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TWO 'LOST' SŪRAS OF THE QUR'ĀN: SŪRAT AL-KHALĀ AND SŪRAT AL-ḤAFD BETWEEN TEXTUAL AND RITUAL CANON (1st-3rd/7th-9th CENTURIES)*

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Abstract According to the standard accounts of the codification of the Qur'ān, the third caliph 'Uthmān b. 'Affān compiled the archetypal codex (*muṣḥaf*) that serves as the authoritative ancestor for all copies of the Qur'ān. 'Uthmān's standardized codex includes 114 Sūras in total, but the caliph allegedly excluded two additional Sūras that appeared in the pre-'Uthmānic codex of Ubayy b. Ka'b, a Companion of the Prophet much revered for his knowledge of the Qur'ānic revelation. This study compiles the evidence for the exclusion and existence of these two non-canonical Sūras, collates the earliest testimonies to the text of each Sūra, and offers an evaluation of the two Sūras' historicity and their relationship to the early Qur'ānic corpus.

Keywords Qur'ān, Sūra, canonization, codification, 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, Ubayy b. Ka'b

RECONSTRUCTING THE FRESCOES OF KHIRBAT AL-MAFJAR*

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Abstract The frescoes of Khirbat al-Mafjar, reconstructed in this article, reveal the colorful environment that once occupied what appear to be the public or ceremonial sections of the palace. The artists, who applied various methods and hundreds of motifs to the palace walls, used the frescoes mainly in the upper floor, which has rendered them less well known than the other, almost fully published and documented, methods, like stucco and stone relief. Since the second floor was badly damaged, it was rare to find and reveal delicate and sensitive

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I should like to express my gratitude to Dr. Katia Cytryn-Silverman who was the first to draw my attention to the aquarelles and to encourage me to seek funding in order to study them. Thanks are due also to Professor Donald Whitcomb, Alexandra Uscatescu and Professor Markus Ritter, who read my article and made many valuable comments, and to the IAA Archives Department for giving me the permission to publish the data, and for the great assistance provided by Ms Silvia Krapiwko in preparing it for publication.

material such as plaster. However, the current article suggests the appearance of important sections in what seems to be the audience hall. The “triumphal scene” reconstructed in this hall may refer to the ideal image of triumph or may reflect the customs of certain ceremonies held within it. Moreover, in some reconstructions suggested here, artistic scenes from the Umayyad period are revealed whose combination of motifs, like the *Simurgh*, can be traced back to the Roman/Byzantine and Sasanian cultures. Sadly, the fragmented state of the frescoes and the absence of archaeological registration have limited our ability to reconstruct and elaborate on the scenes.

Keywords Khirbat al-Mafjar, Umayyad period, ceremonies, audience hall, triumphal scene, pseudo-*Simurgh*

GESTURES IN THE PROCESS OF *ḤADĪTH* TRANSMISSION: THE CASE OF DIVINE HEARING AND SEEING*

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Abstract One of the markers of orality in the *ḥadīth* literature is the gesture (*ishāra* pl. *ishārāt*). In 1886, Ignaz Goldziher observed that the *muḥaddithūn* (teachers of *ḥadīth*) performed gestures while transmitting *ḥadīth* on various topics. The following article picks up the thread of Goldziher’s unique inquiry, characterizes gestures in the *ḥadīth*, and groups them into categories. The gestures related to the transmission of *aḥādīth al-ṣifāt*, namely the traditions about divine attributes (*ṣifāt Allāh*), form a separate category because they entail doctrinal and theological implications. This article spotlights the preservation and interpretation of one specific gesture which appears in a *ḥadīth* attributed to the *ṣaḥābī* Abū Hurayra. According to this *ḥadīth*, the Prophet placed his thumb on his ear and his forefinger on his eye to demonstrate that God “hears all and observes all” (Qur’ān 4:58). Does this gesture denote the attributes of God’s hearing and seeing, or God’s eye and ear? Was this gesture perceived as a metaphoric gesture representing an abstract concept, or was it understood as an iconic gesture displaying a concrete scene? The article considers the several possible interpretations of this gesture through the writings of the ultra-traditionalistic scholar Abū

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Sa'īd al-Dārimī (d. between 280-282/893-895) and the Ash'arī theologian Ibn Fūrak (d. 406/1015).

Keywords iconic gestures, metaphoric gestures, *ishāra*, *bi-lā kayfa*, *aḥādīth al-ṣifāt*, orality of *ḥadīth*, *ṣifāt Allāh*

ISLAMIZATION OF SPACE AND PEOPLE: THE CASE OF SAMARIA IN THE EARLY MUSLIM PERIOD

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Abstract The paper examines the process of Islamization of the region of Samaria in Palestine during the early Muslim period. It is demonstrated that Islamization of Samaria should be viewed as a multi-faceted process, the elements of which were intertwined and served as reciprocal triggers. These include the following: A. The settlement of newly arrived Muslims in the area due to the favourable conditions. B. The Arabization of the local Samaritan community, which drew it closer to Arabic language, culture, and religion. C. The conversion of large parts of the community to Islam. D. The spatial Islamization of Samaria, characterized by new Islamic monuments, especially mosques, and by the adoption of various local holy sites and traditions. Thus, though Samaritan presence continued still to be significant in the area, they were no longer masters of the region, and were slowly but surely being pushed aside by growing Islamic presence.

Keywords Spatial Islamization; Samaria; conversion to Islam; Arabization; holy sites; Samaritans

WHO IS IN, WHO IS OUT? EARLY MUSLIM IDENTITY THROUGH EPIGRAPHY AND THEORY

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Abstract This article discusses early Islamic identity based on Arabic inscriptions and other contemporary evidence, which is analyzed with the help of the social identity theory. It will be argued that this evidence tallies with Fred Donner's hypothesis of the somewhat late articulation of markedly Islamic identity. Circa one hundred published Arabic inscriptions dated to the 640s–740s CE are collected in the Appendix and form the main set of evidence used in the article. The epigraphic material is compared with other material evidence as well as the Qur'ān. It is argued that Arabic inscriptions form an important, but still underused,

corpus for the study of early Islamic history. This is because people who were outside the scholarly and political elite produced much of the epigraphic corpus; Arabic inscriptions, then, proffer information for researching aspects of social history. According to the epigraphic corpus, distinctly Islamic identity began to be articulated in the first decades of the eighth century CE, with an emphasis on specific rituals and the Prophet, as well as with the appearance of the words “Muslims” and “Islam” as references to the religious group.

Keywords Qurʾān, Arabic inscriptions, epigraphy, social identity theory, early Islam, community of the Believers

LES CALENDRIERS DE L'ARABIE PRÉISLAMIQUE

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Abstract Des progrès importants ont été accomplis au cours des dernières décennies dans la connaissance des calendriers de l'Arabie préislamique, qui peuvent être classés en trois ensembles. Dans le nord-ouest de la péninsule, on utilisait le calendrier nabaʿéen (sans doute lunaire avec corrections) et l'ère de la province romaine d'Arabie (fondée sur une année solaire). Un autre calendrier que l'on peut appeler « arabe préislamique » est attesté à Najrān ; il est probable qu'il était en usage dans une grande partie de l'Arabie désertique ; l'ère associée était encore celle de la province romaine d'Arabie. Ce sont enfin les divers calendriers de la Sudarabie utilisés soit avec un éponyme aux périodes anciennes soit avec une ère propre après le début de l'ère chrétienne.

Parmi ces calendriers de la Sudarabie, deux ont servi de modèle régional : d'abord celui de Sabaʿ qui copiait celui de Babylone, ensuite celui de Ḥimyar qui imitait celui de Sabaʿ. Il est assuré que ce calendrier de Ḥimyar était encore lunaire, avec l'ajout régulier d'un mois additionnel (pour compenser l'écart de 11 jours entre les 12 mois lunaires et l'année solaire) en 548 de l'ère chrétienne. On peut en induire que tous les calendriers sudarabiques étaient lunaires avec corrections.

Les données factuelles transmises par la tradition savante arabo-musulmane sur le calendrier de Makka permettent de supposer que ce calendrier était lui aussi lunaire avec des corrections, jusqu'à la réforme proclamée par Muḥammad en 10 h. Son modèle était probablement le calendrier du royaume de Ḥimyar qui dominait directement ou indirectement le Ḥijāz depuis le 4^e siècle.

L'hypothèse de Caussin de Perceval selon laquelle le calendrier mecquois était lunaire, mais très imparfaitement corrigé, avec une dérive d'un jour chaque année, repose sur des

postulats et des arguments dont la fragilité est désormais assurée. La vraisemblance est beaucoup plus grande que ce calendrier suivait celui de Ḥimyar et ne dérivait pas.

Keywords Arabie / Arabia, Antiquité tardive / Late Antiquity, Calendrier / Calendar, Temps/ Time, Ḥimyar, Makka, Arabes préislamiques / Pre-Islamic Arabs

THE QUR'ĀN'S DIETARY TETRALOGUE: A DIACHRONIC RECONSTRUCTION*

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Abstract An important characteristic that sets the Medinan Qur'ān apart from the Meccan *sūras* is its preoccupation with the precise and quasi-legal regulation of specific aspects of the Qur'ānic Believers' social interactions and their ritual life. This general contrast is disrupted by the fact that two *sūras* that are generally considered to be Meccan — namely, *Sūras* 6 and 16 — contain passages setting out a group of four dietary taboos, here labelled the Qur'ān's “dietary tetralogue.” The article argues in favour of the view that the two passages in question are Medinan insertions, and goes on to reconstruct a relative chronology of all Qur'ānic pronouncements on the topic, discerning a development leading from an attitude encouraging the unrestricted consumption of God's provisions to a partial reinstatement of Biblical food taboos. The conclusion explores a number of important theological themes — such as the lightness of Qur'ānic law as well as God's munificence and general permissiveness — with which the dietary tetralogue is intimately bound up.

Keywords: Qur'ān, Bible, dietary rules, Medinan insertions

* English translations of Qur'ānic passages are based, more or less freely, on the translation by Alan Jones. Biblical passages are quoted according to the New Revised Standard Version (Anglicised). I am grateful to JSAI's anonymous reviewer for valuable comments and to Holger Zellentin for sharing with me the proofs of a forthcoming book chapter. Completion of this article was supported by the UK's Arts and Humanities Research Council (grant reference AH/M011305/1).