 652 Ibn [°]Addī
The angels rejoice in believers who dye their hair green (i.e. with henna)
- 653 [°]Abd al-Razzāq and al-Bayhaqī
A devil comes to a man in human form and befriends him. An angel also comes to him in human form and befriends him. The devil recognises that the angel is an angel, but the man does not. The angel then kills the devil. The man and the angel then receive hospitality and the angel steals a silver bowl. The man says that he can not be a friend of someone who commits murder and steals. The angel then explains to the man that the other 'human' was a devil who wanted to kill him.

- 654 al-Bayhaqī and Ibn °Asākir
Concerning the creation of Adam and the protests of the angels.
- 655 al-Bayhaqī
The angels do not have names in heaven.
- 656 al-Ṭabarānī
Concerning the creation of Adam and the protests of the angels.
- 657 Ibn °Asākir
Concerning the creation of Adam and the protests of the angels.
- 658 al-Bukhārī and Muslim
Angels are ashamed of nudity.
- 659 al-Ṭabarānī
Angels bear witness to God in heaven.
- 660 al-Ṭabarānī
Angels led Solomon to making the correct legal judgments.
- 661 Aḥmad and Ibn Mājah
There is no servant that prays for the Prophet, without the angels praying for him.
- 662 al-Ṭabarānī, al-Ḥākim and al-Bayhaqī
The first to enter the Garden are martyrs and the angels will praise God for them.
- 663 Aḥmad
The first to enter the Garden are martyrs and the angels will praise God for them.
- 664 Ibn Mājah
The Prophet tells someone about the Gates of Heaven.
- 665 al-Ṭabarānī
The angels are proud of the Muslims during Ramaḍān.
- 666 Aḥmad, Muslim, al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā'ī
Muḥammad berates a group for sitting down whilst praising God and tells them that Gabriel boasts about the Muslims in heaven.
- 667 al-Bazzār, Ibn Jarīr and al-Bayhaqī
On the Day of Resurrection, God will boast to his angels about his creations.
- 668 al-Daylamī
God boasts about humans to the angels.

- 669 Ibn Ḥibbān, al-Ḥākim and al-Bayhaqī
God boasts about humans to the angels.
- 670 Aḥmad and al-Ṭabarānī
God boasts about humans to the angels.
- 671 Ibn ʿAddī, Abū Nuʿaym and al-Bayhaqī
God boasts about humans and those that circumambulate the Kaʿba to the angels.
- 672 al-Khaṭṭīb
God boasts about humans and those that fight in His path to the angels; the angels pray for a human as he fights in God’s path.
- 673 Aḥmad
When a servant sleeps whilst prostrating, God boasts about him to the angels.
- 674 al-Bayhaqī
On the Night of Power, Gabriel comes down to Earth with a troop of angels who pray for all those who are praying and remembering God. When it is ʿĪd, God boasts about them to the angels.
- 675 al-Bayhaqī
On the Night of Power, Riḍwān opens the Gates of Heaven and Mālik shuts the gates of Hell. Gabriel comes down to earth with a troop of angels and places a green flag on top of the Kaʿba. Gabriel has 600 wings.
- 676 al-Bayhaqī
The angels bless those who are performing the pilgrimage and embrace those who make the journey on foot.
- 677 Aḥmad
Angels curse people who make a sign to their brother with an iron object.
- 678 Ibn Jarīr, Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Abū ʿl-Shaykh
The angels were created on Wednesday, the jinn were created on Thursday and Adam was created on Friday.
- 679 Ibn Jarīr
A narrative concerning the creation of Adam.
- 680 Ibn Abī ʿl-Dunyā
A narrative concerning the creation of Adam.
- 681 Ibn Jarīr, Ibn Abī Ḥātim and Ibn ʿAsākir
When the Earth was created, it was spread out from the Kaʿba and the angels were the first to circumambulate it.

682 – 744 On the Circumambulation of the Holy House

- 682 al-Jindī
God sent an angel to circumambulate the Ka^ʿba.
- 683 al-Jindī
Adam is told by the angels that they had been circumambulating the Ka^ʿba for 2000 years.
- 684 al-Azraqī
Concerning the creation of Adam, the protestation of the angels and the building of the Ka^ʿba and the *bayt al-ma^ʿmūr*.
- 685 al-Azraqī
There are fifteen houses of God, one in each of the seven heavens and earths and God’s house. They are all directly above each other.
- 686 al-Azraqī
Angels circumambulate the Ka^ʿba.
- 687 al-Azraqī
Adam is told to worship God in the Ka^ʿba, just as the angels worship God in the *bayt al-ma^ʿmūr*.
- 688 al-Ṭabarānī
The angels performed the first circumambulation of the Ka^ʿba.
- 689 Ibn Abī Shayba and al-Bayhaqī
The angels performed the first circumambulation of the Ka^ʿba.
- 690 al-Azraqī
Muhammad sees Gabriel wearing a green headband, which is covered by dust. Gabriel tells him that he has been prostrating at the *bayt al-ma^ʿmūr* and the beating of the angels’ wings beat dust into the air.
- 691 Ibn Mājah
Angels curse those who sell faulty goods.
- 692 Abū Nu^ʿaym
Angels are with those who finish reciting the Qur’ān.
- 693 Ibn al-Sunnī
The angels curse those who pray in a name other than their own.
- 694 Ibn ^ʿAsākir
The angels curse those who give religious rulings, whilst knowing that a different ruling is the correct one.

- 695 al-Dāraqūtnī
No place of prayer is without an angel: one on the left and one of the right of the person praying.
- 696 Abū ‘l-Ḥusayn ibn Bashrān and Ibn al-Najjār
An angel teaches the Qur’ān to whoever had intended to learnt it by heart, but who died before being able to do so.
- 697 Abū Ya‘lā
Concerning ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Affān.
- 698 Muḥammad ibn Naṣr
Angels are with anyone who recites the Qur’ān in the Ka‘ba
- 699 Aḥmad and al-Ṭabarānī
Eighty angels were sent down with the *Sura of the Cow*.
- 700 al-Ṭabarānī and al-Mardawayh
The *Sura of the Cow* was accompanied by angels.
- 701 al-Ḥakīm [al-Tirmidhī] and al-Bayhaqī
The *Sura of the Cow* was accompanied by angels.
- 702 Aḥmad, Muslim and al-Tirmidhī
God’s commands pass through the heavens and the jinn hear, but do not pay heed them
- 703 al-Bukhārī, al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Mājah
God’s commands pass through the heavens.
- 704 Muslim
Two angels receive the soul of the deceased.
- 705 Ibn ‘Asākir
A vision of an angel.
- 706 Abū ‘l-Shaykh
Angels do not listen to humans, except with the permission of God.
- 707 al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī
The houses of believers light up for the angels.
- 708 al-Bayhaqī
Houses in which the Qur’ān is being recited look like stars to the angels.
- 709 Aḥmad and al-Tirmidhī
God came to Muḥammad in the most beautiful form.

- 710 al-Ṭabarānī
There is no house in a city without an angel standing over the lintel with its sword unsheathed to prevent the Anti-Christ entering the house.
- 711 Aḥmad, al-Bukhārī and Muslim
When a woman makes the midday-bed of her husband, angels help her.
- 712 Aḥmad, Muslim, Abū Dā'ūd, al-Tirmidhī, al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Mājah
When someone is in the presence of the deceased, the angels say 'Amen' to whatever prayers are said.
- 713 al-Daylamī
If someone finishes the Qur'ān, 60,000 angels pray for him.
- 714 Aḥmad, al-Bukhārī and Muslim
Cockerels crow when they see angels; donkeys bray when they see a devil.
- 715 al-Bazzār
Angels curse a Muslim who unsheathes his sword against another Muslim.
- 716 al-Bayhaqī
Angels pray for people performing the ritual prayers for the length of time that they remain praying.
- 717 al-Khaṭṭīb
Angels are present at the ritual prayers.
- 718 Aḥmad, al-Tirmidhī, Ibn Ḥibbān and al-Bayhaqī
Angels pray for someone who is fasting who comes into the presence of food.
- 719 Aḥmad, al-Bukhārī, Muslim, al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Mājah
Angels record who attends the mosque on Fridays.
- 720 Aḥmad, Abū Dā'ūd and al-Bayhaqī
Angels record who attends the mosque on Fridays.
- 721 Aḥmad, Abū Ya'cīn and al-Ṭabarānī
Angels record who attends the mosque on Fridays.
- 722 Abū 'l-Shaykh
Angels record who attends the mosque on Fridays.
- 723 al-Ḥasan ibn Sufyān, al-Bāwardī and al-Ṭabarānī
Angels call out to Muslims on the Day of *Fītr*.
- 724 al-Ṭabarānī
The angels rejoice at the passing of winter.
- 725 al-Shīrāzī
The angels prayed for Adam.

- 726 al-Dāraqūtnī and Ibn ʿAsākir
Gabriel and the angels prayed for Adam (on the day of the prostration to Adam) and Gabriel then understood the significance of Adam's role as God's *khalīf*.
- 727 al-Daylamī
Concerning the events of the Day of Resurrection.
- 728 Ibn Mājah
Angels pray for those who attend the Friday prayers.
- 729 Ibn al-Najjār
Angels sit on the tent pegs of tented mosques.
- 730 ʿAbd al-Razzāq and al-Bayhaqī
Angels sit on the tent pegs of tented mosques.
- 731 Ibn ʿAsākir
God has knowledge of the hidden.
- 732 Muḥammad ibn Naṣr al-Marwazī
A Muslim heard someone reciting a prayer; the Prophet told him that it was an angel.
- 733 Muḥammad ibn Naṣr
A Muslim heard someone reciting a prayer.
- 734 Aḥmad and al-Ṭabarānī
God's blessings on his creations pass through the heavens.
- 735 Ibn ʿAsākir and Abū Bakr al-Wāsiṭī
A Muslim sees Gabriel, Michael and other angels praying in the Kaʿba.
- 736 al-Bayhaqī
During Ramaḍān, the angels circumambulate the Kaʿba.
- 737 Saʿīd ibn Maṣṣūr, Ibn al-Mundhir and al-Bayhaqī
The angels greet people on the Night of Power.
- 738 Saʿīd ibn Maṣṣūr and Ibn al-Mundhir
During the night, the angels pass over all the believers and pray for them.
- 739 Ibn al-Mundhir
Angels beat their wings in peace on the Night of Power.
- 740 Aḥmad
On the Night of Power and other days the angels on the earth are more numerous than the pebbles.

- 741 al-Daylamī
The angels perform the ritual prayers.
- 742 al-Ṭabarānī
Angels do not like a spirit of copper.
- 743 °Abd ibn Ḥamīd, Ibn Jarīr and Ibn Abī Ḥātim
An exegesis of Q 35:1; the angels have two, three or four wings.
- 744 Ibn al-Mundhir
The angels have two to twelve wings and they are feathered. Gabriel has six wings.

Appendix G

Images of Angels in Islamic Art

Angels in Islamic Art

Six images from Islamic Art have been included below, simply to give an idea of the standard forms of angelic iconography.



Miʿrājnāma [BNF Turc 190 fol unknown]

This is one of only a few images that show the huge size of the angel Gabriel. This image is taken from an account of Muḥammad's ascension (*miʿrāj*) and he is seated on Burāq.

Source: Colby, Frederick S., *The Subtleties of the Ascension: Early Mystical Sayings on Muḥammad's Heavenly Journey* (Louisville: Fons Vitae, 2006).



Album [TSMK Hazine 2154] fol. 61v

A picture of the angel, *al-Dīk*, one of the few purely zoomorphic angels; here the image is simply that of a cockerel. In the ḥadīth, *al-Dīk* is given more angelic attributes. One of these attributes is the cockerel's great size, which can be seen to some degree in this image, as it is a twice the size of Muḥammad. The cockerel is also associated with precious stones, which cannot be seen in this image.

Source: Ettinghausen, Richard, 'Persian Ascension Miniatures of the Fourteenth Century' in Richard Ettinghausen (ed. Myriam Rosen-Alayon), *Islamic Art and Archaeology: Collected Papers* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1984) pp. 244 – 267; fig. (i), p. 247.

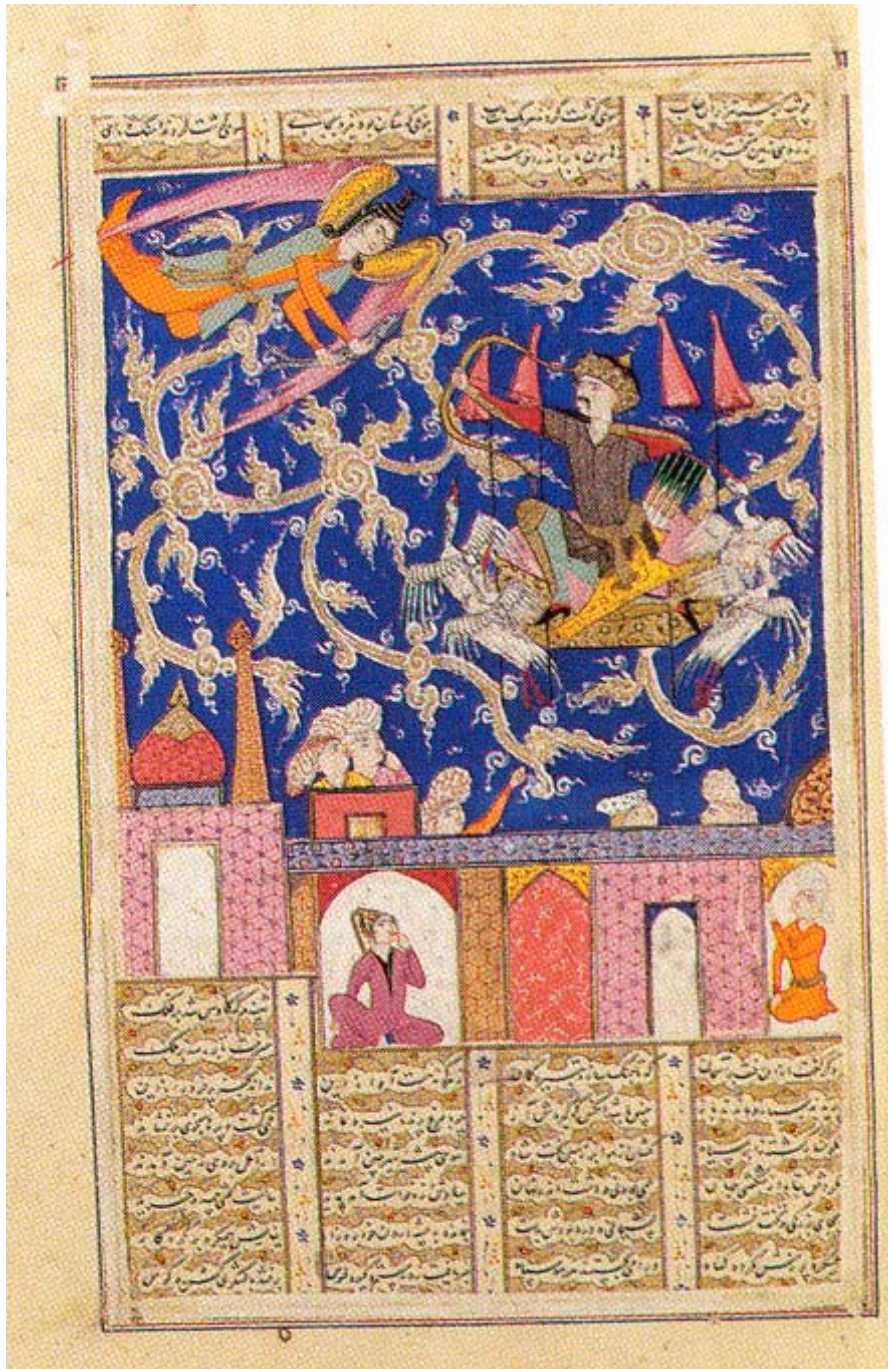


Al-Qazwīnī, *‘Ajā’ib al-makhlūqāt* [British Library Or. 47011 fol 38r]

There are a number of illustrated manuscripts of al-Qazwīnī’s *Kitāb ‘ajā’ib al-makhlūqāt*, which have a similar form for the angels. It is often difficult to distinguish between different angels and often the only means to tell the angels apart is by their place in the Arabic text.¹

Source: Jones, Dalu *et. al.* (eds.), *The Arts of Islam: Haywood Gallery 8th April – 4th July 1976* (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1976), p. 347

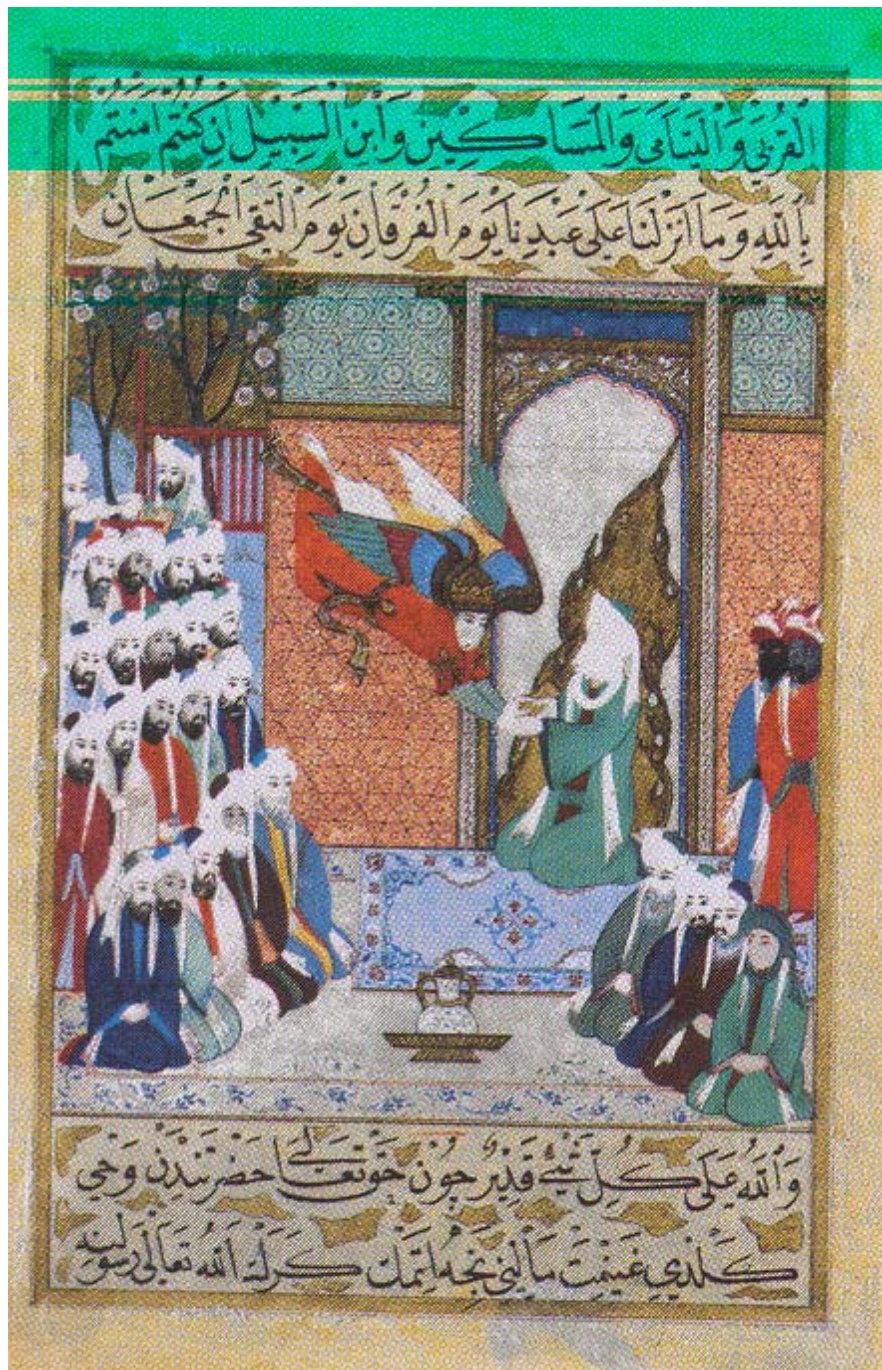
¹ For a discussion of these images, see Baidee, Julie A. D., *An Islamic Cosmography: The Illustrations of the Sarre Qazwīnī* (PhD. Thesis, University of Michigan, 1978).



Shāhnāma [Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Persan 490 fol 62r]

Persian images of angels tend to have more slender wings, as in this miniature. The angels are often depicted with their hair worn up, ornamented with pearls. Although Gabriel's hair is said to look 'like white pearls' (e.g. §50), there are no ḥadīth that actually suggest that the angels' hair were adorned with them. This is likely to be a reflection of contemporary dress.

Source: Bernus-Taylor, Marthe, *L'Étrange et le Merveilleux en terres d'Islam: Paris, musée du Louvre 23 avril – 23 juillet, 2001* (Paris : Editions de la Réunion des Musées Naionaux, 2001) p. 206.



Siyar-i Nabi [Louvre MAO 149] loose leaf

This image depicts Gabriel revealing Sura 8. Angels are often exactly the same size as the humans in the miniature, as can be seen here (as well as some of the images included in this small selection). This image also shows the angel with four wings, this is quite rare as angels are usually given two wings in Islamic art.

Source: Bernus-Taylor, *L'Etrange et le Merveilleux*, p. 284.



Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh* [EUL Arabic MS 20 fol 22r]

Angels are very rarely depicted in a completely anthropomorphic form, this is one of only a few examples (another good example is from a *Siyār-i Nabī* [TSMK Hazine 1222 fol. 155r]).² The image follows the description of *al-Rūḥ* (identified with Gabriel) coming to Mary as a *basharan sawīyan*; cf. Q 19:17.

Source: Rice, David Talbot, *The Illustrations to the 'World History' of Rashīd al-Dīn* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1976) p. 85.

² See: Blair, Sheila S., and Bloom, Jonathan M., *The Art and Architecture of Islam: 1250 – 1800* (London: Yale University Press), p. 246 and Işşiroğlu, *Das Bild im Islam*, p. 142.

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¹ Khabīb ibn ^cAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Salmān Abū 'l-A^cīs from his father.

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Intermediaries

Some of the ḥadīth include transmission through a limited *isnād*, frequently with the words ‘*min tariq...*’; these individuals are listed below:

83	°Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Kanāna
95	°Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥarīth
34	Abū ‘l-Malīḥ
183	Abū Qabīl
24	°Ādī ibn Arṭā
48, 213	°Aṭā’
234	al-Azraq ibn Qays
200	Bakr ibn Maḍr
237	al-Ḍaḥḥāk
119	al-Ḥārith ibn al-Khazraj
210	Ibn Abī Talḥā
49	Ishāq al-Hāshimī
237	Ishāq ibn Bashār
119	Ja°far ibn Muḥammad
237	Juwaybir
23	Khabīb ibn °Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Salmān Abū ‘l-A°īs
102	Khālid
102	al-Layth
119	Muḥammad (father of Ja°far ibn Muḥammad)
18, 221, 222	Mujāhid
200	Qutayba
200	Ṣakhr ibn °Abd Allāh
83	al-Sarī ibn °Abd Allāh al-Sulamī
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62	Thābit
24	°Ubbād ibn Maṣṣūr
234	Unknown (man from Banū Tammīm)

Authorities Mentioned in Full Isnāds (§68, 84 & 171)

(The authorities have been left in the same order as they appear in the *isnād*.)

- 68 Abū Muḥammad °Abd Allāh ibn Yusūf al-Isfahānī
68 Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Sa°id ibn Farḍakh al-Akhmīmī
68 Abū Muḥammad °Abd Allāh ibn al-Faḍl ibn °Āsim ibn °Umar ibn Qatāda ibn al-Nu°mā al-Anṣārī
68 Abū °l-Faḍl
68 °Āsim (father of Abū °l-Faḍl)
68 al-Walīd ibn Ḥamād
- 84 Abū °Abd Allāh al-Adīb
84 Abū Ṭāhir ibn Abī Naṣr al-Tājir
84 °Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥamad ibn Ishāq ibn Mandah
84 Abū °Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Dīnawarī
84 Abū °l-Qāsim °Abd Allāal-Jurjānī
84 Abū °l-Ḥassan Muḥammad ibn °Alī al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Qāsim ibn al-Ḥassan ibn Zayd ibn °Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn °Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib
84 Aḥmad ibn °Abd Allāh al-Shu°abī al-Baghdādī
84 Al-Ḥassan ibn °Alī al-°Askarī
84 Abū °Alī ibn Muḥammad
84 Muḥammad ibn °Alī ibn Mūsā
84 Abū °Alī ibn Mūsā
84 Abū Mūsā ibn Ja°far
84 Ja°far ibn Muḥammad
84 Abū Muḥammad ibn °Alī
84 Abū °Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn
- 171 Yusūf ibn al-Mubāarak ibn al-Ḥāmil al-Khafāf
171 Muḥammad ibn °Abd al-Bāqī al-Anṣārī
171 Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn °Alī ibn Thābit al-Khaṭṭīb
171 Al-Qāḍī Abū al-°Alā' Muḥammad ibn °Alī al-Wāsitī
171 Abū Muḥammad °Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn °Abd Allāh ibn al-Mulīḥ al-Sajazī
171 °Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Haruwī
171 °Abd al-Salām ibn Ṣaliḥ
171 °Alī ibn Mūsā al-Raḍī
171 Abū Mūsā ibn Ja°far
171 Abū Ja°far ibn Muḥammad
171 Abū Muḥammad ibn °Alī
171 Abū °Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn

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8.1 Abbreviations

8.1.1 Journals, Encyclopaedia and Monographs

AAS	African and Asian Studies
AB	Analecta Bollandiana
AELex	Lane, <i>Arabic-English Lexicon</i>
AI	Annales Islamologiques
AJCP	Alif: Journal of Comparative Poetics
AJSLL	American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures
AO	Acta Orientalia
ArOr	Archiv Orientalní
ATR	Anglican Theological Review
BAEO	Boletín de la Asociación Española de Orientalistas
BDB	Brown, Driver and Briggs, <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i>
BHS	Hebrew Bible; <i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i>
BJMES	British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
CA	Cahiers Archéologiques
CHAL	Cambridge History of Arabic Literature
CHI	Cambridge History of Iran
CTM	Wensinck, <i>Concordance et indices de la Tradition Musulmane</i>
DDD	Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible
DSD	Dead Sea Discoveries
EA	Etudes Asiatiques
EAL	Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature
ED	Encyclopedia of Death
EdAM	Enciclopedia dell'arte Medievale
EHR	The Economic Historical Review
EI ¹	Encyclopaedia of Islam (First Edition)
EI ²	Encyclopaedia of Islam (Second Edition)
EI ³	Encyclopaedia of Islam (Third Edition)
EIr	Encyclopaedia Iranica
EJ	Encyclopaedia Judaica
EphThL	Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses
EQ	Encyclopedia of the Qur'an
ER ²	Encyclopedia of Religion (Second Edition)
ERE	Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics
EWIC	Encyclopedia of Women and Islamic Cultures
FGA	Freer Gallery of Art
GAS	Sezgin, <i>Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums</i>
GS	Goldziher (ed. DeSomogyi), <i>Gesammelte Schriften</i>
HR	History of Religions
HTR	Harvard Theological Review

HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
IA	Islamic Art
IC	Islamic Culture
ICMR	Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations
IJJ	Indo-Iranian Journal
IJMES	International Journal for Middle Eastern Studies
ILS	Islamic Law and Society
IOS	Israel Oriental Studies
IrS	Iranian Studies
IS	Islamic Studies
Isl.	Der Islam
JAAR	Journal of the American Academy of Religion
JAIS	Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies
JAL	Journal of Arabic Literature
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JE	Jewish Encyclopaedia
JESHO	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
JHB	Journal for the History of Biology
JHMAS	Journal for the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences
JIH	Journal of Interdisciplinary History
JIS	Journal of Islamic Studies
JJRL	Journal of the John Rylands Library
JMMA	Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
JQS	Journal of Qur'anic Studies
JR	Journal of Religion
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
JRS	Journal of Ritual Studies
JSAI	Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam
JSJ	Journal for the Study of Judaism
JSNT	Journal for the Study of the New Testament
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
JSP	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha
JSQ	Jewish Studies Quarterly
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
LA	Ibn Manẓur, <i>Lisān al-ʿArab</i>
ME	Medieval Encounters
MS	Manuscript
MSR	Mamlūk Studies Review
MW	Muslim World
NB	New Blackfriars
NRSV	Bible (New Revised Standard Version)
NT	Novum Testamentum
NTS	New Testament Studies
OTr	Oral Tradition
OTP	Charlesworth, <i>Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i>

PAAJR	Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research
PEW	Philosophy East and West
PP	Past and Present
PT	Poetics Today
QA	Qīṣas al-anbiyā' [used for al-Tha'labī, al-Kisā'ī & al-Rabghūzī]
RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum
RB	Revue Biblique
RC	Religion Compass
RHR	Revue de l'Histoire des Religions
RMP	Rheinisches Museum für Philologie
RP	Revue Philosophique
RZBK	Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst
SI	Studia Islamica
TA	Al-Zabīdī, <i>Tāj al-^carūs</i>
TGUOS	Transactions of the Glasgow University Oriental Society
TPAPA	Transactions & Proceedings of the American Philological Association
UBS	Greek New Testament; United Bible Society (4th Edition)
VC	Vigiliae Christianae
VT	Vetus Testamentum
WdI	Die Welt des Islams
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft

8.1.2 Abbreviations (Ancient Texts)

<i>1 En.</i>	First Enoch (Ethiopic)
<i>1Th.</i>	First Letter to the Thessalonians
<i>2En</i>	Second Enoch (Slavonic)
<i>2Cor</i>	Second Letter to the Corinthians
<i>3Bar</i>	Third Baruch
<i>3En</i>	Third Enoch (Hebrew)
<i>ActsJ</i>	Acts of John
<i>ApAb</i>	Apocalypse of Abraham
<i>ApEl</i>	Apocalypse of Elijah
<i>ApIs</i>	Apocalypse of Isaiah
<i>ApPaul</i>	Apocalypse of Paul
<i>ApZeph</i>	Apocalypse of Zephaniah
<i>BB</i>	Baba Bathra
<i>CantR</i>	Song of Songs (Qohelet) Rabbah
<i>DeutR</i>	Deuteronomy Rabbah
<i>DialSav</i>	Dialogue of the Saviour
<i>Ezk.</i>	Ezekiel
<i>GenR</i>	Genesis Rabbah
<i>GPhil</i>	Gospel of Philip
<i>Ḥag</i>	Ḥagigah
<i>JanJam</i>	Jannes and Jambres
<i>JosAsen</i>	Joseph and Aseneth
<i>Jub.</i>	Book of Jubilees

<i>Ket.</i>	Ketuboth
<i>LadJac</i>	Ladder of Jacob
<i>LAE(V)</i>	Life of Adam and Eve (<i>Vita</i>)
<i>LamR</i>	Lamentations Rabbah
<i>Men.</i>	Menahot
<i>MK</i>	Mo'ed Katan
<i>NumR</i>	Numbers Rabbah
<i>Q.</i>	Qur'ān
<i>QuesEzra</i>	Questions of Ezra
<i>San.</i>	Sanhedrin
<i>Shab.</i>	Shabbat
<i>Sib. Or.</i>	Sibylline Oracles
<i>Ta'</i>	Ta'anith
<i>Tob.</i>	Tobit
<i>Yom</i>	Yoma

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