

ESCHATOLOGY IN THE QUR'ĀN
IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT
BIBLICAL CRITICISM

by

Sheila McDonough

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PREFACE

The intention of this thesis is to investigate the pattern and significance of the eschatological ideas in the Qur'ān. Several concordances of the words of the Qur'ān exist, but there are no concordances which contain exhaustive lists of all the references to particular ideas. My aim is to present a study of the contexts of the significant words relating to eschatology, and to abstract from these lists the pattern of the ideas about the final judgment which are constantly repeated in the Qur'ān.

Flügel's Concordance and Palmer's translation of the Qur'ān have been used. The words considered are "Adam", Ādam, "Hour", sā'at, "gathering", ḥaṣhr, "resurrection", qiyāmat, "bringing back to life", a'āda, "reckoning", ḥisāb, "hereafter", ākhirat, "eternity", khuld, "Paradise", jannat, "hell", jahannam, "fire", nār, and "Messiah", masīḥ. The contexts relevant to the last judgment were selected from Flügel's list of the references to each of these words. The lists of these contexts are in the appendices. The exposition of Qur'ānic eschatology in chapter two follows an ordering similar to that of the contexts in the appendices.

Since Palmer numbers only every fifth verse in each Sūrah of the Qur'ān, the numbers of the verses given in

the appendices and in the text refer to the numbers given in Flügel's lists of the verses which contain the particular words. The verses surrounding the words have been incorporated for the sense they give to the context. Palmer's usage has been followed with respect to the capitalization of the words relating to eschatology.

The exposition of the eschatology of the Qur'ān may appear repetitive, but this very quality is an essential aspect of the Qur'ānic pattern of thought. Understanding the world-view of the Qur'ān involves understanding its repetitive and rhetorical method. For this reason it has been necessary to consider at some length the contexts of the words relating to eschatology.

My interest in this subject was aroused by discussions in the McGill Institute of Islamic Studies seminars on the problems of faith and historical criticism. I am grateful to all the members of those seminars for their many provocative suggestions, and their interest in the subject. I would like particularly to express my thanks for the patient assistance of M. D. Rahbar, W. Cantwell Smith, and C. J. Adams. I would also like to thank the Institute of Islamic Studies for the two years of fellowship aid which has made this work possible.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

My original intention was to write a comparative study of eschatology in relation to ethics in the Qur'ān and the New Testament. This soon proved too large an undertaking for the time at my disposal, and the subject was narrowed to an analysis of the pattern of the eschatological ideas of the Qur'ān. My analysis includes an attempt to describe some aspects of the religious experience which might, on one interpretation, be inferred to have been the creative force behind such eschatological ideas.

The basis for this description of the religious experience is twofold. Firstly, there is the evidence to be found in the critical analysis of the dominant note of the Qur'ān done by a Muslim, M. D. Bahbar, in his thesis entitled Studies in the Ethical Doctrine of the Qur'ān. The following quotation is taken from the abstract of this thesis which was approved by Cambridge University in 1953.

"The moral code of the Qur'ān is supported by a world-view which is theocentric. The spirit in which the Qur'ānic law of God is to be obeyed can be determined only by answering the fundamental question 'What is the Qur'ānic conception of God?' To this no scientific answer has been given so far. Scientific students of Islam, in their understanding of the Qur'ān's doctrine of God, are greatly influenced by the unscientific methods by which Muslims themselves have explained that doctrine, and by the

theological interpretation put on Qur'ānic phrases by Muslim thought. The original simple meanings of these phrases have to be dug out.

Among scientific scholars, the usual method of exposition of the Qur'ān's doctrine of God is that of referring to a jumbled mass of the so-called Most Comely Names of God. This method is extremely unscientific....These epithets, when so unevenly heaped together, obscure the pivot-idea of the Qur'ān's doctrine of God, which is His strict justice of the Judgement Day....

The Qur'ān does not contain the theological ideas of God's absolute omnipotence, His absolute omniscience, His self-subsistence, His eternity, and His being the only reality....

The Qur'ān is a collection of revelational speeches of reform in a highly rhetorical style, immediately addressed to, and effectively understood by, among others, a primitive tribal society. A balanced view of its doctrine of God cannot be obtained from a hasty glance at...lists of the so-called Most Comely Names torn away from their contexts. It is to be obtained by actually going through the Book, by ascertaining the original and primitive meanings of its phrases within their contexts, by making better acquaintance with its rhetorical style, and through reconstructing by these means that broad unity of thought which the Prophet in his inspired moments of revelation sought." (1)

For the purposes of the research here, the relevant points in Rahbar's thesis are his assertions of the need for careful textual study of the Qur'ān, of the fact that the pivot-idea of the Qur'ān is God's strict justice of the Judgment Day, and of the characterization of the Qur'ān as a collection of revelational speeches of reform.

(1) Rahbar, M. D., "An Abstract of the Dissertation entitled Studies in the Ethical Doctrine of the Qur'ān", Abstracts of Dissertations Approved for the Ph. D., M. Sc., and M. Litt. Degrees in the University of Cambridge During the Academical Year 1952-1953 (Cambridge, University Press), pp. 175 ff.

My discussion of the eschatological ideas, and of the religious experience presumed to underlie the Qur'ān, assumes the accuracy of the above characterization of the nature of the Book.

Rahbar's method of contrasting the Qur'ānic ideas with the ideas of later Muslim thought is also followed here. With reference to eschatology, a comparison is made between the pattern of ideas disclosed through study of the contexts of the words relating to the subject, and the articles on eschatology in the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, and The Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam. The results from this comparison provide further evidence for Rahbar's contention that the Qur'ānic world-view is different in many important respects from the world-views of later Islamic thought.

The second source of evidence in this discussion of the possible nature of a religious experience behind the Qur'ān is the exposition made by recent Biblical critics of the content and significance of the religious experience that they believe to have produced the Bible. These expositions of the Biblical world-view appear to me to be relevant to understanding the Qur'ān because of the common factors in the environment in which the two Books appeared, such as the Semitic mode of thought, the prophetic tradition, and the tribal social structure. Chapter five

is a discussion of some of the characteristics that are common to the world-views of both the Qur'ān and the Bible.

I do not intend a comprehensive comparison of the Qur'ānic and the Biblical eschatological ideas, but have rather selected those aspects of the modern expositions of the Biblical world-view that have seemed relevant to understanding the Qur'ān. Thus in my exposition of the characteristics of the world-view of the Qur'ān, I derive my evidence from my researches into the Qur'ān, from Rahbar's research and conclusions, and from a comparison with the expositions that modern Biblical critics have made of the religious experiences that they believe to have produced the eschatological ideas of the Bible.

I realize the tentative and preliminary nature of these investigations of the ideas, and the postulated religious experience, underlying the Qur'ān. Without a detailed philological study of the contexts of these ideas, and a lengthy comparison of them to other Qur'ānic, Biblical, and traditional Semitic ideas, any completely comprehensive exposition of the eschatological vision of the Qur'ān is necessarily impossible. The aim here is to investigate the pattern of the ideas, and then to estimate the possible basic characteristics of the religious experience which, on the evidence of Rahbar's work, and in

comparison with the expositions of the experiences behind similar Biblical ideas, may be assumed to lie behind the eschatological ideas of the Qur'ān.

For such research as this to be fruitful for Muslim theology, a doctrine of revelation would need to be formulated which could comprehend the idea that the Qur'ān is better understood when it is studied by modern methods of historical and literary criticism. Chapter Four is a discussion of the impact on Christian theology made by the scientific revolution and the emergence of historical criticism of the Bible. Rahbar's literary criticism and historical exegesis of the Qur'ān is in method very like the critical studies that have been done on the Bible. Since in the case of the Bible such criticism led to a reformulation of a doctrine of revelation, it seems possible that an analogous reformulation of an Islamic doctrine of revelation might occur. Research such as these studies in eschatology could be most significant and meaningful for theology when, and if, this reformulation did occur.

If a reformulation of an Islamic doctrine of revelation were to occur, it is possible that it would have some of the following characteristics. The argument for these is based both on an analogy from the recent experience of Christian theology, and on the exegesis of the Qur'ān already done by Rahbar. He does not state all the

implications of his work for theology, but he does partially analyse a religious experience behind the Qur'ānic ideas. Such analysis might imply a new doctrine of revelation.

There are, of course, many possible ways of understanding the meaning and significance of the idea of revelation. The exposition here is based on a modern Protestant view of revelation which posits both that historical and literary criticism are necessary tools for a comprehensive understanding of the religious experience that such scholars believe to have produced the Bible, and that the Book reveals knowledge of God which would not otherwise be accessible to men.

A primary assumption of such a hypothetical new doctrine, if it were analogous to modern Protestant theology, would be that the Qur'ān is a revelation from God in the sense that the experience of God of the Prophet and the first Muslims was a more fully authentic and fully complete religious experience than any men anywhere have ever had. Study of the Qur'ān in this case would be for the purpose of ascertaining as exactly as possible the nature of the original religious experience of Muslims. Hadith literature and later theologies and commentaries on the Qur'ān would be important as secondary sources for

a comprehensive consideration of the religious experience behind the Qur'ān.

In chapter three I discuss the differences between the Qur'ānic eschatological ideas and the eschatology of later Islamic thought. This contrast follows the pattern of the contrast already established by Rahbar between the Qur'ān and later Islamic thought.

Rahbar has expressed as follows the reasons he believes to be responsible for the lack of awareness among modern Muslims of the difference between the Qur'ānic worldview and "Islam at large". He also demonstrates that historical and literary criticism of the Qur'ān is not foreign in intention to the original researches of the early Islamic scholars. What is new is simply the method of research.

"In fact the lack of historical sense which is attributed to contemporary Muslim scholarship results from two things. (1). One is the unchronological arrangement of the contents in the existing recension of the most important book of Islam, the Qur'ān. This unchronological arrangement has given an oblique turn to the idea of Eternity of the Qur'ānic Truth, the universal Muslim tendency to believe that the Qur'ān has no historical relevance. To say that the Qur'ān's verses were revealed to meet outward situations has come to be regarded as implying that God was composing the Qur'ān during the Prophet's lifetime. This conclusion does not follow, and classical theology recognising the illogicality of it, found the way out in the Doctrine of Istidrāj, or Gradual Emergence (of the Eternal Truth) which God knew eternally, and only sent down piecemeal (see Sūrah III; verse 2), on

occasions which called for particular revelations. To say that Qur'ānic Revelations were sent down to meet outward situations does not amount to saying that God was composing verses alongside events or that the Prophet was composing them....

It can be debated to what extent, and with what intent, the Qur'ān teaches Divine Omniscience, but we can recognize the consequence of the overstress on Divine Omniscience in Theology, at the cost of the Qur'ānic idea of God's vigilant participation and intervention in human affairs. This consequence is Fatalism, and lack of a taste for movement among Muslims. The Qur'ān is a very major source of history of the early years of Islām. This idea is not unfamiliar to Western scholarship. But Muslim scholarship has seldom used the Qur'ān as a source of the Prophet's life-history, fearing again that such attempts would imply the non-eternal or undivine nature of the Book reducing it to a human document. The surprising thing is that such hesitation has existed alongside the discussions of the Occasions of Revelation (Shā'n al-Nuzūl) of each and every verse in the Qur'ānic Commentaries....

Muslim scholarship on the whole has not yet the feeling that the Qur'ānic thought is not identical with "Islam at large". Secondly, the lack of historical sense leaves us oblivious of the flexibilities within the Qur'ān. We have yet to cultivate the knowledge of the development or unfolding of doctrine and law within the Qur'ān. This does not mean that we are to embark on discovering the inconsistencies and self-contradictions in revelations. On the contrary the historical and chronological study of the Qur'ān is a more scientific and safer method of demonstrating the true extent of consistency of the doctrine. Historical correlation alone can remove the doubts or discrepancies by showing that that which appears to be an inconsistency is in fact the difference of situation.

That Muslim Law at least, if not also the doctrine, developed within the Qur'ān was acceptable to early Islam, is evidenced by the fact that the Doctrine of Abrogation (Naskh) of some verses of the Qur'ān by others never alarmed Classical Islam. Al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505), enumerates over twenty instances of internal abrogation in the Qur'ān....

In recent times in India Shāh Waliyullāh of Delhi (d. 1762) reduced the number of abrogations to four...Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khān...emphatically adopted the alternative view of exegetes that the passages of the Qur'ān mentioning abrogation meant abrogation of earlier Scriptures by the Qur'ān and not abrogation of earlier verses of the Qur'ān by its later verses....

Personally I do not see how the notion that the Qur'ān abrogates earlier Scriptures and not earlier revelations of itself, succeeds in avoiding the implication that God revised what He had revealed. If this implication is to be avoided the more effective way is to believe that abrogations, whether of earlier Scriptures or earlier Qur'ānic revelations is to be understood as marking transitions by which the human race was to adapt itself smoothly to more suitable ways of life offered by cultural or altered circumstances.

This kind of historical attitude can be supported by an understanding of the assimilative nature of Nubuwwat or Prophethood, an office which does not call for withdrawal from the immediate into the Abstract, but faces each and every situation of its times, guiding both at inspirational and non-inspirational levels, and leaving behind, not a rigid and inflexible set of laws, but a spring of stimulation and a spirit in which day to day situations are to be met." (1)

The following pages are intended to be research done in this same spirit. I hope to investigate the eschatology of the Qur'ān in order to discover the consistency of the Qur'ānic doctrine, and to ascertain whether the divergences which appear to be inconsistencies are in fact caused by the difference of situation. The comparison with recent expositions of Biblical eschatology is for the purpose of discovering whether, and to what extent, the Qur'ān is consistent not only with itself, but with the tradition of Semitic prophecy.

(1) Rahbar, M. D., "The Relevance of the Historical Method of Studying Islām to the Inter-relation of Religion and Government in Pakistan." Unpublished manuscript.

Chapter II.

ESCHATOLOGY IN THE QUR'ĀN.

This chapter is an analysis of the patterns of thought which relate to eschatology in the Qur'ān. Such analysis of patterns is one of the methods of literary criticism. Further criticism of the Qur'ān on this subject would involve a consideration of the philological problems, the meaning of words and ideas in Pre-Qur'ānic Arabia, the meaning of the same words in their Qur'ānic contexts, a study of the rhetorical speeches in their historical contexts, and a study of the relation of the Qur'ānic patterns of thought to the traditional mythology of the Semitic peoples. This present research, which omits these matters, is therefore only a preliminary step in the direction of full historical and literary criticism of the Qur'ān.

The words considered are "Adam", Ādam, "hour", sā'at, "gathering", hashr, "reckoning", hisāb, "resurrection", qiyāmat, "bringing back to life", a'āda, "hereafter", ākhirat, "eternity", khuld, "Paradise", jannat, "hell", jahannam, "fire", nār, and "Messiah", masīḥ.

The following expositions of the meanings of each of these terms are based primarily on the headings of the contexts listed in the appendices. The headings were derived directly from consideration of the contexts.

This reason for the repetitive nature of much of the material is the consistency of the patterns in which clusters of ideas recur in the Qur'ān. Paradise and hell are almost always mentioned in relation to one another, and the words "hour", "gathering", "reckoning", "resurrection", and "bringing back to life", "hereafter", usually occur in similar descriptions of the last judgment. The repetitiveness is itself an evidence that the pattern of the Qur'ān is the pattern of rhetorical speeches calling for conversion. As will be shown, the intention of the passages about the last things is almost always a call of warning and promise to particular people. The examination of contexts shows the types of earthly behaviour which are threatened and warned in the speeches about the last judgment.

The first section is a consideration of the myths of creation based on the contexts of the word "Adam." This is relevant to eschatology since the prophetic method of the Qur'ān, like that of the Bible, is to call warning to a present situation in the name of the God who created and will end the world, and who demands obedience in the present. The questions are why God created the world in the first place, and how this creation is related to the last things.

The second section is a consideration of the references to acts of God in time. These contexts were

selected from the summary of the contents of the Qur'ān given in Palmer. The question as to how God acts in history is raised in connection with eschatology because knowledge of God's promises for the future is directly related to knowledge of His nature revealed in His past actions. The eschatological visions of the Qur'ān are related to the world-view that the God who will judge is the God who has created and has acted in history in particular ways to reveal himself to His creatures.

CREATION

(Note :- The references in this section in the form Hg. 1, Hg. 2, etc. are to headings in Appendix I.)

In this section I discuss the mythological picture of the creation of the world and men which is given in the Qur'ān. In the Bible there are two such pictures given in Genesis; in the Qur'ān, however, the pattern of the mythological picture of the creation of Adam is similar throughout the book. The appendix for this section contains the Qur'ānic contexts of the term "Adam".

The first activity of God spoken of in the Qur'ān is creation of the world in six days, and the angels out of smokeless fire. God is always spoken of as the subject of specific actions. There are no abstract statements in the Qur'ān as to His nature before the creation, or his origin, or to the exact nature of His

relations to time and space. He is portrayed as the one who acted to create the world, angels, jinn and men.

"It would be vain to search in the Qur'ān a discourse on such a 'metaphysical' question as the nature of God's existence prior to His creating anything. The first we know of Him is He with angels who are beings that are not capable of disobeying Him. And directly comes the story of Adam's creation, the disobedience of Iblīs and Adam, and the beginning of mankind. God is therefore not described in the Qur'ān as an abstract essence with a minimum of eternal qualities which the theologians made of Him, but as a majestic ruler of His creation, unto whom men must resign themselves." (1)

There are four descriptions of the creation of Adam. In each case the picture is the creation of men out of clay and then the refusal of Iblīs to worship Adam.(2) This is followed by the temptation by Satan, and the expulsion of Adam and his wife from Paradise. The only mention of the creation of Adam's wife is as follows; "He it is who created you from one soul, and made therefrom its mate to dwell therewith". (3)

(1) Rahbar, M. D., Studies in the Ethical Doctrine of the Qur'ān, An unpublished thesis approved by the University of Cambridge in the academical year 1952-1953 in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, p. 48.

(2) Hg. 1.

(3) VII: 189.

A representative example of the complete story as it is given in the Qur'ān is the following:

"And when thy Lord said unto the angels, 'I am about to place a viceregent in the earth,' they said, 'Wilt Thou place therein one who will do evil therein and shed blood? we celebrate Thy praise and hallow Thee.' Said (the Lord), 'I know what ye know not.' And He taught Adam the names, all of them; then He propounded them to the angels and said, 'Declare to me the names of these if ye are truthful.' They said, 'Glory be to Thee! no knowledge is ours but what Thou thyself hast taught us, verily, Thou art the knowing, the wise.' Said the Lord, 'O Adam declare to them their names;' and when he had declared to them their names He said, 'Did I not say to you, I know the secrets of the heavens and of the earth, and I know what ye show and what ye were hiding?' And when we said to the angels, 'Adore Adam,' they adored him save only Iblīs, who refused and was too proud and became one of the misbelievers. And we said, 'O Adam dwell, thou and thy wife, in Paradise, and eat therefrom as you wish; but do not draw near this tree or ye will be of the transgressors. And Satan made them backslide therefrom and drove them out from what they were in." (1)

Another one of these stories ends with the warning "haply ye may remember". (2) This phrase gives the key to the prophetic intention which is always behind the telling of the story in the Qur'ān; the aim of the book is to convert and to convince men of their need to submit to God's guidance and beware the temptations of Shaitān. Men are to recognize themselves as born into a situation which is the next chapter of this story, and to see themselves exposed to danger and needing God's help.

(1) II: 31 f.

(2) VII: 9 f.

The devil has two names, Iblīs and Shaitān. Iblīs is his name when he is created and when he refuses to worship Adam. Shaitān is his name in all contexts other than these. (1)

Rahbar has shown that in the Qur'ān the reason given for the creation is that God may make His justice known to men.

"Allah is, before anything else, a Judge. The universe exists so that God may reward men." (2)

"That God could, if He willed, create a world of any sort different from this and that it is the judicial nature of His will which determines the scheme of things as it stands, is stated in the Qur'ān." (3)

He lists the four contexts of "God created" which demonstrate that the testing of men is the purpose of creation. (4) The pattern in this case is as follows:

"He it is who created the heavens and the earth in six days, and His throne was upon the water that He might try you, which of you did best." (5)

We have here two different mythological explanations of the existence and purpose of creation. The first is that God created man to be His viceregent on earth. In this myth the angels and the world are subject to men, and the explanation of evil is the wilfulness of Iblīs who rebelled against the intentions of God. The second explanation is

(1) M. D. Rahbar pointed out this fact to me.

(2) Rahbar, op. cit., p. 110.

(3) Ibid., pp. 109 f.

(4) XI: 9, LXVII: 2, XLV: 21, X: 4.

(5) XI: 9.

that the purpose of creation is to try men with justice; in this myth the existence of evil would seem to be a part of the Creator's original plan. This is not so much an inconsistency as an unanswered question. Did God will the rebellion of Iblīs that He might try men with justice? The Qur'ān does not say. For Qur'ānic theology it might be most fruitful to articulate both aspects of the paradox. Believers can hold the tension in their minds between certainty that God's justice will prevail and recognition of the perils of evil.

A significant perspective from which to view these two myths is the rhetorical intention of conversion which motivates the speeches. In each case the aim of the myth is to make vivid to the men who hear the Qur'ān their situation in life, their need to beware of evil, and the certainty that the God who controls the universe is absolutely just and therefore absolutely trustworthy.

Whether the believer views the presence of evil as the work of Shaitān contrary to the intention of God, or as part of the total plan of God, the relevant fact for earthly life is that evil is positive and real and needs to be combatted.

The other context of Adam is that in which it is stated that the creation of Jesus was an immediate act of God

like the creation of Adam. (1) The point here is that Jesus, like Adam, was created by God rather than engendered by a human father.

Iqbāl has undertaken to restate the significance of Qur'ānic mythology for modern men. He has written as follows of the legend of the fall of man:

"In this legend the Quran partly retains the ancient symbols, but the legend is materially transformed with a view to put an entirely fresh meaning into it. The Quranic method of complete or partial transformation of legends in order to besoul them with new ideas...is an important point." (2)

His point that the Qur'ān reinterprets the meaning of earlier Semitic mythology is valid and important for the reconstruction of Islamic theology. Iqbāl himself, however, does not emphasize the need for careful study of the original meaning of the Qur'ān. In fact he tends to misinterpret many passages of the Qur'ān. For example, he expounds the meaning of the legend of the fall of Adam as follows:

"Thus Adam's insertion into a painful physical environment was not meant as a punishment; it was meant rather to defeat the object of Satan who, as an enemy of man, diplomatically tried to keep him ignorant of the joy of perpetual growth and expansion." (3)

This view contradicts the original meaning of the myth in the Qur'ān. Iqbāl says God wanted Adam to leave Paradise, and Shaitān tried to keep Adam in Paradise. The Qur'ān

(1) Hg. 2.

(2) Iqbāl, Sir Muhammad, The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, (Lahore: Ashraf, 1951), pp. 81f.

(3) Ibid., pp. 86 f.

says God told Adam to stay in the garden, and Shaitān tempted him into rebellion against God. Iqbāl's reinterpretation is a reversal of the original meaning of the Qur'ān. To do this with Qur'ānic mythology is to reconstruct a theology in which the Qur'ānic world-view is not entirely normative.

ACTS OF GOD IN TIME

(Note:- The references in this section in the form Hg. 1, Hg. 2, etc., are to the headings in Appendix II.)

The arrangement of these contexts has been made on the basis of the following questions. How and why did God act in the past? What do His past acts mean for the present and the future? Is the Qur'ān consistent in its promises for the future? Do the past acts of God give an exact pattern for His future actions?

We have already considered in the previous section God's actions in creating the world. The second type of references to His actions in the Qur'ān are those which refer to the sending of prophets, the destruction of misbelieving cities and peoples, and the helping of believers within history. How God acts is to send prophets, destroy some people and help others in the course of temporal events. Why He acts is to tell men of His justice. The destructions are a warning within history of the greater destruction that will come to misbelievers at the final judgment. Similarly, believers are helped in history as

a foretaste of the fulfilment they will receive as reward in Paradise. God's relations with men in history are matters of challenge and response; God sends a prophet, men believe or misbelieve, and God then acts in response to reward or punish. God is not pictured in the Qur'ān as the source of every human action, but rather as the active judge of human activities. His relation to men is a matter of urgent challenge, demanding response. Do the past acts of God give an exact pattern for His future actions? He threatens, using the evidence of His previous acts of destruction, to destroy the unbelievers of Makkah because of their refusal to hear His warning. Men should learn from the past acts of God His nature and His purpose, and should expect Him to be the same God in the future making similar demands on men. His past acts do not give an exact pattern for His future acts, but they reveal His nature and His purposes for men.

Is there one consistent picture of the pre-Qur'ānic past? Nowhere in the Qur'ān is there a complete picture of the whole of history from creation to the present. Rather there are several lengthy descriptions of the past, and many more condensed pictures of past prophets and past destructions. The lengthy descriptions are not exactly alike in detail, but they are alike in spirit. The intention of the narratives is always to demonstrate the nature of God's relations with men so that the present

hearers of the prophecy will believe and do right. The past actions are parables by which men in the present may know how God is likely to deal with them.

There are in the Qur'an several instances of mythological pictures of the whole of history seen as a series of inter-relating challenges and responses between God and men.

"And we sent Noah to his people, and he dwelt among them for a thousand years save fifty years; and the deluge overtook them while they were unjust; but we saved him and the fellows of the ark, and we made it a sign unto the worlds.

And Abraham when he said to his people, 'Serve God and fear Him, that is better for you if ye did but know....

But the answer of his people was only to say, 'Kill him or burn him!' But God saved him from the fire; verily, in that are signs unto a people who believe....

And Lot believed him. And (Abraham) said, 'Verily, I flee unto my Lord! Verily, He is mighty, wise! and we granted him Isaac and Jacob; and we placed in his seed prophecy and the Book; and we gave him his hire in this world; and, verily, he in the next shall be among the righteous!'

And when our messengers came to Abraham with the glad tidings, they said, 'We are about to destroy the people of this city. Verily, the people thereof are wrong-doers.'

Said he, 'Verily, in it is Lot;' they said, 'We know best who is therein; we shall of a surety save him and his people, except his wife, who is of those who linger.'...Verily, we are about to send down upon the people of this city a horror from heaven, for that they have sinned; and we have left therefrom a manifest sign unto a people who have sense.'

And unto Midian we sent their brother Sho' haib, and he said, 'My people, serve God, and hope for the last day; and waste not the land, despoiling it.'

But they called him liar; and the convulsion seized them, and on the morrow they lay in their dwellings prone.

And Ad and Thamud--but it is plain to you from their habitations; for Satan made seemly to them their works, and turned them from the way, sagacious though they were!

And Korah and Pharaoh and Hāmān--Moses did come to them with manifest signs, but they were too big with pride in the earth, although they could not outstrip us!

And each of them we seized in his sin; and of them were some against whom we sent a sandstorm; and of them were some whom the noise seized; and of them were some with whom we cleaved the earth open; and of them were some we drowned; God would not have wronged them, but it was themselves they wronged....

These are parables which we have struck out for men; but none will understand them, save those who know."(1)

There are several examples of such long and detailed narratives about pre-Qur'ānic history. (2) In all these instances God acted to help the Prophet, to punish, in history, the unbelievers and to reward, in history, the believers. It could be said that a new covenant is established each time a guidance is sent; God always sends both a warning and a promise of the final vindication of believers. The moral to all these stories is that God has by His actions struck out a parable and a warning for men that they should repent and obey Him.

The characteristic method of God's action in the past has been that He always sent an apostle to warn before He sent punishment.

"But we do not destroy any city without its having warners as a reminder, for we are never unjust."(3)

Thus God's acts are never arbitrary or meaningless, but are always directly related to His purpose of revealing to men His justice.

(1) XXIX: 13-42.

(2) Hg. 1.

(3) XXVI: 205.

I have collected twenty-six references to God's past acts of destruction, within history, of peoples who did wrong.⁽¹⁾ A condensed version of the representative pattern of these narratives is as follows:

"And they called him liar! but we destroyed them. Verily, in that is a sign, but most of them will never be believers." (2)

The message in these instances is that God's destruction of the peoples who rejected His apostles was terrible, and that these past acts should serve to warn the hearers to whom the Qur'ān is addressed. Further, the Qur'ān states that God punishes both with the torment in this life and the future. (3) The torment of the next life is more wretched still.

I found sixteen references to past acts of God in which He destroyed misbelievers, but saved the believers. (4) A representative example of the pattern of this story is as follows:

"Behold, how was the end of their plot, that we destroyed them and their people all together!

Thus are their houses overturned, for that they were unjust; verily, in that is a sign to people who do know!

But we saved those who believed and who did fear." (5)

(1) Hg. 3.

(2) XXVI: 139 f.

(3) Hg. 4.

(4) Hg. 5.

(5) XXVII: 52 f.

The theme here is still that the past acts of God carry a moral for present situations. He is just, He punished the unjust, and saved those who believed and did fear, and He can be trusted to continue to be just. All will receive their reward, but they cannot hasten or put off its appointed time. (1)

God has judged in history all except those who repent and believe and act aright. (2) Many of His judgments were sudden before the people knew what was happening to them. (3) Haply believers may prosper in history. (4) God acted to give victory at Badr. (5) The references to Badr were taken from the verses listed in Palmer's index. God has acted in different ways to give signs to the people. (6) All these acts, the destruction of misbelievers, the saving of believers, the giving of prosperity to believers, the victory at Badr, and the signs given to people, have been purposive.

(1) Hg. 6.

(2) Hg. 7.

(3) Hg. 8.

(4) Hg. 9.

(5) Hg. 10.

(6) Hg. 11.

The Qur'ān always says that God did these things that men might know His justice, and believe and do right. Also when God acts, He does so in order to discover which men are believers and which are misbelievers.

"Or when an accident befalls you, and ye have fallen on twice as much, ye say, 'How is this?' Say, 'It is from yourselves. Verily, God is mighty over all.'"

And what befel you the day when the two armies met, it was by God's permission; that He might know the believers, and might know those who behaved hypocritically." (1)

There is another special category of references to acts of God. That is the list of acts whereby God created Israel as a people and sustained her throughout her history until the coming of the Qur'ān. (2) The theme of the pattern of these references to Israel is clearly expressed in the following verse.

"And we did bring the children of Israel the Book and judgment and prophecy, and we provided them with good things, and preferred them above the worlds. And we brought them manifest proofs of the affair, and they disputed not until after knowledge had come to them, through mutual envy." (3)

The creation of Israel was for the purpose of letting them know God and know that the Day of Judgment was coming. (4) They were delivered from the evil Pharaoh in Egypt, and repeatedly given prophets and wise leaders. (5) The purpose

(1) III: 159 f.

(2) Hg. 12.

(3) XLV: 15.

(4) II: 43, XVII: 105, XXXII: 23, XL: 56, XLV: 15.

(5) II: 43; X: 90, XLV: 15.

of these narratives is twofold; on the one hand to express the certainty that God did act, and will still act to care for believers, and, on the other hand, to explain why the people of Israel are out of favour with God since the coming of the Qur'ān. In several cases the Qur'ān explicitly warns the misbelievers to whom it is addressed that God will punish them as he has punished former generations. (1)

"Those before them said it too, but that availed them not which they had earned, and there befel them the evil deeds of what they had earned; and those who do wrong of these (Meccans), there shall befall them too the evil deeds of what they had earned, nor shall they frustrate Him." (2)

This phrase 'nor shall they frustrate Him' illustrates the insight into God's nature and purposes that is characteristic of these narratives. The emphasis of these prophecies to Makkah is on the certainty of God's justice, and the inevitability of punishment and reward for men. Nothing men do can frustrate Him.

The creation and protection of Jesus is another category of acts of God in history mentioned in the Qur'ān. (3) These acts consisted of the virgin birth, and "we gave Jesus the son of Mary manifest signs and aided him with the Holy Spirit", and the death of Jesus; "God raised him up unto Himself". Here, too the emphasis is the certainty of God's care for His prophets. The sending of Jesus was a warning to men to believe in God and the last day.

(1) Hg. 13.

(2) XXXIX: 51.

(3) Hg. 14.

It is possible to abstract two promises from God from the Qur'ān. One is the absolute end of history and final division of men into hell and Paradise. The other is God's reward of prosperity on earth to believers. There are several references in the Qur'ān to both future and final judgment. Believers are promised reward both on earth and in Paradise. Punishment on earth is threatened to unbelievers. There are references to a temporal judgment of all men except those who repent, and references that threaten a temporal judgment that will come suddenly before men know what is happening. The different emphases in these references are not, I think, contradictions, but rather result from the characteristic mode of Semitic prophecy. This latter is the mode of emphasizing different aspects of God's nature and activity as these aspects are relevant to particular situations. (1) The Qur'ān does not tell of the past activities of God as exact precedents for His future deeds, but rather speaks of these activities as proofs of God's power and the certainty of His justice.

(1) Caird, G. B., The Apostolic Age (London: Epworth Press, 1955), p. 183. "In each case the picture is different, not because the prophets were indulging in speculation about an unverifiable future, but because they were applying their knowledge of God to the pastoral necessities of the present." This quotation refers to Biblical prophecy, but it seems to me to be also directly relevant to exegesis of the Qur'ān.

THE HOUR

(Note:- The references in this section in the form Hg. 1, Hg. 2, etc., are to the headings in Appendix III.)

Thirty-four of the references to hour in the Qur'ān refer to the last judgment. The Hour is the time God has promised to men. (1) The coming of the Hour is certain, there is no doubt concerning it. (2) The Qur'ān pictures the Hour as follows:

"Say, 'God quickens you, then He kills you, then He will gather you unto the resurrection day, there is no doubt therein; but most men do not know.'

God's is the kingdom of the heavens and the earth, and on the day when the Hour shall arise on that day shall those who call it vain be losers! And thou shalt see each nation kneeling, each nation summoned to its book, 'To-day are ye rewarded for that which ye have done.'" (3)

The Hour will come suddenly while men do not perceive. (4) God alone knows the time when it will come. (5) The coming

(1) Hg. 1.

(2) Hg. 2.

(3) XLV: 25 f.

(4) Hg. 3.

(5) Hg. 4. Attema, D. S., De Mohammedaansche Opvattingen Omtrent Het Tijdstip Van Den Jongsten Dag En Zijn Voorteekenen (Amsterdam, 1942), p. 22. Casanova has a theory on this subject which resembles Schweitzer's exegesis of the Bible. He thinks Muhammad expected the immediate end of the world in his lifetime. I am in agreement with Attema that there is insufficient evidence from the Qur'ān to support this theory, that Casanova misinterprets the Qur'ānic references he does employ, and that his evidence derives mainly from Hadith.

of the Hour is hidden by God. (1) Rahbar has translated as follows a Muslim commentator's exegesis of this passage:

"When I (God) say (merely) that it (i.e. the Hour) is coming, (without specifying when exactly it is coming), it is not because I intend strongly to keep (the occurrence of) the Hour (itself) hidden.

Had it not been a subtle device, to announce the coming of (the Hour) while keeping the exact time of it screened (or hidden), I would have announced the time (also)." (2)

The conditions of the Hour have come already. (3)

The meaning of this passage has been much debated, but, by analogy from the sense of the usual pattern of Qur'ānic warnings, I think it probably means that the conditions are the warnings that have come from God in the Qur'ān. God sent Jesus as a sign of the Hour. (4) This passage also has been interpreted in different ways, but, again on the basis of the usual pattern of Qur'ānic warnings, it seems probable that Jesus was a sign of the Hour in the sense that he delivered a warning that the Hour would surely come. (5)

(1) Hg. 5.

(2) The original passage is in the Kashshāf of al-Zamakhsharī, Vol. II, p. 848.

(3) Hg. 6.

(4) Hg. 7.

(5) This passage has been interpreted as evidence for the belief that Jesus will visit earth again before the final cataclysm. Attema, op. cit., p. 27. He also thinks Jesus was a sign of the Hour in the sense that he, like the Qur'ān, warned of its coming.

Believers are those who live in history in fear of the Hour. (1)

"God it is who has sent down the Book with truth, and the balance; and what shall make thee know whether haply the Hour be nigh? Those who believe not would hurry it on; and those who believe shrink with terror at it and know that it is true." (2)

Misbelievers do not know whether earthly torment or the Hour is coming to them. (3) When the Hour comes, it will seem as though they had tarried but an hour of the day. (4) God will be the only source of help when the Hour comes. (5) Idols will be useless to men, and they will forget what they used to associate with God.

When the Hour rises, sinners shall be confused, believers joyful. (6) When the Hour comes believers will say they have obeyed the Book, sinners will lie. (7) Their excuses will not profit sinners, and they shall not be asked to please God again. All hope of repentance

(1) Hg. 8.

(2) XLII: 16.

(3) Hg. 9.

(4) Hg. 10.

(5) Hg. 11.

(6) Hg. 12.

(7) Hg. 13.

will have passed. Sinners will be in the Fire when the Hour comes. (1) When the Hour comes, the dead shall be called from their graves. (2)

It is significant that half of these contexts of the Hour are found under two headings: the certainty of the Hour is absolute no matter how vehemently the misbelievers deny it, and the time of it is known only to God. The Hour will come, and the time of its coming depends on the mercy and justice of God. Men must live their lives in the knowledge that it will come, and that they will be held responsible for all that they do. The number, the certainty, and the consistency of these prophecies of the Hour illustrate the accuracy of Rahbar's thesis that the rhetoric of the Qur^ʾān is chiefly concerned with overwhelming its hearers with the certainty of God's justice on the judgment day. (3)

The intention of these prophecies resembles that of Jesus^ʿ warning:

"Watch ye therefore, for ye know not when the master of the house cometh, at even, or at midnight, or at the cock-crowing, or in the morning, lest coming suddenly he find you sleeping." (4)

(1) Hg. 14.

(2) Hg. 15.

(3) Rahbar, op. cit. , p. 37.

(4) Mark xiii.35-36.

The essential point of all these verses is that man dare not delay his obedience to God for, as man, he cannot expect anything other than God's imminent judgment of him. As man he dare not live as though he controlled the world, time, and his own life.

"God produces a creation, then He makes it go back again, then unto Him shall ye return." (1)

GATHERING

(Note:— The references in this section in the form Hg. 1, Hg. 2, etc., are to the headings in Appendix IV.)

The Qur'an prophesies a dramatic ending of history when the earth will shake and be cleft asunder and all men will be gathered to God to be judged. (2)

"And the day when we will move the mountains, and thou shalt see the (whole) earth stalking forth; and we will gather them, and will not leave one of them behind. Then shall they be presented to thy Lord in ranks....

And the Book shall be placed, and thou shalt see the sinners in fear of what is in it; and they will say, 'Alas, for us! what ails this Book, it leaves neither small nor great things alone, without numbering them?' and they shall find present what they have done; and thy Lord will not wrong any one." (3)

When God gathers men it will be as though they had not tarried save an hour of the day. (4) Basic to all these verses about the last things is the warning that it is surely God to whom men will be gathered. (5)

"And, verily, it is your Lord who will gather you; verily, He is wise and knowing."

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- (1) XXX: 10.
 - (2) Hg. 1.
 - (3) XVIII: 45 f.
 - (4) Hg. 2.
 - (5) Hg. 3.
 - (6) XV: 25.

The Messiah and the angels are submissive to God; Men who disdain His service will finally be gathered to Him. (1) Nothing in the universe is self-sufficient, all are the creatures of God the Creator. Whether men die in God's way, or are killed, God will gather them to Himself. (2)

When men are gathered to God on the resurrection day, they will be asked to explain what they worshipped instead of Him. (3) The folly of idolatry will be fully revealed then. The jinn men used to worship will be powerless to help them. Men will be finally divided on the day of gathering. (4) The pious will be gathered like ambassadors to God, and the sinners driven like herds to water. The jinn will be gathered to God together with men and sent to hell. (5) Sinners will be gathered into hell. (6)

The Qur'ān has been sent to warn men to fear the gathering. (7) The idols will betray men when they are gathered to God. (8) When men are gathered at the end they

(1) Hg. 4.

(2) Hg. 5.

(3) Hg. 6.

(4) Hg. 7.

(5) Hg. 8.

(6) Hg. 9.

(7) Hg. 10.

(8) Hg. 11.

will have to answer to God for all that they have done; all that they used to serve besides God will be heedless of them then, and the sinners and their idols will all be banished into hell to dwell there forever.

The pictures of the gathering usually occur in contexts where the point emphasized is the finality of God's decision as to the worth of particular men. The verse quoted points up the central message of all the prophecies; "thy Lord shall not wrong any one." (1) The justice of God will be absolutely known, and is absolutely trustworthy. The usual pattern of the prophecy is that He will gather them, and then they will know. The form of this proclamation is two fold; God will act to gather men to Him, and when He does so all human self-assertion will be powerless. Men will stand before Him with no help but Him.

RESURRECTION

(Note :- The references in this section in the form Hg. 1, Hg. 2, etc., are to the headings in Appendix V.)

The primary emphasis of the contexts of the term "resurrection" is also the finality of God's judgment of men on the last day. There are many descriptions in the Qur'ān of the cataclysm in earth and heaven that will usher in the final judgment. (2)

(1) XVIII: 45 f.

(2) Hg. 1.

"While the earth all of it is but a handful for Him on the resurrection day, and the heavens shall be rolled up in His right hand! Celebrated be His praise! and exalted be He above what they associate with Him! And the trumpet shall be blown, and those who are in the heavens and in the earth shall swoon, save whom God pleases. Then it shall be blown again, and, lo! they shall stand up and look on. And the earth shall beam with the light of its Lord, and the Book shall be set forth, and the prophets and martyrs shall be brought; and it shall be decreed between them in truth, and they shall not be wronged! (1)

God will surely gather men together on the resurrection day, there is no doubt therein. (2) When men are gathered to God on the resurrection day they will know His justice. (3) On the resurrection day God will inform men of what they have done. (4)

" I need not swear by the resurrection day!
Nor need I swear by the self-accusing soul!
Does man think that we shall not collect his bones? Able are we to arrange his finger tips!
Nay, but man wishes to be wicked henceforward!
he asks, When is the resurrection day?

(1) XXXIX: 67.

(2) Hg. 2.

(3) Hg. 3.

(4) Hg. 4.

But when the sight shall be dazed, and the moon be eclipsed, and the sun and the moon be together, and man shall say upon that day, 'Where is a place to flee to?'--nay, no refuge! and to thy Lord that day is the sure settlement: He will inform man on that day of what He has sent forward or delayed!" (1)

Thus the resurrection day is the time when men are brought before God and asked to account for their earthly lives. Those who have done good shall be the better for it, and those who have done evil shall be thrown down upon their faces into the fire. (2)

God will not speak to, nor look at sinners on the resurrection day. (3) There are ten references to the fact that on the resurrection day God will decide between men concerning that which they did dispute. (4) The contexts of these verses show that the reference is usually to the theological disputes between Jews and Christians.

"The sabbath was only made for those who dispute thereon; but, verily, thy Lord will judge between them on the resurrection day concerning that whereon they do dispute." (5)

Both the Jews and Christians will die, and God will decide the arguments between them.

(1) LXXV: 1 f.

(2) Hg. 3.

(3) Hg. 5.

(4) Hg. 6.

(5) XVL: 125.

Those who reject the guidance will be punished on the resurrection day. (1) Believers pray for the fulfilment of the promise on the resurrection day. (2) Believers shall receive their reward on the day of judgment. (3) Believers are thus the people who accept the guidance, who live in prayerful expectation of the coming of the day, and who know that God has promised them Paradise as a reward for their obedience. Those who have rejected the guidance will be punished at the final judgment.

God controls night and day until the resurrection day. (4) He is the Lord of all and changes the world as he will. Men live owing to His mercy. They should be grateful. There will be a just balance on the resurrection day. (5) No soul will be wronged at all. The Lord who controls the night and day is absolutely just and absolutely trustworthy.

Those who commit fornication will be punished on resurrection day. (6) There are ten further references in the Qur'an to the punishment of sinners on the resurrection day. (7) Those who cheat, who forge lies, who do wrong and who lie against God will be paid their hire. For them is lasting woe.

(1) Hg. 7.

(2) Hg. 8.

(3) Hg. 9.

(4) Hg. 10.

(5) Hg. 11.

(6) Hg. 12.

(7) Hg. 13.

There will be no help other than God on the resurrection day. (1) The final worth of people before God will be known on the resurrection day. (2)

"Made fair to those who misbelieve is this world's life; they jest at those who do believe. But those who fear shall be above them on the resurrection day. " (3)

Those who misbelieve will be punished on the resurrection day. (4) The families of sinners will be punished on resurrection day. (5) God will judge men individually on resurrection day. (6) This seems a contradiction, but, as explained earlier, the characteristic mode of Semitic prophecy is to address messages to particular situations. In the case of the Qur'ān the phrase 'and their families too' is used to illustrate the completeness of the judgment against sinners, while the message that God will judge men individually is addressed to a different situation in which the warning is that each man is personally responsible to God.

(1) Hg. 14.

(2) Hg. 15.

(3) II: 208.

(4) Hg. 16.

(5) Hg. 17.

(6) Hg. 18.

Men shall be raised from the dead on the day of resurrection. (1) The children of Adam bore witness of the resurrection day. (2) Men have known from the beginning that the final judgment will come. Some of them think they can bargain with God; He warns them that they hope in vain to be able to force His justice. (3) God curses sinners in this life, and on the resurrection day: (4)

"For him is disgrace in this world, and we will make him taste, upon the resurrection day, the torment of burning." (5)

He responds to sinners' misdeeds by punishing them with disgrace in this world, and on the resurrection day with the torment of burning. Some people are punished in this world until the resurrection day. (6)

God has cast enmity and hatred among the Jews and Christians until the resurrection day. (7) Jesus shall be a witness against the Christians on the day of judgment. (8)

(1) Hg. 19.

(2) Hg. 20.

(3) Hg. 21.

(4) Hg. 22.

(5) XXII: 9.

(6) Hg. 23.

(7) Hg. 24.

(8) Hg. 25.

"And there shall not be one of the people of the Book but shall believe in him before his death; and on the day of judgment he shall be a witness against them." (1)

The verse is sometimes used as evidence for the second coming of Jesus before the final judgment. (2) Its meaning is obscure, but at least it seems clear that the Qur'ān says Jesus will be witness against the Christians on the day of judgment. This warning was addressed to the Christians who first heard the Qur'ān.

These various pictures of the resurrection day all serve to illustrate the certainty that God's justice will finally be known to men. On the resurrection day all will be paid their hire, God will not wrong anyone. They will be fairly judged on a just balance, and will receive everlasting Paradise or hell as reward. All chance of repentance and reconciliation with God will have gone.

(1) IV; 157.

(2) Macdonald, D. B. "Īsā", Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam, (Leiden: E. S. Brill, 1953) p. 174.

GOD BRINGS BACK TO LIFE

(Note:-The references in this section in the form Hg. 1, Hg. 2, etc., are to the headings in Appendix VI)

I have also collected the references in the Qur'ān to God "brings back to life." Almost all of these references are found in contexts which say that God will bring His creatures back to Himself, and that then the purpose of His creation will be fulfilled. (1) The purpose of creation is that His righteousness shall be manifested. The God whose righteousness shall be thus manifested is the same God who has sent the Qur'ān. (2)

"Verily, He who hath ordained the Qur'ān for thee will restore thee to thy returning place. Say, 'My Lord knows best who brings guidance, and who is in obvious error; nor couldst thou hope that the Book would be thrown to thee, save as a mercy from thy Lord! be not then a backer up of those who misbelieve; and let them not turn thee from the signs of God, after they have been sent down to thee; but call unto thy Lord and be not of the idolaters; and call not with God upon any other god; there is no god but He! everything is perishable, except His face; His is the judgment, and unto Him shall ye return!'" (3)

God destroyed former cities that men might repent and turn again to Him. (4) The pattern of these contexts is basic to the essential eschatological prophecies of the Qur'ān.

(1) Hg. 1.

(2) Hg. 2.

(3) XXVIII:85

(4) Hg. 3.

God created the world, and men, and, in the end, He will bring men back to Himself and judge them. His justice is sure.

"To Him is your return all of you--God's promise in truth; verily, He produces the creature, then He makes it return again, that He may recompense those who believe and do what is right with justice; but those who misbelieve, for them is a drink of boiling water, and grievous woe, for that they did misbelieve." (1)

The end of the world will be the final manifestation of God's justice, and men will be eternally divided into the inhabitants of Paradise and hell.

RECKONING

(Note:-The references in this section in the form Hg.1, Hg. 2, etc., are to the headings in Appendix VII)

There are twenty references in the Qur'ān to God's reckoning up at the end of time. The theme here, as in the contexts of the other words relating to eschatology, is the positive emphasis that it is God who will reckon up, and that the coming of the reckoning is inevitable. God's justice will be fully and finally known on the day of reckoning. (2) The Prophet only delivers the warning, it is God who will reckon up.

Men will be finally divided at the day of reckoning.(3) Those who are given their book in their right hand will be in a pleasing life, in a lofty garden; those who are given their book in their left hand will broil in a blaze. God gives

(1) X: 4.

(2) Hg. 1.

(3) Hg. 2.

men their just reward on the day of reckoning. (1) They will have their portion from what they have earned. Sinners receive their punishment on the day of reckoning. (2) God is swift at reckoning up.

Men are warned to fear God because the reckoning will surely come. It is coming, though men are heedless of it. (3) The misbelievers will be punished because they have lived their lives disbelieving in God's signs. (4) Abraham, Moses and Noah all warned their people that the reckoning would come, and that those who misbelieved and were big with pride would be punished. (5)

The pattern of this warning of the reckoning up is similar in the Qur'ānic prophecies delivered both in Makkah and Madīnah. The early Makkah prophecy is as follows:

"When the heaven is rent asunder and gives ear unto its Lord, and is dutiful!

And when the earth is stretched out and casts forth what is in it, and is empty, and gives ear unto its Lord, and is dutiful.'

O man! verily, thou art toiling after thy Lord, toiling; wherefore shalt thou meet Him.

(1) Hg. 3.

(2) Hg. 4.

(3) Hg. 6.

(4) Hg. 7.

(5) Hgs. 8,9,10.

And as for him who is given his book in his right hand, he shall be reckoned with by an easy reckoning; and he shall go back to his family joyfully.

But as for him who is given his book behind his back, he shall call out for destruction, but he shall broil in a blaze!" (1)

A late Madīnah prophecy is as follows:

"These--they have their portion from what they have earned; for God is swift at reckoning up." (2)

The imagery of the warning is more vivid, intense, and detailed in the early picture of the reckoning, but the central theme remains the same in both prophecies, and throughout the Qur'ān.

All these prophecies emphasize in colourful imagery the positive reality of God's awareness of men's activities, and the absolute certainty of the coming of a future judgment when God's righteousness will be fully manifested, and men's status in relation to Him clearly recognized and understood by all. The mythological picture of the creation, the inspiring of the Prophet and the earlier prophets, and the coming of the final day of reckoning was essential to the communication effected by the Qur'ān among men of an awareness of their total responsibility to God for their lives within and beyond history. The myth was the key with which the believers interpreted history, and which enabled them to evaluate present activities in the light of God's past actions and promise for the future.

(1) LXXXIV: 2f.

(2) II: 198.

HEREAFTER

(Note;- The references in this section in the form Hg.1, Hg.2, etc., are to headings in Appendix VIII).

The term "hereafter" is used consistently in contexts which refer to the reward or punishment particular people will receive in the future. There are ninety-seven contexts of "hereafter" which relate to the future life. For good people, the abode of the future life is better. (1) God wishes for the next world, though misbelievers want the goods of this life. (2)

In ten instances the hereafter is contrasted with this world. (3) The life of this world is but a game and a sport, it is a transient life; the hereafter is better and more lasting. In the end God will reward the believers, and they will be well pleased. In the next life are greater degrees and preferences. (4)

There are twenty-seven prophecies that God will reward and punish both in this world and the next. (5)

" He who wishes for the tilth of the next world, we will increase for him the tilth; and he who desires the tilth of this world, we will give him thereof; but in the next he shall have no portion. " (6)

(1) Hg. 1.

(2) Hg. 2.

(3) Hg. 3.

(4) Hg. 4.

(5) Hg. 5.

(6) XLII: 19.

Those who sin in earthly life will suffer torment in the hereafter, and they shall not be helped. (1) The misbelievers will be in torment in the hereafter. (2) The believers are those who are certain of, and who love the hereafter. (3) As shown previously, believers are also those who fear the judgment. (4) This is another paradox which can be better understood by recognizing that the prophecies were addressed to different situations. Believers are those who fear the hereafter as opposed to the misbelievers who are heedless of its coming. Believers are also those who love the hereafter in contrast with this world's life.

God is Lord of this world and the next. (5) Believers hope and strive for the hereafter. (6) Disbelief in the warning of the hereafter will be punished. (7) Disbelief in the hereafter is sin. (8)

"And when God alone is mentioned the hearts of those who believe not in the hereafter quake." (9)

(1) Hg. 6.

(2) Hg. 7.

(3) Hg. 9.

(4) Supra, p. 29.

(5) Hg. 10.

(6) Hg. 11.

(7) Hg. 12.

(8) Hg. 13.

(9) XXXIX: 46.

The children of Israel were told of the promise of the hereafter. (1) But the Qur'ān warns that if the Jews persist in thinking the hereafter is exclusively for them, they had better long for death and see what will happen. (2) The Qur'ānic prophecies warn that the exclusiveness of the Jews will be punished; they were sent guidance, but they were proud and went astray.

God's judgments in history are a sign of the coming of the hereafter. (3) The contexts in this section all emphasize the reality of God's activities in history, and the relation of these intervening actions to the promise of the future life. He is the Lord of this world and the next. He acts here so that men may know His nature and purpose. He rewards and punishes here as a prelude to the final judgment in the hereafter. Those who deny Him here, and are big with pride will be in torment then; those who obey and trust His justice here will know the better life He will give them in the hereafter.

(1) Hg. 14.

(2) Hg. 15.

(3) Hg. 16.

ETERNITY

(Note:- The references in this section in the form Hg. 1, Hg. 2, etc., are to the headings in Appendix IX.)

As will be shown in chapter three, recent Christian theologians have been much concerned to discover the nature of the Biblical view of time and eternity. The reason for this is that any individual's feeling as to the nature of eternity will inevitably colour, and even determine his ultimate hope for himself and his fellows, and his actions which are based on that hope. The need to articulate an adequate doctrine of God is inalienably linked with the need for a doctrine of time and the significance of history.

Paul Tillich speaks of this feeling for eternity as the "ultimate concern" of any individual; that hope and trust he has which sustains him in his darkest moments and enables him to work to realize his vision against pain, hostility and disillusion. Such trust which can keep a man sincere and creative is of course trust in what he believes are the ultimate purposes of God, the being who is other than man, and in whose care men are constantly growing. In the Semitic tradition this is the one God who created the world, who guides its course, and who will finally judge all men.

When we come to ask what the Qur'ān says of eternity we find it has no word to correspond with the concept implied by the English word. I have considered the references to khuld in the appendix to this section.

Rahbar has discussed the other Qur'ānic words which are sometimes used to mean eternity, or eternal, and has concluded as follows:

"In the Arabic language there is no word for 'eternal'--a Being with no beginning nor end." (1)

This is also true of Hebrew.

"It is not without a stretch of interpretation that the theologian can find scriptural evidence of God's eternity. The most pertinent quotation would be the following verse:--

'He is the first(al-Awwal), and the last (al-Akhir)...' (57:3)

Now strictly speaking al-Awwal at best refers to God's priority over everything, but not eternity. Al-Akhir in the same way only means One who will be the last, but not necessarily everlasting.

Al-Samad is another word widely believed ... to mean Eternal of the Everlasting. It occurs only once in the Qur'ān, in Sūrah 112....

The primary sense of the word there is 'One to whom men have recourse in need' and its occurrence in the Qur'ān in that sense is very natural. This primary sense has no germs in it of eternity....

There are two other words (not applied in the Qur'ān to God) which have been added to the so-called most comely names of God by Muslims. They too are not wide enough. al-Qadīm (literally the prior or the ancient) is a word very popular with the Sufi poets of Iran who found an escape, in speculating on the mysteries of God's infinite past from the horrors of His judgement on the Judgement Day. It was also used by the Mutakallimīn or the Scholastic theologians, as the opposite of muḥdath (-created in time). The other non-Qur'ānic name of God is al-Dā'īm, which like the word al-Baqī only means one who will always remain. The word azālī connotes only an infinite past, while abadī connotes only an infinite future." (2)

(1) Rahbar, op. cit., p. 53.

(2) Ibid., pp. 48 ff.

Thus when we come to ask what the Qur^{ān} says of time and eternity, we find that it says little, and indeed nothing in terms of the language and concepts in which the Greek philosophers discussed the problem. Change and changeless are not the basic contrasts of the Qur an, but rather limitation and fulfilment. Men are harangued with warnings of their mortality. The point about the evil of time is not that it changes, but that it frustrates and limits. Men are mortal, they sicken and they die, and they are utterly dependent on the Creator for their food and their life. They are told they hope in vain for earthly immortality. (1)

Further contexts of khuld are "torment of eternity", (2) and "eternal boys", (ghilmān), who will bring (3) goblets of wine and fruit in Paradise. The recompense of the enemies of God is an "eternal abode" in the Fire. (4) Entrance into Paradise is the "day of eternity". Paradise is the "garden of eternity". By far the largest number of contexts of khuld are those in which it is said that people will dwell in Paradise, or hell for aye.

(1) Hg. 1.

(2) Hg. 2.

(3) Hg. 3.

(4) Hg. 4.

There are thirty-seven references to the everlastingness of life in Paradise and thirty-two to life in hell. These verses have been collected in the appendices that relate to Paradise and hell.

PARADISE

(Note:- The references in this section in the form Hg. 1, Hg. 2, etc., are to the headings in Appendix X.)

The next terms to be considered are Paradise and hell. There are one hundred and three references to Paradise in the Qur'ān, and one hundred and eight references to hell and fire. I wish to investigate the nature of the final judgment, and the relation of Paradise and hell to events of temporal history.

Paradise is a place of complete fulfilment and comfort. (1)

"And God will guard them from the evil of that day and will cast on them brightness and joy; and their reward for their patience shall be Paradise and silk! reclining therein upon couches they shall neither see therein sun nor piercing cold; and close down upon them shall be its shadows; and lowered over them its fruits to cull; and they shall be served round with vessels of silver and goblets that are as flagons--flagons of silver which they shall mete out! and they shall drink therein a cup tempered with Zingabil, a spring therein named Silsabil! and there shall go round about them eternal boys; and when thou seest them thou shalt see pleasure and a great estate! On them shall be garments of green embroidered satin and brocade; and they shall be adorned with bracelets of silver; and their Lord shall give them to drink pure drink! Verily, this is a reward for you, and your efforts are thanked." (2)

(1) Hg, 1.

(2) LXXVI: 12f.

Almost all the pictures of Paradise describe it as gardens beneath which rivers flow. The people there will eat fruit, and drink, with good digestion. (1) They will wear bracelets of gold and silver, and green robes of silk and brocade. (2) There will be rivers of milk, wine, pure water, and honey, and fruit, and forgiveness from the Lord. (3)

The people in Paradise will eat from dishes of gold. (4) Food and shade will be enduring. (5) Faces will be comfortable, content with their past endeavours. (6) People will recline on couches with cushions arranged, and carpets spread. (7) God can give them castles. (8) There will be no more ill-feeling. (9) They will be living in the seat of truth, with the powerful king. (10) Angels will be circling the throne, celebrating the praises of the Lord. (11)

(1) XXXVIII: 50, XLIV: 52, LII: 17, LXIX: 22.

(2) XVIII: 31, XXII: 23, XXXV: 30.

(3) XLVII: 16.

(4) XLIII: 70.

(5) XIII: 35, XXXVIII: 58.

(6) LXXXVIII: 10.

(7) LXXXVIII: 10. There are numerous other references to couches.

(8) XXV: 11.

(9) XV: 45.

(10) LIV: 54.

(11) XXXIX: 73.

The breadth of Paradise will be as the breadth of the heavens and the earth. (1) There shall be no toil there, and no fatigue. (2) Those who dwell in Paradise shall never again taste of death. (3) They shall dwell there forever. (4)

Western writers on Islām have sometimes tended to assert carelessly that the Qur'ānic picture of Paradise is crude and sensuous. There are, it is true, a number of references to the bright, large-eyed, (5) pure, (6) and modest (7) maidens of the same age as the men who will be their wives (8) in Paradise. (9) Even this is not really a markedly sensuous picture. But there are also a number of references to the fact that women who believe and do right will also go to Paradise, and that its comforts of eternal peace and contentment are for them also. (10)

(1) LVII: 21.

(2) XXXV: 30.

(3) XLVIII: 52.

(4) III: 13, III: 130, IV: 17 and others.

(5) XLIV: 52.

(6) II: 23, IV: 60.

(7) XXXVII: 42, XLIV: 52.

(8) LII: 17, XXXVIII: 50.

(9) III: 13, II: 23, IV: 60, XXXVII: 42, XXXVIII: 50, LII: 17, XLIV: 52.

(10) IV: 121, 123, IX: 73, X: 8, XII: 23, XXXVI: 55, XL: 43, XLIII: 70, XLVIII: 5, LVII: 12.

Since the society in which the Qur'an appeared was not monogamous, there is no great immorality nor contradiction implied in the existence of these two types of statement about the Paradise promised to believers.

This is another case in which the intention of the Qur'an is clarified if we do not consider the pictures as a series of details which should add up to one consistent picture, but rather think of them as images used in rhetorical speeches for the purpose of illustrating particular points. The references to the large-eyed maidens, who will be wives of the believers in Paradise, resemble the references to other things such as food, drink, clothing and work. In each case the aim is to illustrate the perfection of life in Paradise, and the total absence of any frustration, pain or limitation. In Paradise there will be complete fulfilment, and relations between the sexes, like everything else, will be harmonious and beautiful.

God will make those He pleases enter Paradise. (1)
 God cares for man's life and can grant him Paradise. (2)
 God promises Paradise to those who fear Him. (3) There are ten references to God's promise of Paradise to the pious. (4)
 God promises Paradise to believers for that which they have done. (5) God promises Paradise to those who do good. (6)

(1) Hg. 2.

(4) Hg. 5.

(2) Hg. 3.

(5) Hg. 6.

(3) Hg. 4.

(6) Hg. 7.

God promises Paradise to those who act rightly. (1) All these persons will be rewarded with everlasting peace and contentment.

"Gardens of Eden shall they enter, adorned therein with bracelets of gold and pearls; and their garments shall be silk; and they shall say, 'Praise belongs to God, who has removed from us our grief; verily, our Lord is forgiving, grateful! who has made us alight in an enduring abode of His grace, wherein no toil shall touch us, and there shall touch us no fatigue.'" (2)

Obedient service of God in this world, piety, and good works will surely be rewarded at the end. God's justice is certain; He has promised to reward those who fear Him, and who act rightly.

The Jews and Christians say Paradise is their exclusive right. (3) They say so but they cannot bring proofs. God's justice will award Paradise to those who believe and do right. (4) Those who are glad will be in Paradise. (5) God will strip away ill-feeling from those

(1) Hg. 8.

(2) XXXV; 30.

(3) Hg. 9.

(4) Hg. 11.

(5) Hg. 10.

in Paradise; they will be happy and have lasting pleasure. There are twenty-four references to the reward of Paradise to those who believe and do right.

God will give Paradise to those slain in His cause. (1)
 God gave Paradise to Adam and his wife in the beginning. (2)
 It is not clear from the Qur'ān whether the final Paradise is the same as the original one.

The people without the warning from God hoped in vain for Paradise. (3) Idolaters are forbidden Paradise. (4) Some people hope in vain for Paradise. (5) The theme of all these contexts is the warning that idolatry and pride cannot gain Paradise; it is the reward only of those who believe in God and do right.

Jesus entered Paradise. (6) This is the only reference I found which told of the direct translation of a person to Paradise. God promises Paradise to believers. (7).

(1) Hg. 12.

(2) Hg. 13.

(3) Hg. 14.

(4) Hg. 15.

(5) Hg. 15.

(6) Hg. 17.

(7) Hg. 18.

"On the day when thou shall see believers, men and women, with their light running on before them and on their right hand, - 'Glad tidings for you to-day. - Gardens beneath which rivers flow, to dwell therein for aye; that is the grand bliss!' (1)

The believers will know perfect bliss and good-will from God in Paradise in payment for their faithful service on earth.

The devils invite to hell, but God invites to Paradise. (2) God will award Paradise to the Apostle and those who believe with him. (3) God offered Paradise to former peoples. (4) The Qur'ān is a further warning that God's justice will certainly prevail. Paradise will be rewarded to those who are steadfast in prayer, give alms, believe in the apostles and lend God a goodly loan. (5)

Paradise is thus always mentioned in the context of rhetorical speeches advocating particular types of activity. The pattern of the eschatological vision is a proclamation of the imminent arrival of Paradise and hell, together with a warning of the relevance of this arrival to particular existing situations. Paradise and hell will certainly come, and jinn, believers, and mis-believers will finally know their worth before God.

(1) LVII: 12.

(2) Hg. 19.

(3) Hg. 20.

(4) Hg. 21.

(5) V: 15.

HELL

(Note:- The references in this section in the form Hg. 1, Hg. 2, etc., are to the headings in Appendix XI.)

Listing the contexts of the term "hell" shows that it also is mentioned almost exclusively in warnings as to the value God puts on types of human activity. Thirty-five of the contexts of hell describe the types of activity which merit hell. (1) In addition, nineteen of the contexts warn that misbelievers will surely be rewarded with hell. (2) Hell is very terrible. Its arrival is prophesied in a similar manner both in the early Makkah, and the Madīnah Sūrahs. The early description is:

"Nay, when the earth is crushed to pieces, and thy Lord comes with the angels, rank on rank, and hell is brought on that day,--on that day shall man be reminded! but how shall he have a reminder?

He will say, 'Would that I had sent something forward for my life!'

But on that day no one shall be tormented with a torment like his, and none shall be bound with bonds like his!" (3)

The later description of the arrival of hell is as follows:

"And whoso kills a believer purposely, his reward is hell, to dwell therein for aye; and God will be wrath with him, and curse him, and prepare for him a mighty woe." (4)

(1) Hg. 1.

(2) Hg. 2.

(3) LXXXIX: 24.

(4) IV: 95.

The imagery of the earlier prophecy is more vivid and detailed, but the pattern of the essential warning remains the same. When the day comes God will reward those who have sinned in this life with a torment, a mighty woe.

The term most frequently used to describe the torment of hell is broiling. (1) When one skin is burned up it shall be replaced with another to be broiled. (2) There is boiling water around hell. (3) Men will be thrust into hell with their faces blackened, (4) on their knees. (5) *Malik* is the guardian of hell; (6) there are treasurers of hell who question the persons condemned. (7) It brays as it boils. (8) The fire will scorch their faces, (9) and their sides and their backs. (10) They will be blind, dumb and deaf; (11)

(1) XIV: 34, XXXVI: 30.

(2) IV: 58.

(3) LV: 35.

(4) XXXIX: 61.

(5) XIX: 64.

(6) XLIII: 74.

(7) LXVII: 6, XL: 50, XXXIX: 71.

(8) LXVII: 6.

(9) XXIII: 105.

(10) IX: 35.

(11) XVII: 99.

they will groan and not be heard. (1) Hell has seven doors. (2) Those condemned to be there will be forced to drink boiling water and pus. (3) Sinners shall not die there, and shall not live. (4) A representative example of the description of hell in the Qur'ān is the following:

"But those who misbelieve, for them is the fire of hell; it shall not be decreed for them to die, nor shall aught of the torment be lightened from them; thus do we reward every misbeliever; and they shall shriek therein, 'O our Lord! bring us forth, and we will do right, not what we used to do!'--'Did we not let you grow old enough for every one who would be mindful to be mindful? and there came to you a warner!--So taste it, for the unjust shall have none to help!'" (5)

There are four references to the certain condemnation to hell of the persons who reject the warning sent in the Qur'ān, and who call the apostle liar. (6) God has revealed in the Book that misbelievers will go to hell. (7) Believers should pray God to protect them from the torment of hell. (8) When the warning comes to men from God their

(1) XXI: 98f.

(2) XV: 45.

(3) XIV: 19, XXXVIII: 56, LXXVIII: 20.

(4) XX: 76, XIV: 19, XXXV: 33.

(5) XXXV: 33.

(6) Hg. 3.

(7) Hg. 4.

(8) Hg. 5.

eternal life depends on their response in this life. Submission to the warning is a matter of urgent importance.

Devils will also be brought into hell. (1) When Shaitān refused to obey Adam, he was granted freedom until the day of judgment, but then he will be sent to hell. The last day is thus the absolute triumph of God over all evil, cosmic as well as in the heart of man. The mythology is the framework through which is conveyed to men the urgency of the imperative to submit to God; the lurid pictures of broiling, and roasting and drinking pus convey with power the awfulness of final separation from God. Hell goes on forever after the day of judgment.

(1) Hg. 6.

FIRE

(Note:- The references in this section in the form Hg.1, Hg. 2, etc., are to the headings in Appendix XII).

The contexts of "fire" are also prophecies as to which people will be punished, and which rewarded. Eleven contexts refer to the final recompense of misbelievers in the Fire.(1)

"But those who misbelieve, for them are cut out garments of fire, there shall be poured over their heads boiling water, wherewith what is in their bellies shall be dissolved and their skins too, and for them are maces of iron. Whenever they desire to come forth therefrom through pain, they are sent back into it; 'And taste ye the torment of the burning.' (2)

The recompense of all the sinners will be the Fire.(3)
Those who gain an evil gain, who sell guidance for error, who return to usury, who are the enemies of God-- for them is a burning fire. There will be no helpers to save sinners from the Fire on that day. (4) The Fire is promised to those who disbelieve in the guidance. (5) The unjust patrons of others will be in the Fire. (6)

(1) Hg. (1)

(2) XXII: 204.

(3) Hg. 2.

(4) Hg. 3.

(5) Hg. 4.

(6) Hg. 5.

Those who are content with the life of this world, their resort is the Fire. (1) Fire is one of the torments of hell. (2) Reward and punishment are in this world and the next. (3) Believers pray for good from God in this world and the next, and the works of sinners are vain in both worlds. They will be the fellows of the Fire, to dwell therein forever.

Idolaters invite to the fire, and God invites to Paradise. (4) The Jews say fire shall not touch them save for a certain number of days. (5) But that deceived them in their religion which they had invented. Thus the religion of the idolaters leads to the fire, and the religion of the Jews is distorted. Such as act aright and believe in the resurrection day will be saved from the Fire.

God created Iblīs and the angels from fire. (6) For this reason Iblīs refused to worship Adam who was created from clay. Those who take idols beside God will be in the Fire. (7) Those who associated others with God will know their folly on the final day.

(1) Hg. 6.

(2) Hg. 7.

(3) Hg. 8.

(4) Hg. 9.

(5) Hg. 10.

(6) Hg. 11.

(7) Hg. 12.

This summary of the contexts of Fire has shown that the term is almost always referred to in the same way as Paradise and hell, that is with reference to the sins of particular people, and to the coming punishment. Further, the types of sins are similar to those listed in the contexts of hell. Misbelievers and idolaters are promised their certain punishment.

ATTEMA'S THEORY

The Dutch scholar Attema has written a study of the Qur'ānic eschatology in which he traces a change from the visions of the imminence of a cataclysmic end of the world in the early Makkah Sūrahs to prophecies in which the time of the Hour is proclaimed as known only to God. He has considered the references to God's past actions and promises for the future in the contexts of Nöldeke's chronological arrangements of the Sūrahs.

The early references to the imminence of the expected end are intended to convey the certainty that the misbelieving people of Makkah will suffer torment when the Hour arrives.

(1) Attema sees verse XL: 57 as one expression of the change in the Qur'ān to the view that the Hour might not be so very imminent. (2) He sees a later message that the time of the end was certainly known to God, but not to any man, and that its arrival would be quite sudden. (3)

(1) Attema, op. cit., p. 10.

(2) Ibid., pp. 10f.

(3) Ibid., p. 23.

He also sees the emergence of a new prophetic pattern which threatens the people of Makkah both with punishment within history, and with torment at the final judgment. (1) Such threats are conveyed with illustrations from the previous history of God's dealings with disobedient cities. Attema points out that sometimes the destruction of peoples was final, while at other times the possibility of repentance was left open. (2)

In the late Makkah and Madīnah Sūrah's, and particularly in the references to Badr, there is the message that God is using the Muslims as instruments of His judgments within history. Badr was a temporary judgment that left open the possibility of repentance. (3) The prophecy as to whether the believers can expect earthly or temporal

(1) Ibid., p. 14.

(2) Ibid., pp. 14 f. He refers to XL: 84, 85 and XXXVIII: 2.

(3) Ibid., p. 16. He refers to VIII: 13, III: 11. He also refers to XVIII: 127, VI: 42, VII: 92, XXXII: 21, and XLIII: 47 on pp. 14 f. as examples of destructions which leave open the possibility of repentance. In many cases the destructions are meant to effect repentance.

prosperity or not varies with the situation to which the message is given. (1) Sometimes believers are rewarded with well-being. Other times the final Hour is held out to them as their only hope. The latter view is the message after the battle of Uhud. (2)

It is Attama's opinion that there is a development in the Qur'ān from a world-view completely concentrated and centred on the imminent final end and judgment of the world, to a view in which the final end is of less exclusive significance. He also considers that there is more attention given in the later Sūrahs to God's activity in awarding temporal punishment to unbelievers and temporal well-being to believers. (3) Despite this change of emphasis, however, there always remains throughout the Qur'ān the fundamental certainty that the final Hour will come, and God's justice will be fulfilled.

(1) Ibid., p. 17. He refers to IX: 14, V: 37, 38, XVI: 32, 43, 123, III: 141, LXI: 12, 13, XXIX: 26. In several of these examples the idea that God rewards believers with earthly prosperity is read back into the narratives about previous prophets.

(2) Ibid., p. 19. He refers to III: 182. He notes other references in which the Qur'ān states that the prosperity of this world is of little importance compared with the 'better and more lasting' life of Paradise. XLII: 34, LVII: 19-21, XI: 131 and others.

(3) Ibid., pp. 17 f.

Although I have not considered the contexts of the eschatological words in relation to events in the life of the Prophet, I think that Attema's historical exegesis is essentially correct. As shown in section two above, references to past acts of God in the Qur'ān are not always the same, and the points they illustrate are different, and even contradictory. The explanation of these differences may be that the prophecies were expressions of the will of God in relation to different situations. Caird terms a similar Biblical phenomenon the pastoral intention of the prophecies.

Chapter III

HISTORICAL CRITICISM AND QUR'ĀNIC ESCHATOLOGY

(Note: The references in this chapter in the form I, Hg. 1; II, Hg. 2, etc., are to Appendix I, heading 1, Appendix II, heading 2, and so forth.)

We have seen in the foregoing pages the representative eschatological ideas which are disclosed by comparison of the contexts of the words relating to eschatology in the Qur'ān. In this chapter I go on to inquire into the resemblance between these ideas and the representative ideas of later Muslim thought. Both a summary of popular ideas and the creedal statement of a medieval theologian will be used as sources for the representative ideas.

This comparison of the Qur'ānic world view with later Muslim thought discloses many differences between the two. As will be shown in chapter four, higher criticism of the Bible has also disclosed many differences between the Biblical world view and medieval theology. Such recognition of limitations in medieval thought is not peculiar to Muslims and Christians who are directly concerned with historical and literary criticism of their Holy Books. This discontent is characteristic of many modern thinkers, and expresses itself in a variety of ways.

This present chapter contains a brief discussion of some modern Muslim thinkers who recognize the inadequacy of medieval thought to harmonize with the new world view which modern man derives from science. They, together with modern Christians, feel a need to reformulate theology in a manner that can be reconciled with the new discoveries in the realms of physical, biological and historical sciences.

Chapter five is a comparison of some aspects of the exposition made by recent scholars of the content and meaning of Biblical eschatology with the pattern of Qur'ānic ideas about the last judgment disclosed in chapter two. If modern Muslims should agree that medieval religious thought needs to be reformulated to harmonize with recent discoveries, and that study of the original world view of the Qur'ān is the most adequate way to begin such a reformulation, they might find this comparison of the Qur'ānic ideas with the recently reformulated theology of Christian scholars to be relevant to the problem of articulating the contemporary significance of Qur'ānic eschatology.

Exegesis of the Qur'ān is of course no new discipline for Muslim scholarship. It has been a primary function of Islamic scholars from the beginning. The point here is simply that recent scientific methods of literary and histo-

ritical criticism might provide new opportunities and new tools for comprehensive exegesis of the Holy Book. The Qur'ān itself, and orthodox Muslim theology, have always maintained that the Bible was a revelation from God prior to the sending of the Qur'ān. This is a further reason why the recent expositions of the Biblical world view may be relevant to the problem of re-expressing the Qur'ānic world view.

Before the actual comparison of the Qur'ānic pattern of ideas with the eschatology of medieval thought, I will briefly discuss some of the tendencies in modern Islam that indicate dissatisfaction with medieval thought. I hazard the suggestion that one possible resolution of the problem of reformulating Islamic theology might begin with study of the original prophetic experience which I believe to have produced the Qur'ān.

Although there is not yet much recognition in modern Islam of the worth of historico-critical studies of the Qur'ān, there are tendencies which indicate dissatisfaction with medieval thought. One such tendency is expressed in the existence of the numerous 'Back to the Qur'ān' movements which are characteristic of modernist Islām. Various reasons are given for the existence of such movements. One of their primary causes is the need to reformulate Islamic jurisprudence

and political theory in the face of changing social and economic structures. When a new problem arises for which no traditional answers exist, the impulse of many Muslims is to consult the Qur'ān in the faith that somehow it must contain an answer.

As Gibb has pointed out, these modernist 'Back to the Qur'ān' movements sometimes result in new and more irrational forms of fundamentalism because of their outright rejection of traditional methods of Qur'ānic interpretation. He has described as follows the characteristic modernist affirmation of the word for word infallibility of the Qur'ān.

" . . . that nothing in it is false or antiquated, that neither modern scientific nor modern historical thought has affected its authority as a full and final exposition of the universe---otherwise its claim to be regarded as the literal Word of God falls to the ground. What is demanded is essentially a reinterpretation, and one that, on the whole, stresses its material rather than its spiritual truth." (1)

These movements represent an awareness of the inadequacy of traditional theology and interpretation of the Qur'ān to harmonize with the new world view which modern man derives from his scientific and historical studies, and an affirmation that the relief from this

(1) Gibb, H. A. R., Modern Trends in Islam, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945), p. 72.

distress can somehow be obtained from the Qur'ān. Their method of discarding completely the whole medieval apparatus of interpretation, and upholding the Qur'ān as an infallible and unquestionable source of authority is, however, for one who accepts historical method, unlikely to produce an accurate exegesis of the meaning the Qur'ān had at the time it was produced. A comprehensive understanding of the spiritual truth contained in the Book will, I believe, more readily be discovered by studying it as an expression of a profound and even normative religious experience, and applying to its exegesis both traditional methods of interpretation and modern methods of historical and literary criticism. The methodologies should be complementary rather than contradictory when they are used for the purpose of inquiring into the meaning that the Qur'ān had for its original hearers.

A further tendency in modernist Islām that might lead to a recognition of the need for study of the Qur'ān is the attitude exemplified in the writings of Sir Muhammad Iqbāl. He also represents a mood of discontent with traditional theology. In fact he is explicitly concerned to reconstruct religious thought in Islām. He does not, however, go consciously back to the Qur'ān to discover the basis for his reconstruction, but is rather

concerned to abstract a "basic Islamic attitude" from the whole of Islamic thought.

As shown elsewhere in this thesis, Iqbāl often attributes meanings to Qur'ānic words and phrases which cannot be justified by careful exegesis of the text of the Book. (1) He attempts to feel by his own intuition the nature of an Islamic attitude, and then assumes that such an attitude must be found in the Qur'ān. Since his intuition is that of a poetic genius, he does clearly recognize many aspects of the world view which scientific scholarship finds to be characteristic of the Book. His recognition of the concern for the concrete in the basic Islamic attitude is a particularly brilliant insight.

The statement that the reformulation of Islamic theology should start from careful historical and literary criticism of the Qur'ān is really little more than a re-phrasing of Iqbāl's message. He said that medieval theology was inadequate in the face of the new knowledge of the universe obtained by modern scholarship, and that the reconstructing of religious thought should begin with a clear recognition of the basic Islamic attitude to the world. The point here is that such recognition of a basic Islamic attitude should presumably begin with

(1) Supra, p. 17.

Careful study of the content and religious meaning of the Qur'ān, and should then trace the growth and change of the original world-view throughout the history of Islamic thought and action.

The work of the great Egyptian reformer, Muhammad 'Abduh, is another instance of a Muslim leader calling for the reformulation of Islamic theology in the light of new knowledge. Gibb has written as follows of 'Abduh's stirring plea for the use of reason to understand the science of the universe and the knowledge of things past.

"What impressed his lay readers was the spirit in which he approached questions of dogma and practice, and especially his forceful rejection of the traditional teaching that the doctrines of the Koran had been authoritatively expounded once for all by the doctors of the first three centuries of Islam, that their expositions had been confirmed by an irrevocable ijmā', and that no free investigation of the sources could be tolerated.

'Islam has condemned blind imitation in matters of belief and mechanical performance of religious duties. . . . Islam drew the intellect out its slumber. . . . and raised its voice against the prejudices of ignorance, declaring that man was not made to be led by the rein but that it was in his nature to guide himself by science and knowledge, the science of the universe and the knowledge of things past. . . . Islam turns us away from exclusive attachment to the things that come to us from our forefathers. . . . It shows us that the fact of preceding us in point of time constitutes neither a proof of knowledge nor a superiority of mind and intellect.'" (1)

Thus, Shaykh Muhammad 'Abduh, while still expressing himself in the traditional language of orthodox theology

(1) Gibb, H. A. R., Modern Trends in Islam (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947), p. 43, quoting Rissalat al-Tawhid, trans. B. Michel and Moustapha Abdul Razik (Paris, 1925), pp. 107-109.

and dialectic, broke with the medieval structure of theology at many points and was emphatic in his assertion that he as a modern Muslim had every right to do so. He was interested in the reformulation of a doctrine of revelation on the basis of an understanding of the nature of prophetic religious experience.

"He interiorises the conception of revelation (to him it is an intuitive knowledge caused by God and accompanied by a consciousness of its origin, but this kind of religious experience is limited to the prophets) and softens that of religion (to him it is an intuitive feeling for the paths to happiness in this and the next world, which cannot be clearly grasped by the reason). The task of prophecy for him is the moral education of the masses." (1)

Rahbar's work is an instance of a modern Muslim following 'Abduh's imperative to guide himself by science and knowledge in studying the origins of Islam. He considers that the Qur'ānic conceptions of eternity are expressions of an awareness,

"not on a philosophical but a prophetic and ecstatic level, which seeks to conceive this universe and God, by feeling, intuition, and inspiration." (2)

This seems to me an idea of revelation similar to the interiorisation of the concept of revelation that Schacht attributed to Muhammad 'Abduh.

If scholars intend to reformulate a doctrine of

(1) Schacht, J. "Muhammad 'Abduh", Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1953), p. 406.

(2) Rahbar, op. cit., p. 49.

revelation on a view of the nature of the original prophetic experience, careful study of the Qur'ān such as that done by Rahbar is an important method of ascertaining the characteristics of such experience. Further, I think that study of the Bible itself, and of the researches Christian scholars have done into the nature of Hebrew prophetic experience might add additional knowledge to an understanding of the Qur'ān. Chapter five is a comparison of some aspects of the recent expositions of Hebrew religious experience with the pattern of eschatological ideas of the Qur'ān. My thesis is that the work of these men might be illuminating for the problems of reformulating Islamic theology which have been posed by Iqbāl, 'Abduh, and other modern Muslims.

The thesis of M. D. Rahbar quoted in the introduction is a further example of research done by a modern Muslim with the intention of understanding the basic religious insight of Islām. His work combines the view that the Qur'ān should be the material studied for such a purpose with Iqbāl's view that the relevant question to ask of the material is the nature of the basic Islamic attitude, or religious experience. From studying the Qur'ān with the methods of modern literary criticism and historical exegesis, he has concluded that the dominant note of the Book is God's strict justice on the Judgment Day. His

lengthy discussions of the contexts of the names of God in the Qur'ān illustrate the many instances, and the manner in which later theologians have misinterpreted the original ideas of the Qur'ān. He found the original Qur'ānic conception of God to be as follows:

"The Qur'ān on the contrary is engaged primarily on the subject of God's ethical nature. . . . According to the Qur'ān God is the true deity. . . . The idols and any partners associated with God are false Gods. God is the first and the last. He created the heavens and the earth in order that He may reward and punish men with justice on the judgment day. . . .

All will receive a portion of what they have earned. He has the power to reward and punish. He has the power to quicken the dead. He knows what men conceal and display. He will let them know on the judgment day what they have done. All will be there in writing. He knows how to quicken the dead. His will is supreme. His mercy, forgiveness and love are only for those who believe in Him, and act aright, and who, when they have done something wrong, repent and thence act aright. Men must guard themselves fearfully against his wrath by obeying Him, and by believing in Him, and his apostles. He sends prophets with messages of guidance to all nations. Those who accept His guidance, He guides them more. Those who refuse his guidance persistently, He condemns them as hopeless and increases them in error. All earlier nations received apostles. Those who belied the apostles were destroyed. And those who belie the Prophet Muhammad will be destroyed.

Such is the simple doctrine which is utterly obscured by the theological ideas of the Essence and the attributes. . . . It will be no exaggeration to say that almost every third verse of the Qur'ān serves as a reminder of God's justice." (1)

(1) Rahbar, M. D., op. cit., pp. 307 ff.

The research in this thesis has followed the pattern established by Rahbar of using the Qur'ān as the material with which to investigate the basic religious experience of Islām. The assumption is that the religious experience expressed in the Qur'ān is primary to, and in some sense normative for, the later religious experience of Islām. Chapter four is a discussion of the similar work that has recently been done in investigating the origins of Christianity. Chapter five is a comparison of some aspects of the recent expositions of Biblical eschatology with the eschatological pattern in the Qur'ān. The remainder of this present chapter is a comparison of the Qur'ānic eschatology with a few brief summaries of traditional Islamic eschatological ideas.

Rahbar's conclusion that almost every third verse of the Qur'ān serves as a reminder of God's justice is abundant evidence that research into Qur'ānic eschatology is a fruitful method for study of the underlying religious experience of the Qur'ān. The large number of the contexts listed in the appendices to chapter two, and the fact that these references are taken from every Sūrah of the Qur'ān are further evidences that the religious experience behind the Qur'ān is cast in the traditional Semitic mode of experiencing God. The Qur'ānic vision is one of overwhelming certainty that God's righteousness will be vindicated.

cated, and that man's salvation depends upon his right response to the urgent invitation from God.

The following summary of the pattern of the eschatological ideas of the Qur'ān is abstracted from the contexts of the words discussed in chapter two. The consistency with which this pattern of ideas is repeated throughout the contexts of different words testifies to the depth and unity of the religious experience that we believe to have produced the prophecies. Inconsistencies exist in these ideas, but they are generally subordinate to the basic pattern. In almost every situation to which the Qur'ānic warning is addressed, the imperative to men is to submit, to believe and do right because the ultimate purpose of God is revealed.

The pattern of ideas is as follows. (The references are to the appendices.) The universe and men were created so that men should know the righteousness of God and accept it. Adam was driven out of Paradise for his disobedience, and men since then have been estranged from God. Shaitān tempted Adam, and continues to tempt men until the last judgment. Former prophets have warned of God's purpose to judge men at the end of time. (1) The Qur'ān has been sent to warn of the coming judgment.(2)

(1) II, Hg. 1; VII, Hgs. 8, 9, 10; VIII, Hg. 14; X, Hg. 21.

(2) IV, Hg. 10; VI, Hg. 2; XI, Hg. 4.

God will punish some men both in history and at the end. (1) Others will be punished in history but will have a chance to repent. (2) God will aid believers in this temporal life. (3)

The speeches about the last judgment ring with the overwhelming certainty of the 'Hour's coming.' (4) 'Then' men will get their just reward; they will know what they have done. All disputes between men will be decided by God. (5) Everything will be finally known, finally decided and judged. (6) God's power over His creation will be fully known at the day of reckoning. The dead shall be raised from their graves. (7) It will

(1) II, Hg. 4; V, Hg. 22; VIII, Hg. 5; XII, Hg. 8.

(2) II, Hg. 7; VI, Hg. 3.

(3) II, Hgs. 9, 10.

(4) III, Hg. 2; V, Hg. 2; IV, Hg. 3; VI, Hg. 1; VII, Hg. 6.

(5) V, Hg. 6. This expression is generally used with reference to the theological disputes between Jesus and Christians.

(6) III, Hg. 12; IV, Hg. 7; V, Hgs. 3, 4, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16; VII, Hgs. 1, 2, 3, 4; VIII, Hg. 6, 7.

(7) III, Hg. 15; V, Hg. 19.

be as if no time had passed. (1) God alone knows when the day will come; (2) it will come suddenly. (3) The idols men have worshipped will be useless to them then. (4) All men will recognize and understand the worth of their previous lives in the sight of God.

Existence after the judgment will be in Paradise or hell as God has decided, and will continue forever. Limitation, ignorance, and doubt will no longer exist. Those in hell will know they are separated from God; there will be no more hope or possibility of repentance for them. (5) God will not look at them on the resurrection day. Those who go to Paradise will know complete fulfillment and peace, living in the sight of God's throne and pardoned by Him. (6) *Shaitān* and the jinn will be sent to hell with the sinners, (7) and God will

(1) III, Hg. 10; IV, Hg. 2.

(2) III, Hg. 4.

(3) III, Hg. 3.

(4) III, Hg. 11; IV, Hg. 11; V, Hg. 14.

(5) III, Hg. 14; V, Hg. 9; XI, Hgs. 1, 2, 3, 4; XII, Hgs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.

(6) X, Hgs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 18, 20.

(7) IV, Hg. 8; XI, Hg. 6.

have triumphed over all evil. God's righteousness will be absolutely known; there will be no doubt therein.

Is this pattern of the eschatological vision different from the eschatological ideas which have been widely held in Muslim thought? It has not been possible for the purposes of this thesis to study in detail the commentaries on the Qur'ān, or the theological systems written by the great scholars in Islām. Such a study would give the only possible basis for an adequate answer to this question.

Here I have considered the question by looking at the articles on Islamic eschatology in the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, and on Paradise, hell and resurrection in the Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam. The encyclopaedia articles attempt to present a comprehensive survey of the ideas both from popular tradition and Islamic theology. In many respects popular Islām has of course been different from Islamic theology, but I think these eschatological ideas represent the core of thought that has been common to both popular tradition and theology. The first of these articles gives the following version of the common eschatological ideas in Islām.

"Muhammadan is based upon Jewish and Christian (and possibly Parsi) eschatology, though there are some important differences. After death all persons are visited in the grave by two angels, who examine them as to their faith. If the answer is satisfactory,

the dead sleep on in peace; otherwise they are struck with a hammer and the earth pressed down upon them....

Many wonderful signs precede the Last Day or the Day of Judgment....the time of which is known only to God. The Mahdî will establish a reign of righteousness; ad-Dajjâl, or Antichrist, will appear and be slain by Jesus, who will become a Muhammadan; Gog and Magog will be released....

Then the angel Isrâfîl will sound the trumpet which will be followed by frightful convulsions in Nature. At the second blast all creatures will die. At the third the resurrection will take place, and all will rise to give an account of themselves out of the book of their deeds. God is set on his throne with his angels. The recording angels who follow men all through life witness against them, and the works of men are weighed in balance. The judgment lasts 10,000 or 50,000 years. All must now cross the bridge, as-Sirât, which passes over hell to Paradise, and is finer than a hair and sharper than the edge of a sword. The righteous cross it easily, but the wicked fall or are thrown from it to hell. Earth and heaven are changed." (1)

From this summary we can see some of the ways in which later Muslims added to the eschatological mythology of the Qur'ân. There have of course been numerous other and more radical deviations; the neo-Platonism of the Sûfîs for instance, or the monism of Ibn al-'Arabî. This quotation is, however, representative of the generally accepted ideas.

The creed of the medieval theologian, al-Nasafî, gives a similar presentation of Islamic eschatology.

"The punishment of the grave for Unbelievers and for some of the disobedient Believers, and the bliss of the obedient in the grave by that which Allah knows

(1) MacCulloch, J. A., "Eschatology, (Muhammadan)", Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, ed. by James Hastings, V (1912), p. 376.

and wills, and the questioning of Munkar and Nakīr are established by proofs based on authority. And the Quickening of the Dead is a Reality, the weighing is a Reality, the Book is a Reality, the Questioning is a Reality, The Tank is a Reality, and the Bridge is a Reality; the Garden is a Reality and the Fire is a Reality, and they both are created, existing and continuing; they shall not pass away, nor shall their inhabitants pass away." (1)

The questioning in the grave is not described in detail in the Qur'ān, nor is the idea of the wrong answer meriting the sinner being pushed down in the earth with a hammer. Andrae characterizes as follows the Qur'ānic version of the state between death and resurrection:

"is a dreamless sleep without consciousness, it will seem to man that the judgment follows immediately upon death. The hour of judgment, which seems so immeasurably distant to the unbelievers, will reach them before they are aware of it. There are no interminable intervals of time which must be passed. In the very same hour in which they have closed their eyes in death the reckoning is already at hand." (2)

My collection of contexts supports this theory since I found a number of references to the seeming non-existence of the time between death and resurrection.

The Mahdī and the reign of righteousness before the end are not explicitly mentioned in the Qur'ān. My comparison of the references to Masīh , "Messiah," shows

(1) Elder, Earl Edgar, trans., A Commentary on the Creed of Islam, Sa'ad al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī on the Creed of Najm al-Dīn al-Nasafī (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950), p. 99.

(2) Andrae, Tor, Mohammed the Man and his Faith, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936), pp. 78 f.

that the term is always used with reference to Jesus. (1)
None of the references to Jesus explicitly describe his coming again before the end. The existence of al-Dajjāl and the killing of him by Jesus are not explicitly mentioned in the Qur'ān.

That the judgment lasts 1000 to 50,000 years is not mentioned, nor is the bridge, al-Sirāt, named and described in the detail given here.

"Thus...the sirāt is only once in the Kur'ān (xxxvii. 23) sirāt ul-djahīm--a mere allusion to the 'road to hell.'" (2)

With reference to the trumpet blasts it is stated that:

"In ixix. 13 a single blast...is enough, but in xxxix. 68 there are two blasts." (3)

"The tank(hawḍ) of Muhammad also plays an obscure part in the picture of the Day although it does not occur in the Kur'ān." (4)

The article on hell supports my contention that the pictures in the Qur'ān are not consistent in their details.

"The word djahannam and the idea of hell frequently appear in the Kur'ān...but the conception of hell as an animal is not the dominant one in the Kur'ān; beside it there is the well-known architectural conception; hell composed of concentric circles arranged in the form of a crater." (5)

(1) Appendix XIII.

(2) Macdonald, D. B., "al-Kiyāma", SEI, p. 264.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid., p. 265.

(5) Carra de Vaux, B., "Djahannam", SEI, p. 81.

The reason for this inconsistency between the Qur'ān and the later Muslims is the natural one that the latter wanted to know exactly what would happen, and pieced together from the Qur'ān what seemed to them a full and complete picture. The difficulty is that the Qur'ān aims not to give a full picture of eschatological events, but to convince men that they can and must trust and obey God or suffer the most awful consequences. The message of the Qur'ān is not the exact description of the end, but the proclamation that men must beware its coming. The pictures of the details of the End are used rhetorically to intensify the urgency of the prophecies; they are not intended to be consistent in exact details.

There are probably reasons which a sociologist of religion could elaborate as to why a structured medieval society demanded a structured picture of the universe, whereas the uncomplex society to which the Qur'ān was addressed thought in sudden and paradoxical flashes. Medieval Christian popular tradition and theology also pictured a structured universe whose every detail was known to man. This is apparent from medieval paintings of earth and heaven, and particularly from the elaborate pictures of all the layers of hell and paradise portrayed in Dante's Divine Comedy. Macdonald makes the point that the medieval Islamic theologians did not all accept the

literal pictures of the last things which were commonly believed.

"The theologians have seen quite clearly that it was impossible to construct out of these materials a consistent narrative of what would take place on the Day. So they have abandoned the attempt and contented themselves with saying that such and such things--the sirāt, the weighing, the tank, etc.--are realities... and leave generally untouched what kind of reality is meant.... Apparently the distinction was quite clear in their minds, and it goes back to the fundamental principle in Islām of the economy of teaching ("Speak to the people according to their understanding"--a saying ascribed both to 'Alī and to the Prophet) which was the ultimate source of the mediaeval doctrine of the two-fold truth." (1)

As is implied in this quotation, medieval theologians still thought of a structured and static universe even if they were sceptical of the physical details of the unseen realities.

For the construction of a new Islamic theology, it should be necessary both to come to a close understanding of the meaning the Qur'ān had in its own historical setting, and to understand the growth and change of Islamic thought over the centuries. If we would understand a man we need to know both his heredity and his environment, and the same is surely true of our own religious traditions.

A further aspect of Qur'ānic eschatology which can be fruitfully contrasted with traditional theological

(1) Macdonald, "al-Kiyāma", pp. 265 f.

ideas is the view of God's will and purposes that is disclosed in the above comparison of the contexts relating to eschatology. Clarification of the nature of God's will has been one of the primary problems of Islamic theology for centuries. Here the intention is not to discuss at length the controversies on the subject, but to point out that the theological questioning has been based on epistemological and other premises that are markedly different from the Qur'ānic world-view.

The following quotation from Wensinck illustrates the nature of the theological perspective that has dominated the discussions of the Divine Will. Central to the Islamic theology has been the premise that God's will must be constant, and based on absolute omniscience. This is a description of the controversies that took place in the theologically creative second and third centuries of Islām.

"The Mu'tazilites took over the view of the Kadarites, that man is the author of his acts. . . . The Mu'tazilite view regarding the retribution of sin is consequently very severe as compared with that of orthodox Islam, which made an extensive use of the idea of intercession on behalf of sinners, to such an extent that it was held that everyone in whose heart an atom of faith had subsisted would be brought back from Hell. . . .

The second consequence of the doctrine of justice . . . was the detriment it caused to one side of the being of Allah, . . . viz. Allah's creating function, which made him the only really existing being. Human

action side by side with His, was to early Islam an absurd idea. The consequence of the Kadarite and Mu'tazilite view was, that man, being considered as the author of his acts, became thereby a second creator. For this reason the Kadarites are called in Tradition the 'Dualists of the community'. Orthodox Islam showed itself conscious of being essentially monistic." (1)

The problem discussed above is the hypothetical one of whether a given individual is separated from the will of God and acting entirely on his own will, or whether his will is entirely caused by, and dependent on the will of God. The assumption is that God's will is a sort of continuous and unchanging flow, rather than a will that reacts to new situations in new ways. But this concept is different from the Qur'ānic picture of a God who intervenes in particular ways in history, who sends prophets, destroys cities, saves believers, and at the end responds decisively to the behaviour of men by sending them to Paradise or hell.

The very fact of the early Muslims' belief that human action side by side with God was an absurd idea resulted in practice in a loss of the Qur'ānic perspective on immediate situations. The prophetic mind is one which always sees God's purposes revealed in the midst of contemporary events. The Qur'ān is a series of comments on

(1) Wensinck, A. J., The Muslim Creed, (Cambridge: University Press, 1932), pp. 60 ff.

actual historical occurrences such as the unbelief of the people of Makkah, the Hijra, the battles of Badr and Uhud, the treachery of the Jews, and the lives of the believers. Why did the religious leaders of Islām not continue to interpret immediate history in terms of the purposes of God?

Gibb has considered a somewhat similar question in his discussion of the controversies of the Khilāfah problem. He has pointed out the difficulties the theologians had in rationalizing a status quo which was clearly out of harmony with the Qur'ān and the Sunna. (1) Even in this case they did not generally ask, What is God doing now? They did not begin with the premise that God's purposes were being worked out in the political storms in Islām, but rather concentrated attention on how to apply to the present the exact pattern of behaviour that was formerly revealed. The unconscious presupposition of this attitude would seem to be that God stopped acting directly in history at the death of the Prophet.

Further unconscious presuppositions are that the universe is static and finished, and that each man's life is lived according to a preordained pattern. The living, changing, deciding God of the Qur'ān is somehow made a more lifeless abstraction by these later ideas as to His

(1) "Some Considerations on the Sunni Theory of the Caliphate", Extrait des Archives d'Histoire du droit oriental, III (1948).

nature and His will. Even if He is called all-powerful, the idea of Him lacks positive content for the believer if He is not recognized by His particular acts. There is nothing in the Qur'ān to say how long before God acts, He decides to act; the point is He does act, and His nature is known because He has acted.

The religious experience behind the eschatological ideas of the Qur'ān appears to me to have been similar in kind to the experience to the prophets of Israel, the recognition of a live and powerful God who challenged and demanded response. Iqbāl had some awareness of the unique characteristics of the prophetic experience of God. He noted that the prophet differed from the mystic in his impulse to transform temporal history in response to his religious experience. (1) He confuses the matter, however, by a too ready identification of prophetic experience with escape from serial time into pure duration.

Recent Biblical critics have devoted much of their research to questioning the nature of prophetic experience. They see the Biblical experience as response to the purposes of a living purposeful God. It is not so much escape from serial time into pure duration as a reaching out to, and positive communication with, the will of God who

(1) Iqbāl, op. cit., pp. 124 ff.

controls history and is guiding men to their final fulfillment. It seems to me that the Qur'ānic eschatological vision is also like this, and that the first Muslims lived in constant awareness of God acting in, and responding to the day to day events of temporal history.

The conclusion to this chapter is thus that the traditional Islamic eschatology differs from that of the Qur'ān not only with respect to material details such as Dajjāl, three trumpets and so forth, but also with respect to the basic vision of God's method of working out His purposes with men. Even Iqbal has confused this eschatological vision by interpreting the prophetic experience with the concepts of a non-Semitic philosophy. The earlier theologians tended to lose sight of the Qur'ānic emphasis on a changing, deciding, responding God whose purposes were revealed in the working out of the multitudinous events of temporal history. To go back to the Qur'ānic eschatological perspective would be to ask of the immediate present what God is doing, and where and how men are being challenged to respond to Him.

We saw that some important Muslim thinkers are discontented with Medieval thought and calling for a reformulation of theology to harmonize with new discoveries. We have also seen that study of the Qur'ān shows it to contain many ideas different from the eschatological ideas

of medieval Islām. Further, the prophetic experience of a living, deciding God differs from the world-view of medieval theology. The suggestion is hazarded that the desired reformulation of Islamic theology might begin with careful study into the original prophetic experience, and the expression of that experience which I believe to be the Qur'ān.

The next chapter is a brief discussion of the discontent modern Christians have felt with medieval thought, and their expression of that discontent in the reformulation of Christian theology. They have begun this reformulation on the basis of literary and historical criticism of the Bible, and have endeavoured to ascertain as exactly as possible the nature of the original Jewish and Christian religious experience. I hazard the further suggestion in chapter five that the reformulation of Islamic theology might resemble the exposition Christian scholars have made of Semitic religious experience.

Chapter IV

HISTORICAL CRITICISM AND BIBLICAL ESCHATOLOGY

Having seen the differences which exist between Qur'ānic eschatology and medieval Islamic thought, we now turn to investigate the recent experience of Christians, and to ask whether similar differences have been noted between Biblical eschatology and medieval Christian thought. My method of research for this chapter has been to read a number of recent books on the subject of eschatology in the Bible. The Protestant Reformation itself constituted one significant reconstruction of religious thought in Christianity; and the present reconstruction discussed in this chapter is based on this early break with medieval Catholic theology. All the books I am using to illustrate recent Christian expositions of Biblical eschatology have been written by modern Protestant scholars who assume the necessity of reconstructing Christian theology in the light of the evidence derived from historical and literary criticism of the Bible. They are all, in other words, attempting to do for modern Christianity what Iqbāl, Muhammad 'Abduh, Rahbar and other Muslims have been attempting to do for modern Islām.

The relevance of this investigation of Biblical eschatology to the problem of Qur'ānic eschatology is twofold. Firstly, I wish to compare the conflicts which

have taken place in each religious tradition between the scholars who have accepted scientific methods of investigation, and those who have refused science and retreated into different and more irrational forms of fundamentalism than were characteristic of earlier believers. In each case the challenge of the new knowledge has rendered the old attitudes more difficult to maintain and has resulted, particularly in Christianity, in a division of believers into those who have accepted the challenge and consequent need to reconstruct theology, and those who have retreated into an unquestioning fundamentalism. Such fundamentalism is contrary to the inquiring and creative spirit that has engendered the many controversies in both religions, and has produced the complex systems of the medieval theologies. Al-Taftāzānī, al-Ghazālī, Thomas Aquinas, and John Calvin, to name a few, were all men who earnestly tried to incorporate into their systems all the knowledge that was available to them. For both Islamic and Christian theology scientific method is little more than another channel of knowledge to be added to the impressive lists of epistemological methods known to, and accepted by earlier theologians.

Secondly, and as a preliminary to the comparison in chapter five of the recent expositions of the Biblical world-view with Qur'ānic eschatology, I wish to investigate some of the assumptions as to the nature and purpose of

historical and literary criticism that underlie the work of recent Biblical critics. The exposition suggested later of Qur'ānic eschatology is based on similar assumptions. Briefly, these assumptions are that a significant reconstruction of theology can begin with historical and literary criticism of the Holy Book, that one vital aspect of such criticism is the ascertaining of the nature of a religious experience underlying the Holy Book, that this experience is expressed in the Holy Book in the mytho-poetic language characteristic of ancient peoples, and that the basic religious experience in the Semitic tradition is prophetic and eschatological in form.

The past hundred years of Christian theology have witnessed a fierce conflict between fundamentalism and science. A modern theologian has described the struggle as follows:

"From generation to generation the Protestant has been indoctrinated with the necessity of always discovering and following after truth. But to the end of the eighteenth century religious truth was authoritarian, absolute, the same yesterday, today and forever. The Protestant of yesterday read experiences back into the New Testament. He identified his experiences with those of the writers of the New Testament....

Discrepancies, divergences, anachronisms, contradictions did not exist for him. He had no feeling of dishonesty when he "transvaluated" the New Testament passages. Neither does the genuine fundamentalist of today. His cultural level permits him to identify the modern world view with the ancient world view without any compunctions of conscience. If difficulty arises, he is able to believe in a flat earth against all the scientists and in a man created immediately out of mud against all the evolutionists.

In the course of the nineteenth century the absolute conclusions transmitted from ancient and medieval times vanished as if by magic....

It was inevitable that during the nineteenth century scientific method should be applied to the Bible. To be more precise, in A.D. 1835 the Bible began to be studied historically in thoroughgoing fashion and with very discouraging results for the biblical literalist. When Protestantism appealed to the Bible, it had to ascertain its history, its contents, its purpose....

The historical method simply 'keeps faith with the past'. It involves the scrutiny of documents, the study of context, the appreciation of original environment, the search for cause and effect, the relation of religious conditions to the total situation....It employs different canons of interpretation when dealing with narrative, philosophy, poetry and apocalypse. It takes strata for granted....

One of the early modern defenders of the historical method described it as 'proper and legitimate scientific research':

It seeks and it gains knowledge, verified knowledge....The word higher...involves no assumption of superior knowledge or acumen; it is only a technical term....Again, criticism seems to many to imply unbelief, hostility, or denial; but surely the cross-examination of a witness in a court room does not of itself imply that his testimony is impeached. It does imply the necessity, and the difficulty, of discrimination between truth and error; its aim is to elicit the truth....

The Christian scholar cannot, must not, think of science or reason as antagonistic to faith. Science is of God, as truly as revelation is of God;... historical criticism is also science. It is the ascertaining of facts by scientific methods--searching not only whether alleged facts were, but what they were. If we admit that Christianity is a historical religion, that it bases its claims ultimately upon the actual occurrence in human history of certain visible and audible events, it is idle to deny the right and the duty of ascertaining just what those events were, not only from the Bible, but from all other sources. If Protestant Christianity be true to itself and loyal to its principles, it must not disavow criticism, nor historical research in any form;...

Exegesis implies criticism; there can be no exegesis worthy the name of science without it. This means that we are not simply to take the Bible and learn from it what the facts of history are, but also to take those facts and learn from them what the Bible is" (1)

Despite the cogency of this and many similar pleas, Biblical fundamentalism still exists and has many of the features that Gibb has discerned in the fundamentalist 'back to the Qur'ân' movement. The same emphasis on material rather than spiritual truth is apparent in it, and the same affirmation that neither modern scientific nor modern historical thought has affected the Holy Book's authority as a full and final exposition of the universe.

The reconstruction of religious thought in Christianity, which has derived its impulse to change from the evidences of modern science, has taken a number of different forms. The exposition given here of the modern Christian view of the significance of Biblical eschatology is based on the writings of orthodox Protestant theologians. The following quotation from a World Council of Churches symposium entitled "The Biblical Authority for the Churches' Social and Political Message To-Day" illustrates the commonly held attitude of Christian scholars to the propriety and

(1) Moehlman, Conrad Henry, Protestantism's Challenge, (New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1939). p. 2 ff., quoting William Arnold Stevens, Lecture delivered in Rochester Theological Seminary, 1889.

necessity of higher criticism of the Bible.

"It is agreed that one must start with an historical and critical examination of the passage. This includes:

- 1 The determination of the text;
- 2 The literary form of the passage;
- 3 The historical situation, the Sitz im Leben;
- 4 The meaning which the words had for the original author and hearer or reader;
- 5 The understanding of the passage in the light of its total context and the background out of which it emerged." (1)

In the case of Christian theology the application of these historico-critical methods to Biblical exegesis has led to a reconstruction of religious thought. An essential aspect of the new theology is the view that the original 'Biblical perspective' needs to be recovered by accurate exegesis in order that modern believers may view their own problems from this same Biblical perspective. The eschatological vision is considered a vital part of the original Biblical experience. The following further quotation from the same World Council symposium is illustrative of the manner in which modern Protestant theologians relate what they believe to be the original experience behind the Bible to their modern social,

(1) Richardson, Alan, and Schweitzer, W., eds., Biblical Authority for Today; A World Council of Churches Symposium on 'The Biblical Authority for the Churches' Social and Political Message Today, (London: SCM Press, 1951), pp. 241 f.

economic and political problems. I have underlined the particularly significant passages in this quotation.

"III The discovery of the Biblical teaching on a specific social or political issue

(a) It is agreed that one must begin with a direct study of the Biblical text in relation to a given problem; otherwise the general principles which we establish will reflect more the presuppositions of our own time than the message of the Bible. Only then may we safely deduce applications for our own situation.

(b) It is agreed that in examining a particular modern problem we should begin with the New Testament teaching. In the light of this we should consider the Old Testament evidence as well, in order to view the problem in the light of God's total revelation. In following this procedure, historical differences in the various parts of Scripture must not be overlooked; otherwise the amassing of various texts may be done in too facile a manner and the Bible made to present a united witness on a topic which in fact it does not do. Furthermore, care should be used to see the correct proportions so that too much emphasis may not be placed on a single passage and the correct Biblical perspective be lost.

(c) It is agreed that the Biblical teaching on social and political issues must be viewed in the light of the tension between life in the kingdoms of this world and participation in the Kingdom of God. While there has not been time in this conference to explore our understanding of the relation of ethics to eschatology, we are agreed that the scriptural teaching of the two ages has an important bearing upon the way in which a specific social or political issue is to be interpreted.

IV The application of the Biblical message to the modern world

(a) It is agreed that if we are to receive the guidance of the Holy Spirit through the Scriptures, we must discover the degree to which our particular situation is similar to that which the Bible presents. It must be remembered that absolute identity of situation is never found, and therefore the problem of adaptation becomes acute. Nevertheless in each new situation we must allow ourselves to be guided by the Bible to a knowledge of the will of God. ⁽¹⁾

(1) Ibid., pp. 242 f.

By analogy from this fruitful use to which the findings of Biblical criticism have been put in the reconstructing of Christian thought, it seems possible that equally fruitful use might be made of the findings from historical and literary criticism of the Qur'ān. Certainly for Muslims as well as Christians no modern situations are exactly like the original situations to which the prophecies were addressed. Rahbar's distinction between the presuppositions of later Islamic theology and the original Qur'ānic world view is similar to the distinction noted here by the World Council theologians between the Biblical perspective and the presuppositions of all later ages. His plea is very like that of the previous quotation.

"The task of interpreting the Qur'ān is, therefore, one of excavation, of viewing its unsophisticated thought in true historical perspective by reconstructing that primitive atmosphere in which it was revealed" (1)

In other words he wants to know the correct Qur'ānic perspective from which to view modern problems just as the Christians want to know the Biblical perspective.

The remainder of this chapter is an analysis of some further presuppositions of modern Biblical criticism. There is first a discussion of mytho-poetic thought in general, and then of Biblical eschatology in particular. The differing interpretations of Biblical eschatology which have been put forward by modern Christian scholars are briefly discussed.

(1) Rahbar, op. cit., p. 9

This latter discussion is relevant to the problem of Qur'ānic eschatology in two respects. Firstly, the basic characteristics of Qur'ānic and Biblical eschatology are sufficiently alike that it may be possible to interpret the Qur'ān from any one of these positions. Casanova, for example, has interpreted Qur'ānic eschatology in a manner very like Schweitzer's interpretation of the Bible. Secondly, it should be noted that the comparison in chapter five is based on one of these modern Christian interpretations of eschatology, namely the school that considers the Biblical imperative to be cast in a double eschaton form, a form of promise from God both for the present and the absolute future. As shown in the earlier World Council quotation, this is the interpretation that is currently accepted by the ecclesiastical body most representative of contemporary Protestant opinion.

One of the major insights of recent historical scholarship with reference to the origins of the higher religions has been the recognition of difference between modern speculative and abstract ways of thinking, and the mythological thought processes of earlier peoples. Frankfort, one of the leading authorities on ancient religions, characterizes mytho-poetic thought as follows:

"The ancients, like the modern savages, saw man always as a part of society and society as imbedded in nature and dependent upon cosmic forces. For them nature and man did not stand in opposition and did not, therefore, have to be apprehended by different modes of cognition. We shall see, in fact, in the course of this book, that natural phenomena were regularly conceived in terms of human experience and that human experience was conceived in terms of cosmic events. We touch here upon a distinction between the ancients and us which is of the utmost significance for our inquiry.

The fundamental difference between the attitudes of modern and ancient men as regards the surrounding world is this: for modern, scientific man the phenomenal world is primarily an "It"; for ancient... man it is a "Thou"....

"Thou" is not contemplated with intellectual detachment; it is experienced as life confronting life, involving every faculty of man in a reciprocal relationship....

All experience of "Thou" is highly individual; and early man does, in fact, view happenings as individual events. An account of such events and also their explanation can be conceived only as action and necessarily takes the form of a story. In other words, the ancients told myths instead of presenting an analysis or conclusions....

It is essential that true myth be distinguished from legend, saga, fable and fairy tale...true myth presents its images and its imaginary action, not with the playfulness of fantasy, but with a compelling authority. It perpetuates the revelation of a "Thou"....The imagery of myth is therefore by no means allegorical....It represents the form in which the experience has become conscious.

Myth, then, is to be taken seriously, because it reveals a significant, if unverifiable, truth--we might say a metaphysical truth. But myth has not the universality and the lucidity of theoretical statement. It is concrete, though it claims to be inassailable in its validity...It claims recognition by the faithful; it does not pretend to justification before the critical.

Myth is a form of poetry which transcends poetry in that it proclaims a truth; a form of reasoning which transcends reasoning in that it wants to bring about the truth it proclaims; a form of action, or ritual behaviour, which does not find its fulfillment in the act but must proclaim and elaborate a poetic form of truth." (1)

Thus myth is a pattern of stories which gives the members of a community a common picture of their universe, a way of conceptualizing their experience, and a method of creating and sustaining their life as a community. It is different from the abstract dogmatics of later peoples.

"But if it remains true to its real nature it is, as it were, the focus of all powerfulness, nourishing the community life from its glow: and thus by the dramatic representation of the 'sacred story', the powerfulness that has appeared in history is transferred to the life of the community and likewise of the individual." (2)

"Primitive religion in general, in fact, recognizes no doctrine: celebration and myth constitute it in its entirety; it is related, not taught.... dogma is never purely existential, never merely concerned with reality, because it always represents some theoretical elaboration of the confession. It is the reflective contemplation of celebration, the expression of myth in logical form." (3)

The festivals and religious rites are intimately connected with the mythology that expresses and creates the religious awareness of a given community. The rites are celebrations, the acting out of the mythological story, the refreshing of the members of the community, and the means

(1) Frankfort, H., et al., The Intellectual Adventures of Ancient Man, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946), p. 4 ff.

(2) Van der Leeuw, G., Religion in Essence and Manifestation, trans. by E. Turner, (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1938), p. 419.

(3) Ibid., p. 443.

of establishing the psychic bonds that unify the community. In the celebration they refresh their recognition of their origins, the end to which they go, and their present purposes.

The term "eschatology" will be used here with reference to that type of myth which is concerned with finality. In this sense it refers to one aspect of the unified whole of any mythology. This is the accepted use of the term in the works of modern Biblical critics. Frost characterizes eschatology as:

"... a congeries of beliefs and ideas which are marked by the expectation of a future end which is the effective End in the mind of the one using the term."(1)

Some form of mythical understanding of the end is common to the higher religions, though the myth may take a variety of forms. It can be a return to original perfection, the coming of a perfect king, the escape from this world into unchanging perfection, the coming of a supernatural saviour, the bringing of perfection into history, or the final establishment of men in paradise by a supernatural power.

The critics of the Bible have had to consider the development of its eschatological myth in the works of writers throughout more than a thousand years of history, and have therefore needed to trace the growth and change

(1) Frost, Stanley Brice, Old Testament Apocalyptic, (London: The Epworth Press, 1952), p. 32.

of the mythology of the Bible. This has been a complex problem. The books of the Bible are not only a mixture of works whose authors are known and anonymous works produced at different periods of history. They are also in many cases combinations of original and ancient material with the later rewriting and reformulating of original myths. The modern scholars have had to study carefully the language, the style, and the forms of the myths throughout the entire Bible.

One result of this study has been the realization that there is a development in the Bible from what is termed the Israelitic hope, to the Apocalyptic hope in the Old Testament, and from that to the eschatological visions of the Kingdom of God in the New Testament. The hope that is termed Israelitic is the original hope of the early Hebrews, tormented by the disasters of their history, that their God would act in history, and bring perfect peace and prosperity to them as a people within history. At this stage the vision is of God acting to restore the well-being of Israel. The belief that He will do so is based on the certainty that He previously acted to create Israel as a people, bringing them out of Egypt under Moses, and that the people has continued to exist sustained by Him.

Apocalyptic visions developed later in the history of Israel. Frost's theory is that they arose out of the

Hebrew's experience of the Babylonian exile, and their later sufferings at the hands of the Persians, Greeks and Romans. Apocalyptic visions are characterized by the dramatic ending of the temporal world, the judgment of men by God and the institution of life in paradise for men favored by God. The books of Daniel, Ezekiel and Revelation are examples of this form of myth within the Bible. There exist many other examples of apocalyptic writings which were produced during the apocalyptic age, 200 B. C. to 100 A. D., and which were not included in Holy Scripture. The ideas of the resurrection of the dead, and life in eternity were also introduced into Hebrew thought at a later period.

New Testament eschatology presents further problems since the early Christians believed that Jesus spoke not only as a prophet warning of the end, but also as the Messiah proclaiming:

"The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand; repent ye, and believe the gospel." (1)

The meaning of this and the other New Testament references to the kingdom of God is one of the major problems of the Biblical critics, and it could not be said even yet that there is unanimity of opinion among the authorities on the subject.

(1) Mark i.15

Discussion of the problem has been widespread in the past forty years, and has been focused by several outstanding books. Albert Schweitzer was one of the first men to present an original and provocative thesis on the subject; his book, The Quest of the Historical Jesus, maintained that Jesus, Paul and the early Christians expected the imminent end of the world, and that the ethical teaching of Jesus was intended only for the interim before the end. C. H. Dodd is a later scholar whose exegetical work has also provoked much further study. His books have maintained that the men who met Jesus were confronted in history with the final purposes of God. They were

"...brought face to face with 'the last things' in crucial decision. The effect of its coming is to disclose the true, elect Israel of God, united with the Messiah; to disclose the true God as the invisible partner who has brought about the fruition of the promised covenant relationship between Himself and men; and thus to disclose within history the end to which history is destined under the sovereignty of God."(1)

Dodd termed this experience "realized eschatology". The last things had come into history with the person of Jesus and the solidarity of the Christians with Him.

(1) Whitehouse, M. A., "The Modern Discussion of Eschatology", Scottish Journal of Theology, Occasional Papers No. 2, 1953. p. 63.

A still later scholar is Rudolph Bultmann whose thesis in summary is as follows:

"But it seems to me that the New Testament understanding of the history of Jesus as eschatological event is not rightly conceived either in the conception of Jesus as the centre of history, or in sacramentalism....The true solution of the problem lies in the thought of Paul and John, namely in the idea that Christ is the ever present or ever becoming present eschatological event. That is to say, that the Now gets eschatological character by the encounter with Christ or with the Word which proclaims him because in the encounter with Him the world and its history comes to its end and the believer becomes free from the world by becoming a new creature." (1)

Bultmann's name is associated with the term 'demythologising'. He claims that the Bible message as quoted above is an eschaton for the believer within history. Salvation is achieved in history by the decision to accept Christ as Lord. This message is the essential part of the Gospel, and for the purposes of modern men the rest of mythology can be discarded.

Other New Testament scholars are opposed to Bultmann's demythologising on the grounds that it gives a distorted picture of the total Gospel. Such men consider the New Testament eschatological vision to be concerned both with the kingdom come among men, and the absolute future.

"Thus a prediction of an imminent Day of the Lord, however literally the prophet may have intended it, was a means of expressing utter confidence in

(1) Bultmann, Rudolf, "History and Eschatology in the New Testament", New Testament Studies, I (September, 1954), p. 15.

the triumph of God's cause and the urgency of the present moment in which man must face the ultimate issues of life." (1)

Thus contemporary theories as to the significance of the New Testament eschatology vary from the view that Jesus expected an imminent end to history, or the view that Jesus was communicating the means to a life of perfection within history, to the view that by faith in Jesus as God man can live in history freely in the knowledge of the absolute future, and can express that knowledge in his earthly life.

As stated previously, the relevance of this discussion of Biblical criticism to the problem of Qur'ānic exegesis is both that it demonstrates the fruitful use to which historical and literary criticism of Biblical eschatology has been put in the reconstruction of religious thought in Christianity, and that it illustrates some of the problems which arise out of such criticism of Semitic prophecy and eschatology. When one begins to ask the nature of religious experience behind the Qur'ān, one is confronted with problems very similar to those with which Schweitzer, Dodd, Bultmann, and the World Council theologians have all been struggling. What does it mean when a prophet cries out that the end is coming but he doesn't know when, and meanwhile God will help those who commit

(1) Caird, G. B., The Apostolic Age, (London: Gerald Duckworth, 1955), p. 187.

themselves to Him? Does it mean that the end is really near and the believer must make superhuman efforts at good behaviour in the brief period that remains? Does it mean that believers who obey the new ethical commands and have faith can live securely in history because they know the nature of God? Or does it mean that God's purpose is both to end the world and create perfect existence in paradise, and to help believers in history for an undefined period of time before the end?

The only adequate way for one who accepts the historical method to answer these questions is careful literary and historical criticism in order to discover the meaning the Qur'ān and the Bible had for original believers. The further question as to the meaning the Books should have for modern believers is the core of the problem of demythologising. The Christians have not yet found any one answer that they can unanimously agree with, but the previous quotation from the World Council illustrates the manner in which they are trying to apply the Biblical visions to present situations.

Chapter V.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE QUR'ĀNIC ESCHATOLOGY.

This chapter is a comparison of some aspects of the exposition made by recent Biblical theologians of the nature of the prophetic world-view with the eschatological ideas of the Qur'ān. This is the distinctive aspect of the present exegesis of the Qur'ān. It seems to me quite possible that new insights into the Qur'ānic world-view can be obtained by seeing the religious experience of Muhammad and the first Muslims in the context of the previous religious experience of the Semitic peoples, and by recognizing that the mode of expression of the Qur'ān is like the characteristic mode of Semitic prophecy.

The orientalist D. B. Macdonald has pointed out the essential similarity between Arab and Hebrew prophecy.

"The Hebrews, a Bedawi tribe which abandoned the desert and turned, more or less, to the agricultural life, exhibit the essential characteristics of Arab prophetism....Such a figure as Elijah... must have appeared again and again in the earlier desert, and certainly did among the saints of Islam. The sons of the Prophets of which from time to time we have fleeting glimpses, "(in the Bible)", can be exactly paralleled by the dervish fraternities of Islam. Their relations to the people, their ceremonies and usages, their mode of life, their ecstasies and religious excitements, were evidently precisely the same. The soil, in a word, from which the great prophets sprang was alike among the Hebrews and the Arabs."(1)

Because this soil was so alike, it may be possible to express the contemporary significance of Qur'ānic eschatology in language very like that which is used to express the contemporary significance of Biblical eschatology.

(1) Macdonald, Duncan Black, The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1909), pp. 11 f.

I am not attempting a full comparison of Qur'ānic and Biblical eschatology for I recognize that profound differences exist between the two world-views. For my present purposes I have selected only those aspects of the Biblical world-view which have seemed directly relevant to the problem of exegesis of the Qur'ān.

The following sections are discussions, under the headings time and eternity, history, and judgment, of some of the characteristics of the world-view which is revealed by historical and literary criticism of the Qur'ān. My method has been to read a number of the recent books dealing with eschatology in the Bible, and to outline, by analogy from these modern expositions of the Biblical world-view, the manner in which these ideas may be applicable to the Qur'ān.

TIME AND ETERNITY

Caird has shown that the Biblical eschatological prophecies may be regarded as modes of thinking about man's life in time.

"The key to the understanding of this aspect of eschatology is to be found in the characteristic mode of thought which may best be described as the telescoping of time....The psalm cycle moves from a declaration of God's mighty acts in creation and redemption to the future coming of the Lord as Saviour and Judge. Past and future meet at the point which is called Today and the Festival becomes a present assertion of the ultimate sovereignty of God." (1)

(1) Caird, op. cit., p. 186.

The men who live in time and respond to God's acts recognize that their temporal life is a part of His creation and His purpose. In their worship they recall their situation as beings created by Him in the past, responsible to Him in the present, and growing towards fulfillment with Him in the future. For this reason a prophet's warning to the present is always couched in language which exhorts the present because of the past and in the light of the future.

The orientalist Tor Andrae has noted this same characteristic mode of expression in the Qur'anic prophecies:

"One often notices in Mohammed's revelations a fixed rhetorical scheme with approximately the following outline: (1) A description of the blessings of God as revealed in His providence, especially in the wonderful creation of man, and the life-giving rain which brings about productive growth for the nourishment of man. (2) The duty of man, therefore, to serve God alone in faith and good works. (3) The judgment and retribution which shall come upon all who do not fulfil this duty. Ever since the days of the Christian apostles this has been the prevailing style of Christian missionary preaching." (1)

This 'fixed rhetorical scheme' is the same as the telescoping of time mode of expression. The Prophet speaks to a situation in the name of the God who created the world in the past, and will finally judge all men in the future.

The eschatological myth is thus the framework through which men express their recognition, in time, of the activity and purposes of God.

(1) Andrae, op. cit., p. 126.

"In the Primitive Christian conception time is not a thing opposed to God, but is rather the means of which God makes use in order to reveal His gracious working." (1)

Both the Qur'ān and the Bible are cast in this Semitic mode of thought about time, and for that reason the later theologian's practice of reading back into the Holy Books Greek concepts of time and eternity led in each religion to misrepresentations of the original world-view. The contrast between the Biblical view of time and eternity, and the neo-Platonic view is expressed as follows by the Biblical critic John Marsh.

"To reach the eternal the neo-Platonist had to abstract himself from all sensible particulars, from all that is subject to time and change and so achieve, by an effort of reason, some conception of the world of eternal objects where the manifold disparities of time and sense did not intrude. But the Christian cannot by any such abstraction attain his conception of the eternal. On the contrary, it is only in and through the things of time and sense, by an act of faith committing the whole being in decision within the historical order itself, that he can know and have the normative experience of the eternal.(2)

Reading Muslim for Christian, the whole of this quotation is directly applicable to the contrast between the Qur'ānic view and the neo-Platonic view. The Qur'ān is a warning and promise from God that men should believe and do right. For Muslims it is by an act of faith committing the whole being in decision within the historical order itself, that a believer may have the normative experience of the eternal.

(1) Cullman, Oscar, Christ and Time; the primitive Christian conception of time and history, trans. by Floyd V. Filson, (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1950), p.51.

(2) Marsh, John, The Fulness of Time, (London: Nisbet and Co., 1952). p. 145.

The following quotation from the Biblical critic Whitehouse illustrates the manner in which Christian theologians expound their understanding of the religious experience underlying the Biblical view of time and eternity. These Semitic modes of interpreting experience are not consciously abstract speculations, but, on the contrary, have an immediate relevance for the lives of men. The early Semitic mythology has all the characteristics of immediate feeling in an "I-Thou" relationship which were shown in the earlier quotation from Frankfort to be representative of the thought processes of ancient peoples. He contrasted this mythological thinking with the abstract "I-it" modes of thought of later men. (1) Biblical theologians like Whitehouse believe that too much abstraction has distorted this original and fruitful mode of interpreting man's relation to God in time, and that modern men need to recover the insights of the early Semitic world-view.

"In truth there is no philosophy of time, nor indeed a single integrated and fully articulated conception of time to be derived from the Bible. What is there, and what has been successfully uncovered, is a method of handling the temporal context within which our life is set which is very different from the one to which we are accustomed by the scientific attitude. For us, time is a condition of existence in which we move inexorably out from a chronologically measured past into a chronologically measurable future. To live thus by passage through a duration of time makes it possible for us to engage as we do in responsible action; it sets our existence within a nexus of historical connexions as well as physical

ones; but it carries into our life many haunting overtones--the sense of perpetual perishing, radical uncertainty about the future, futile mockery by the elusive present--which cannot be lightly dispelled....

No one suggests that we ought to repudiate the notion that our lives are lived in this kind of time. The temporal setting of our life is not totally misapprehended in these thought. What is required in faith is that we should see this against another kind of time, which is not the timeless totum simul of Greek eternity, and recognise that time as we know it in this chronological sense is 'fallen time', a form of existence which imperils the fruition of God's purpose with man, but to which man is not hopelessly condemned....

He gives to His creatures a life in history by living as their partner. The time in which they are thus constrained to live is a meaningful succession of moments, or better, opportunities, established under the over-ruling direction of God in whose hands the cosmos is flexible to a degree we hardly credit, where they are required to make the response of appropriate action....

The recent scrutiny of its Biblical origins has disclosed... that this conception of time can only be maintained when it is rooted in the belief that this is God-created time. It presents the time-conditions of our existence as the particular creation of a reigning God with active subjects whom He has adapted to His dominion. This in turn means that our whole conception of God hinges on His being the Creator and Filler of this kind of time. " (1)

He goes on to say that:

"It is with this background of thought that we affirm the real historicity of Jesus. " (2)

It could, I think, be equally true and meaningful for Muslims to say that it is with this background of thought that they affirm the real historicity of Muhammad's response to God's Revelation of His will. In the Qur'ān also there is a

(1) Whitehouse, op. cit. , pp. 72 ff.

(2) Ibid., p. 74.

clear presentation of a "method of handling the temporal context" which explains the "time-conditions of existence as the particular creation of a reigning God with active subjects whom He has adapted to His dominion."

Rahbar characterizes the Qur'ānic view of eternity as follows:

"And therefore, the nature of this prophetic conception of eternity is only that of a realisation of the superiority of God's existence over the transitory existence of human beings and of this tangible world.

In the Qur'ān, the Book immediately addressed to the simple Arabs of the Prophetic days, eternity of God was presented not as an idea, but as a feeling. The Prophet and the unsophisticated Muslims around him, must only have felt, and not worked out the thought, that God existed 'always', that He, the Creator, obviously existed prior to the things He created...." (1)

This exposition of the "feeling", or what I have termed the "religious experience" underlying the Qur'ān resembles the recent description of the feeling behind the Biblical ideas. Caird has written as follows of the significance of the Biblical concept of eternity:

(1) Rahbar, op. cit., p. 49.

"This interpenetration of past, present, and future, is the Old Testament's way of describing the relationship between time and eternity. The eternal God is not the changeless reality of the Greek philosophers, of which the temporal world is but a moving shadow. He is the First and Last, who makes himself known in the events of time. His former acts do not belong to a lost past nor his last acts to an inscrutable future; for by remembrance men may inhabit God's past, and by faith they may lay hold on God's future." (1)

This paragraph also, reading 'Qur'ān' for 'Old Testament', would apply word for word to Islām.

Thus, for both the Qur'ān and the Bible, the prophetic vision of the Eternal God is a vision of trust in the righteous Lord who created the world and is guiding it to its fulfilment. The Prophet and the unsophisticated Muslims around him felt, as did the unsophisticated prophets and people of early Israel, God's superiority over the tangible world. For both peoples the prophetic vision was of God, "the First and the Last, who makes Himself known in the events of time."

The discussion of eternity in chapter two showed that change and changeless are not the basic contrasts of the Qur'ān, but rather limitation and fulfilment. (2) The meaning of eternity in the Qur'ān is that life after the Day of Judgment will go on without end for both the saved and the damned. The bliss of the former, and the torment of the latter will never cease. The rhetorical reason for these vivid pictures is partly to intensify the

(1) Caird, op. cit., p. 186.

(2) Supra, p. 49.

awareness among the hearers of the Qur'ān of their constant responsibility to God for all their actions. Further, the rhetoric demonstrates that God's power can, and certainly will overcome the limitations of temporal life. The promise of Paradise is a promise of complete fulfilment, and the warning of hell a threat of complete frustration and separation from God. Temporal life from the Qur'ānic perspective is the mode of existence in which the promise of fulfilment is known, but not yet fully realized.

Iqbāl attempts to demonstrate from the contexts where the Qur'ān says the condemned will dwell in hell for aye if God will that there is no idea of eternal damnation in the Qur'ān. Hell, he says,

"is a corrective experience which may make a hardened ego once more sensitive to the living breeze of Divine Grace." (1)

It seems clear to me from considering the contexts of "dwell in hell for aye" and "dwell in Paradise for aye" that the phrase "if God will", which is sometimes used referring to either Paradise or hell, means simply that people in Paradise and hell are still subject to the will of God. (2) Iqbāl misinterprets the Qur'ān in maintaining that eternal damnation is not an aspect of the mythology of

(1) Iqbāl, op. cit., p. 123.

(2) Infra, Appendices X, XI, and XII.

the Book. One might deduce from the Qur'ān that God could remove a man from hell after a period of time, but certainly not that He would be sure to do so.

The final end prophesied in both the Qur'ān and the Bible is related in both cases to the events of temporal history. A Biblical exegete has written that:

"The New Testament clearly refuses to teach an eschatology of judgment and new creation that is divorced from a teleological conception of creation and history.... Therefore while the Kingdom of God means that the fashion of this world will pass away before the eschatological rule coming from above and beyond, yet that rule actually enters into the course of history and its saving action cannot be divorced from God's original and eternal purpose in creation." (1)

This quotation as it stands is clearly applicable to Islām if one reads 'Qur'ān' for 'New Testament' and 'Judgment Day' for 'Kingdom of God'. The teleological conception of history is that the world is created for the purpose of the final manifestation of God's justice. History is moving towards the final judgment, and yet God's justice actually enters into the course of temporal events. He punishes and rewards both in this life and in the hereafter. (2)

Eternity, the new creation, and the Kingdom of God are concepts not of the opposite state to this life, but the fulfilment of it. The contrasts in the Qur'ānic prophecies about the final end are always between the

(1) Whitehouse, op. cit., pp. 77, quoting T. F. Torrance, The Evangelical Quarterly, XXV (April 1953), p. 102.

(2) Supra, p. 46.

quality of life now as opposed to then. Now misbelievers jeer and prosper, then they will broil in hell and know what they have done. Now Prophets are mocked, and believers suffer; then the obedient ones will be rewarded with contentment and peace. Now God helps believers, but then will be better still. Temporal history for the Qur'ān is the scene in the drama between the creation and the Judgment Day in which the purposes of God are revealed, but not fully manifested, and Shaitān is still free to tempt men.

Modern Biblical scholars use the Greek words chronos and kairos to distinguish two ways of thinking about time. Chronos is time that is a neutral succession, an endless chain of exactly similar moments. Kairos is significant time; moments each have their own peculiar meaning in relation to God's dealings with men.

One might ask whether this distinction is the same as Iqbāl's discrimination between "real time" and "serial time" in his Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam. It may be that both he and the Biblical scholars derive their insights in this matter from Bergsonian philosophy. "Serial time" closely resembles the idea of chronos.

"The time in which the efficient self lives is therefore the time of which we predicate long and short.... We can conceive it only as a straight line composed of spatial points which are external to one another like so many stages on a journey...."(L)

(1) Iqbāl, op. cit., pp.47 f.

"Serial time is pure duration pulverized by thought-- a kind of device by which Reality exposes its ceaseless creative activity to quantitative measurement. It is in this sense that the Qur'an says; And of Him is the change of the night and of the day." (1)

Kairos and "real time", however, appear to me to be somewhat different ideas. They are alike in that each is a way of speaking about the meaningfulness of time. Iqbāl writes of "real time" as follows:

"To exist in real time is not to be bound by the fetters of serial time but to create it from moment to moment and to be absolutely free and original in creation." (2)

"Thus the character of our conscious experience-- our point of departure in all knowledge--gives us a clue to the concept which reconciles the opposites of permanence and change, of time regarded as an organic whole or eternity, and time regarded as atomic. If then we accept the guidance of our conscious experience, and conceive the life of the all-inclusive Ego on the analogy of the finite ego, the time of the Ultimate Ego is revealed as change without succession." (3)

Thus his idea of "real time" is directly related to his idea of the "appreciative self."

"The unity of the appreciative ego is like the unity of the germ in which the experiences of its individual ancestors exist, not as a plurality, but as a unity in which every experience permeates the whole....There is change and movement, but this change and movement are indivisible; their elements interpenetrate and are wholly non-serial in character.... It appears that the time of the appreciative self is a single 'now' which the efficient self in its traffic with the world of space, pulverizes into a series of 'nows' like pearl beads in a thread." (4)

(1) Ibid., p. 58.

(2) Ibid., p. 50.

(3) Ibid., pp. 76-77.

(4) Ibid., p. 48.

Thus "real time" is related to the "time of the Ultimate Ego" which is change without succession. Iqbāl seems to derive his idea from an experience of the depth and unity of personality.

Kairos is time considered in relation to actions and purposes. (1) One might say that a moment of time from the perspective of kairos is perceived as the immediate inter-relation of challenge and response between God and men.

Iqbāl discusses at length the problem of time and eternity for Islām. He rightly recognizes that the Qur'ān is concerned with the concrete, and is opposed to the spirit of Greek classicism.

"The Qur'ān has no liking for abstract universals. It always fixes its gaze on the concrete." (2)

At the same time, however, he himself tends to remain in the tradition of Plato in his view of the qualitative distinction between time and eternity.

"On the one hand the ego lives in eternity; by which term I mean non-successional change; on the other, it lives in serial time, which I conceive as organically related to eternity in the sense that it is a measure of non-successional change." (3)

Iqbāl does not see eternity in the Qur'ānic manner as the fulfilment of history at the end of the world, but rather as the unity and wholeness of the Ultimate Ego which he posits by analogy from an experience of depth and unity

(1) Caird, op. cit., p. 184,n.2.

(2) Iqbāl, op. cit., p.80.

(3) Ibid., p.77.

in human personality. This aspect of human experience he terms the "appreciative self".

A further aspect of the ancient Semitic view of time which is relevant to exegesis of both the Qur'ān and the Bible is that;

"Time was not a chronological continuum but a theological series." (1)

These are the words of a Biblical critic, but they are applicable equally to the Qur'ān. From the perspective of these Holy Books, each era of time has its own significance in relation to God's purposes, and temporal history unfolds like a play, each scene of each act deriving final meaning from its relation to the end of history. Temporal history is woven of the warp and weft of challenges and responses between God and men.

In the Qur'ān believers are informed of God's former destructions as a parable that they may know how to behave in the present. All of God's acts mentioned in the Qur'ān reveal more of Himself and His purposes. Temporal life is the working out of men's responses to His purposes, and His answers to their activities. He rewards and punishes in history as a foretaste of the coming Judgment Day.

An example of a positive application of the Biblical view of time and eternity to contemporary situations is the

(1) Marsh, op. cit., p. 28.

following exposition of a modern Christian's view of the theological reasons for contemporary political action.

Paul Tillich wrote in this way of the need felt by German Christians to work for religious socialism after World War I.

"The 'present moment' had to be interpreted as the bearer of a demand and a promise, both breaking from eternity into time. And the 'present moment' was taken as the concrete moment in history, in which we, in a special period, in a special country, experienced promise and demand. I believe that this is just the way in which the prophets in Israel and the prophetic minds in the Church, and sometimes outside the Church, expressed their special historical vocation. " (1)

By analogy from this world-view, and for exegesis of the Qur'ānic imperative to seventh century Makkah, one might say that the prophetic mind of Muhammad experienced demand and promise breaking from eternity into time at a concrete moment in history. The demand was to submit to God, to believe and do right, and the promise was the help of God in history, and Paradise in the hereafter. By a further analogy, one might also say that the problem for modern Muslims is to regain the Qur'ānic perspective, and to be open to respond to the demand and promise from God breaking into the present concrete moments of temporal history.

HISTORY

Recent Biblical critics have also been much concerned with understanding the Biblical view of the significance of history. Again the opinion of the scholars is that

(1) Kegley, Charles W., and Bretall, W., eds., The Theology of Paul Tillich (New York: MacMillan, 1952) p.345.

the ancient Semitic perspective differs in several important respects from the Greek perspective.

"The New Testament conception of history goes back to that of the Old Testament; and this differs from the Greek conception of history. There are, of course, no such differences at primitive stages among all peoples. In the Orient as well as in Greece historical writing begins with chronological enumeration of important events and deeds of rulers and so on; and at the same time with myths and legend in poetical form and with stories. Real historical narrative arises when the stage of chronicle, myth and legend is left behind, and when a course of history begins to be presented as a unity, by the observation of the connexion of events and through reflection on the powers moving the course of events. That occurs when a people experiences the historical processes by which it is shaped into a nation or state.

In Greece, historical narrative became a branch of knowledge governed by principles derived from typical Greek attempts to understand the field of nature as well as of history. Thucydides, the first great Greek historian, understands the historical movement in the same way as he understands the cosmical movement, a movement in which in all changes always the same happens in new constellations. Here history is not understood as a peculiar field of life distinguished from nature. The Greek historian can, of course, give counsel for the future so far as it is possible to derive some rules from the observation of history as of nature. But his real interest is directed to the knowledge of the past; the historian does not reflect on possible future eventualities, nor does he understand the present as a time of decision in which men must assume responsibility towards the future. The Greek historian does not raise the question of meaning in history, and consequently a philosophy of history did not arise in Greece.

The conception of history in Israel and in Judaism is a quite different one. Here the scientific interest in objective knowledge is not the ruling interest. If there is an interest in knowledge it is in self-knowledge, and the historian calls his people to self-knowledge. In Israel historical narrative derived

its principles from the ideas of the great prophets of the eighth and seventh centuries. Looking back on the past meant critically examining the past and warning the present. As early as the Elohist tradition, and later in the deuteronomic redaction of the tradition, the point of view is that history reveals the sovereign rule of God who has chosen Israel to be his people. History shows the change of the alternation of divine grace and the nation's sin, of divine judgment, human penitence and divine forgiveness. Insofar as the history of Israel ends with the catastrophe of the people, the historical narrative ends with the promise of a future of salvation for a chastized people, if that people is now willing to obey the will of God....

II

In later Judaism this hope for a prosperity on earth remained, a hope for a splendid future of the people ruled by the Messiah who will renew the kingdom of David.... But besides this another hope arose, for a blissful future which is no longer of this earth and which shall not be realized by an historical crisis brought about by God, but by a cosmic catastrophe, the end of which will be the resurrection of the dead and the Last Judgment....

In the Israelitic view of history the goal of history is promised, but the realization of the promise is conditional on the obedience of the people. In the apocalyptic view the end of history comes with necessity at the time determined by God. According to the first view, the course of history becomes clearly the knowledge of divine justice which guides history to its goal. In the second view, the course of history is revealed by the knowledge of the secret counsel of God....

III

In the New Testament... the Old Testament view of history is preserved as well as the apocalyptic view, but in such a way that the apocalyptic view prevails....

Jesus says nothing about the character of the coming salvation except that it is life... and that the dead shall be raised from death to this life. Symbolically, salvation can be described as a great banquet...." (1)

(1) Bultmann, op. cit., pp. 5 ff.

The Qur'ānic view of history also differs from the Greek view in the manner described above. The interest from the Qur'ānic perspective is on self-knowledge; the Prophet examines events to search out the will of God, and to warn men to submit themselves to the purposes of their Creator. The final end is portrayed in the manner of Hebrew apocalyptic, but the real realization of the promise of final fulfilment for individuals is dependent on their obedience in history. They are judged for what they have done. The goal for the Qur'ān is the salvation of individual believers rather than the vindication of a people. In the Qur'ān, as in the New Testament, "the Old Testament view of history is preserved as well as the apocalyptic view but in such a way that the apocalyptic view prevails". In each case the final end of the world is expected, but God's purposes are also known within the events of temporal history.

This temporal history is seen in both Holy Books as a series of 'times with contents' sent by God for His own purposes, and demanding certain appropriate responses from His people. The Qur'ān and the Bible both see history in this way:

"a fabric woven of the warp of opportunity and the woof of human response....the times, the opportunities that come to man, come from God." (1)

In the Qur'ān the opportunities were the sending of prophets, and belief or misbelief the response of men.

(1) Marsh, op. cit., p. 22.

A Biblical exegete has written of Semitic prophecy:

Prophecy is then by its very nature a conscious interpretation, the interpretation, of history.

In interpreting a particular situation the prophet may speak of catastrophe and judgment, or of promises and hope. But he will do either or both of these things, because in every historical situation it is God who ordains what is to happen...." (1)

In a similar way, the Qur'ānic rhetorical speeches warn of disaster or bliss, or both, according to the situation addressed. In threatening the misbelievers, and promising reward to the believers, the Qur'ān was interpreting the significance of particular historical situations from the perspective of God's purposes.

In each Book it is proclaimed that life in history is of urgent significance since in history men have the opportunity to respond to the challenge and invitation of God. The promise of the Qur'ān, or the Bible, is offered, and men bet eternal life on their response.

Life in history is seen in the perspective of the End, and therefore any end within history is never an absolute good in itself. History does not follow any closed pattern, dialectical or other, but is rather an open field for the possible creative responses of men to the purposes of God. Men are responsible to God, who is Lord of history. They are not responsible to history. The constant message of the

(1) Marsh, op. cit., pp. 22 f.

speeches of the Qur'ān is God's awareness of men's actions and His certain justice. The Last Day will be the reckoning up of all that has happened in history.

One can abstract from the Qur'ānic mythology a pattern very like that which Frost terms the double-eschaton form that is the product of the religious experience recorded in the Old Testament. The form of vision, coupling the certainty of God's final fulfilment with recognition of His acts of redemption within history, is also characteristic of the New Testament. There is an obvious difference in the content of the myth, as opposed to its form, in the two Testaments, since in the New Testament the Kingdom has come in the person of Christ. A still further difference in content is apparent in the case of Islām. Muslims know God's revelation of His purpose for them, but they do not know Him as a human personality. The last of the Prophets has come, and this affects the content of history, but in a different manner from the coming of the Incarnation of God.

Nevertheless, in both Holy Books the form of the double hope is similar; in both, God has final control and will complete history, and believers in the interim before the end can live securely because they know the end.

There are several references in the Qur'ān to God's punishment of sinners both in history and at the end.

The double-eschaton form in the Qur'ān is that God will destroy misbelievers both in history and at the final end, and will help believers in history, and reward them with Paradise at the final end. The core of the Qur'ānic prophecy is thus that men should believe and do right; they should act in history in the knowledge of responsibility to God, and should trust in His righteousness.

PROPHECY AND JUDGMENT

Modern Biblical exegetes say that prophecy in the Semitic tradition is the proclamation of God's will to an immediate situation. The content of the message varies with the content of the situation, and for that reason the prophecies of the Qur'ān, and the Bible, may appear contradictory if one attempts to abstract from them a logically consistent system of ideas. A prophecy is intended to be an accurate evaluation of a given situation from the perspective of God, rather than a further elaboration of a detailed intellectual system.

Both Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khān, the famous nineteenth century Indian Muslim scholar, and Shāh Wālīyullāh of Delhi, the renowned eighteenth century scholar, recognized the Qur'ān as a series of epistles sent down to men from God through the Prophet. They saw these messages as coming to answer the requirements of given situations in the

lifetime of the Prophet. In this insight into the nature of prophecy, Shāh Walīyullāh and other Qur'ānic exegetes were perhaps much in advance of Biblical scholars.

"The Glorious Qur'ān was not sent down all at once, but came down piece-meal.

The intermittent occurrence of events brought about the Revelational Impulse...of the Holy Spirit..., i.e. the Faculty of Prophecy...and so revelation came down because of it. Therefore it is a collection of speeches belonging to different times which God has sent down from time to time to suit the demands of occasions, and it is not a book composed (to execute a preconceived plan), whose contents the author sets together according to a certain (preconceived) arrangement by first making a division of chapters and sections. Shāh Walīyullāh says...:

'The Qur'ān is not composed in the form of texts arranged chapterwise and sectionwise that you may find everything in it, or that sections be marked off in it. Rather you should believe the Qur'ān as a collection of epistles. Just as Kings write an allegory for their subjects according to the requirements of a situation... so that a large number of allegories accumulate and a man collects these into an arrangement even so the Absolute Sovereign sent down Sūrah after Sūrah on His Apostle--may he bless him and send peace upon him--according to the requirements of situations and in the lifetime of the Prophet....' (1)

Rahbar's recent characterization of the Qur'ān as a series of revelational speeches of reform (2), is thus in a sense a restatement by a modern Muslim of Shāh Walīyullāh's insight.

Rahbar has also noted the Qur'ānic method

(1) Ahmad Khān, Sir Sayyid, Tahrīr fī Usūl al-Tafsīr, trans. from Urdu and Persian by M. D. Rahbar.

(2) Supra, p. 2.

of proclaiming opposites in vivid apposition.

"The contiguous phrases connoting two opposite dispositions of God seem terms of reference alluding to divine vengeance which the sinners are to face, and divine love and mercy which the virtuous will receive." (1)

Caird has remarked on the similar characteristic of the Biblical writers.

"We must therefore reckon with the possibility that the Jew was able to take in his stride paradoxes which have perplexed Gentiles ancient and modern. Where we should make a guarded statement, the Semitic mind prefers to throw together two extreme statements and allow the one to qualify the other. The prophets repeatedly declare God's irrevocable judgment on human sin, and almost in the same breath call on men to repent before it is too late....Thus Paul and Mark...were content to say: "The End is at hand; the End will not come until God is ready for it." (2)

Similarly, the Qur'ān repeatedly declares God's irrevocable judgments on human sin, and at the same time calls on men to repent before it is too late. It warns men to beware of the imminent coming of the Hour, and says that God alone knows when it will come. It proclaims that sinners and their families too will be sent to hell, and states that all men will be judged individually. It warns that God's judgments in history have been sudden and overwhelming, and proclaims that some men repented in time and were saved. It tells believers that real happiness will come to them only in the hereafter, and that God will make them prosperous in history.

(1) Rahbar, op. cit., p. 202.

(2) Caird, op. cit., pp. 192 f.

Macdonald has written as follows of the basic paradox of Islām, the contrast between the 'wholly otherness' of God, and His closeness to every human heart.

"It is a paradox of Islām. Viewed in one way, Allāh is throned afar from his creation in unattainable glory, and between him and it there can be no contact save through miracle, and then only irrationally. But viewed in another way, Allāh and the spiritual world are very close to every human heart. There is no man but has enjoyed in his hours of sleep some measure of inspiration and some access to that world. In this way all men are prophets to some extent, and every man, unless by evil life he has given the devil power to deceive him by night as well as by day, can learn of God's truth.... Dreams are on record, and the veracity of the narrators of them cannot be doubted, in which God himself was personally seen." (1)

The contrast between the certainty that final judgment will come, and ignorance of the time of its coming is a paradox common to both the Qur'ān and the Bible. Caird has commented as follows on the Biblical prophecies:

"Like the prophets before him Jesus expected two types of event. He looked forward to an historic crisis.... But his view of the historic future merged into a vision of the absolute future, and he regarded these historic events as eschatological events in so far as they were embodiments or expressions of the final Crisis. In this proleptic sense the Day of the Son of Man was always at hand and the disciples must always be on the watch for it. But Jesus clearly indicated that in its final manifestation the Day was known only to God, not because God had fixed a date which he guarded as a close secret,

(1) Macdonald, The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam, pp. 79 f.

but because the coming of the Day was contingent upon the full realization of the purposes of God." (1)

The Qur'ānic vision of the Hour can also be understood in a proleptic sense that Muslims are warned it is always at hand, and they should live in constant expectation of its sudden coming. Similarly, the final manifestation of the Hour is known only to God, not because He guards the date as a close secret, but because the coming of the Hour is contingent upon the full realization of His purposes.

Another Biblical exegete has written:

"The 'when' of the eschaton is not a matter of arithmetic or of dates but of the mercy and judgment of God." (2)

This quotation also is directly applicable to the Qur'ān, even though, as Attama has shown, there is development in the Qur'ān from an expectation of an immediate End to a recognition of the 'hiddenness' of the date of the Hour. The contexts of "Hour" considered in chapter two above demonstrated that the essential pattern of the Qur'ānic vision is that the Hour is certainly promised, it will come suddenly, and God alone knows the date when it will come. Its coming is a matter of the mercy and judgment of God.

(1) Caird, op. cit., p. 189.

(2) Frost, op. cit., p. 255.

Still another Biblical exegete has analysed as follows some of the characteristics of the religious experience which he believes to underlie the Biblical eschatology.

"The imminence of the eschatological event is a particular problem. In general it seems to be in proportion to the intensity of faith. It seems a natural corollary of faith's immediate grasp on the unseen that in the category of time also the apprehended object should be sensed as close. This is in any case true of a people like the Jews with their conception of history. " (1)

This insight too is relevant to historical exegesis of the Qur'ānic prophecies of the Hour. The predictions of the imminence of the End may be partially understood as the product of the Prophet's intense experience of God expressed through the traditional Semitic mythology of creation and history. Iqbāl recognized that a characteristic of prophetic religious experience is its concern with the concrete particularities of history. (2) He also noted that the Qur'ān took over some of the earlier mythology and transformed its meaning. (3) He did not, however, relate these insights to the Qur'ānic prophecies of the coming of the Hour.

(1) Wilder, Amos N., Eschatology and Ethics in the Teaching of Jesus (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), p. 24.

(2) Iqbāl, op. cit., pp. 124 ff.

(3) Ibid., pp. 81 ff.

A further characteristic common to the predictions of the final end in both Holy Books is the warning that the time for repentance and conversion will have passed.

"There will come a time, as the parables of Jesus show, when, at the end, the opportunity passes." (1)

In the Qur'ān it is repeatedly prophesied that the End is the final reckoning up, and completion of everything. Men will know their final status before God. Then they will know what they have done. All opportunity to change will have passed.

For both the Qur'ān and the Bible, the judgment at the end is the final triumph of God over all evil. The Biblical vision of the final vindication of God's purposes is proclaimed as follows by St. Paul.

"For I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us. For the earnest expectation of the creature waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God. For the creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who hath subjected the same in hope, because the creature itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God.

For we know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now. And not only they, but ourselves also, which have the first-fruits of the Spirit, even we ourselves groan within ourselves, waiting for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of our body. For we are saved by hope. But hope that is seen is not hope, for what a man seeth, why doth he yet hope for, but if we hope for that we see not, then do we with patience wait for it."(2)

(1) Marsh, op. cit., p. 34.

(2) Rom. viii. 18-25.

A similar vision is expressed in the Qur'ānic mythology. Shaitān is permitted to tempt men within history, but at the final end he and the jinn will be condemned to hell. God created men and the world in order that they might finally know His righteousness. The Day of Judgment is the fulfilment of His purposes.

The eschatological vision in both the Qur'ān and the Bible may be seen as the expression of an experience of God's righteousness. Men are constrained to obey His ethical injunctions in earthly life because of His nature.

"This fundamental sanction, that of the very nature of God, presumes on the one hand a powerfully vivid experience of the divine, of the mysterium tremendum, or the numinous experience itself; and in addition a special conception or group of conceptions of the object thus known....In knowing God the Jew" (and Muslim) "felt that he knew One who was holy, just, good, purposeful....it would also be true to say that the experience of God itself was both the ultimate sanction of ethics and their inspiring force." (1)

Thus it might be possible to understand the Qur'ān as the product of the "powerfully vivid experience of the divine, of the mysterium tremendum" of the Prophet Muhammad in combination with the special group of conceptions that the object thus known was "holy, just, good, purposeful". As Iqbāl has shown, the Prophet took over much of the existing Semitic mythology and transferred its meaning through the power of his own experience of the divine. (2)

(1) Wilder, op. cit., pp. 119 f.

(2) Iqbāl, op. cit., pp. 81 f.

The core of the eschatological prophecy of the Qur'ān is that the final end will come when the Holy God experienced by the Prophet and the first Muslims will triumph. On the Resurrection Day His righteousness will be completely manifested, and all idols and evil forces will be powerless. The sanction of ethics for Muslims is the certainty that God is righteousness and demands righteousness from His creatures. To refuse His demand is to invite eternal punishment in hell.

The religious experience of the Prophet and the first Muslims might be interpreted in a manner similar to Caird's exposition of the Hebrew experience of God's righteousness.

"The righteousness of God is no abstract quality but an active power which achieves the chastisement of the wicked and the redemption of the down-trodden. Holiness and glory are more than eternal attributes of deity; they are modes of divine revelation in the events of time." (1)

The Qur'ān also knows of God's righteousness as a positive reality, acting in history to punish the proud, and to help the pious and the good. His acts in history are a foretaste of the final manifestation of His righteousness.

(1) Caird, op. cit., p. 182.

Chapter VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The pattern of Qur'ānic eschatology has been investigated in a manner similar to the critical analyses that have been done of Biblical eschatology, and the findings from the Qur'ān have been compared with the relevant findings from the Bible. With the exception of M. D. Rahbar's thesis, little historical and literary criticism of the Qur'ān seems to have been done by Muslims in modern times comparable to the thorough investigations that have been made of the Bible in the past hundred years. Muslim scholars have, of course, been concerned from the beginning of Islām with Qur'ānic exegesis. And, as we indicated above, they brought to bear upon it all the knowledge, from whatever source, available to them at the time. Higher criticism to-day is essentially little more than the application of new methods, and some new evidence, to the old problems of the meaning and content of the Holy Book.

It is hazarded that historical and literary criticism of Qur'ānic eschatology might be a fruitful way of approach to the problem of reformulating Islamic theology. Among modern Muslims this latter need is more an ambiguous and unconscious discontent than an explicit demand for the reformulating of theology. The back-to-the-Qur'ān-movements, the writing of Iqbāl, and the

reforming demands of Muhammad 'Abduh are varying kinds of manifestation of this discontent.

Rahbar's work has demonstrated that the Qur'ānic conception of God differs in a number of respects from the conceptions of medieval theology. His critical work is in method very like the research that has been done on the Bible. Christians have reconstructed theology on the basis of historical and literary criticism of the Bible. They have taken as a postulate of the new theology that the religious experience of the men who produced the Bible was the most authentic recognition of God that has ever occurred, and that for this reason modern believers should try to recapture the original Biblical perspective. They believe that they should try to view modern problems from this perspective.

No modern problems are exactly like the Biblical situations, but it is possible to view them from a Biblical perspective. If similar postulates were to become the basis for a reformulation of Islamic theology, study of the Qur'ān could serve as a partial means of ascertaining the nature of the original Qur'ānic perspective.

Recent scholars of religion have concluded that the mytho-poetic thought processes of ancient peoples differ

in many respects from the abstract and speculative thought processes of modern men. Applying higher criticism to the Bible has therefore involved a recognition of the mythological quality of much of the Biblical material. Eschatology is that form of myth which is concerned with finality. Exegetes of the eschatology of the Bible have held a variety of opinions as to the meaning of the New Testament prophecies. Most scholars now agree that the original Christian eschatological vision is concerned both with present history and the absolute future.

Comparison of the contexts of the words relating to eschatology in the Qur'ān has shown the following pattern of ideas to be constantly repeated throughout the Book. Prophecies to contemporary situations in Makkah and Madīnah are cast in the framework of a proclamation that God is the Creator of the world, that he has sent prophets and punished disobedient cities, and that men must believe and do right because the coming of the final Hour is certain.

God created the world in six days, and the angels out of smokeless fire. He created the world that His justice might be fully known at the end. Iblīs refused to bow down before Adam, and was expelled. Shaitān was permitted to tempt men in history until the Judgment Day. Adam and his wife succumbed to

temptation, and were driven out of Paradise. God has sent prophets to warn men of the coming Day of Judgment. Men have scorned the prophets, and God has destroyed the disobedient cities. God has sent the Qur'an. He aids believers in history.

The Hour will come when the world will be ended, and the dead shall be raised from their graves. They shall stand before God in ranks to be judged. His justice will be fully known; men will be sent to Paradise or hell as payment for their earthly lives. Paradise and hell will go on forever. Men in Paradise will know complete fulfilment and bliss; God will pardon them, and be merciful to them. The men in hell will be broiled and scorched, and separated from God.

The second coming of Jesus, and the existence and killing of the monster, Dajjāl, are not explicitly mentioned in the Qur'an. Nor are the stories about Munkar and Nakir and the questioning in the grave to be found fully described in the Book. No one exact picture of the detail of the judgment, the questioning of men before God, of the physical characteristics of Paradise and hell is presented, nor are the bridge, the tank, or the blowing of three trumpets explicitly

described.

The Qur'ānic portrayal of the nature, and modes of expression of God's will differs in several respects from the ideas of God's will current in later Islamic thought. The theologians, under the influence of Greek philosophy, tended to think of an omnipotent, omniscient God whose will was a constant, unchanging flow, and the source of everything, including all human activity. The Qur'ān, on the contrary, pictures God's will as deciding, changing, and challenging in response to the activities of men. The Qur'ān reveals God intervening in temporal history, sending prophets, destroying cities, and helping believers. He is Lord and Creator of the world, but men know His will only when He challenges and demands active response from them. They know Him from the actions of His intervening will

The Qur'ānic eschatological vision, disclosed by the comparison of contexts of significant words in the Holy Book, is similar in many respects to that of the Bible. The mode of expression in each case is the characteristic mode of Semitic prophecy. Caird terms this mode the telescoping of time, with reference to the Bible. The phrase is also applicable to the Qur'ānic pattern of thought. Prophecies of promise and demand are always delivered to present situations because of

the will of God who created the world and will finally judge all men. The method of the rhetorical speeches which constitute the Qur'ān is to call for conversion and submission to God because of the certain coming of the Day of Judgment.

Since the speeches are addressed to particular situations, the aspects of God's nature and purpose emphasized varies with the need of the situation. Some of the seeming paradoxes of the Qur'ān and the Bible can be understood as resulting from the pastoral intention of the various prophecies.

Paradox is inherent in the Semitic mode of expression, the tendency to make vivid a message by the use of colourful imagery and extreme statements. The Qur'ān warns believers to fear the Judgment Day, and also to hope and pray for its coming. The Hour is prophesied as certain to come, but the time of its coming is known only to God. The Qur'ān repeatedly calls a warning of God's irrevocable judgment on human sin, and at the same time urges men to repent before it is too late. It proclaims that sinners and their families too will be sent to hell, and states that all men will be judged individually. It tells believers that real happiness will come to them only in the hereafter, and promises that God will make them prosper in this life.

Eternity for both the Qur'ān and the Bible is a concept of fulfilment as opposed to the limitations of temporal history. Temporal history in each case is of urgent significance because of the coming confrontation with God. The Qur'ān says that God acted several times in history to warn men, and to aid believers. His actions have always revealed His purpose and His justice. The moments of time all have their own peculiar significance in relation to the temporal and the final manifesting of God's justice.

"Realized eschatology" is a term applicable in both similar and differing senses to the messages of the Qur'ān and the Bible. It is similar in that Muslims, like Christians, can live freely in time, after the coming of their final Revelation, because they know the nature of the final end. The final end in each case will be the absolute triumph of God over all evil, cosmic as well as in the heart of man. The Qur'ān prophesies that final separation of the saved and the damned will take place, and God's justice will be fully manifested.

In all these ways it has been possible to take over the language and the concepts of modern Biblical critics, and to use them for an exposition of the

significance of Qur'ānic eschatology. The research into the original meaning of the Qur'ān has been preliminary and tentative, but a basic pattern of eschatological ideas has been demonstrated. The fact that this pattern of ideas is so readily adaptable to expression in the manner of the Biblical critics is evidence in itself of the similarity of the mode of thought and expression in the two Books. Orthodox Islamic theology has always held that the Bible is a previous Revelation from God later superseded by the Qur'ān. This is a further reason for the relevance of modern Christians' expositions of the Biblical world-view to the problems of Qur'ānic exegesis.

The quality and content of the religious experiences presumed to underlie the Qur'ān and the Bible, the aspects of the nature of God most deeply recognized, differ in each case, but the form of expression in both is the typically paradoxical and prophetic mode of the ancient Semites. The Qur'ān is concerned chiefly with the proclamation of a profound insight into the certainty and finality of God's justice.

Historical and literary criticism of the Bible has led to a reformulation of Christian thought. Modern Christians attempt to apply what they believe to be the original Biblical perspective to contemporary problems

of everyday life. They try to see themselves living their lives before God, and immediately responsible to Him for all that they do. They believe that they can, in the Spirit, discover His will and His purposes in contemporary situations by committing themselves in trust to His care, and living in obedience to His mind as they know it from the Bible. They trust that He is Lord of history, and is guiding it to a final fulfilment.

Similarly, and partly by analogy from this modern interpretation of the significance of Semitic eschatology, I hazard the suggestion that a reformulation of Islamic thought might express itself in this kind of language. Muslims in this case might try to ascertain the nature of the Qur'ānic perspective, and to apply such a perspective to contemporary life. The eschatological vision is, I believe, central to the Qur'ānic perspective. Commitment to it might mean that believers would live trusting in the righteousness of God, and knowing they were responsible to Him for all that they did. They would live in obedience to His purpose as revealed in the Qur'ān, and trusting that He is guiding history to its end and fulfilment. Since He is the final Judge, they would need to fear no temporal power. His righteousness could be trusted finally to overcome all false idols and all evil powers.

They would view immediate situations as urgently important because the Qur'ānic perspective is that all human life is lived in responsibility to God. The implementation of social, economic and political justice would be seen as one of the means of living in obedience to God's purpose of manifesting His righteousness. From the Qur'ānic perspective, it seems to me that men should be just because God is just, and has warned them of the irrevocable punishment that will come to those who fail to respond to His Revelation of His purpose.

The God portrayed in the Qur'ān is a living , acting, challenging God who is constantly demanding response from men. Those who do respond may know that He will help them, in history, in their efforts to realize His purposes, and that He will reward them at the final end with peace and fulfilment, living in His presence, and pardoned by Him.

APPENDIX I. Contexts of Adam, Ādam.

1. Iblis refused to adore Adam.
2. Jesus was created in the same manner as Adam.

1. Iblis refused to adore Adam,

II: 31.

And when thy Lord said unto the angels, 'I am about to place a viceregent in the earth,' they said, 'Wilt Thou place therein one who will do evil therein and shed blood? we celebrate Thy praise and hallow Thee.' Said (the Lord), 'I know what ye know not.' And He taught Adam the names, all of them; then He propounded them to the angels and said, 'Declare to me the names of these, if ye are truthful.' They said, 'Glory be to Thee! no knowledge is ours but what Thou thyself hast taught us, verily, Thou art the knowing, the wise.' Said the Lord, 'O Adam declare to them their names;' and when he had declared to them their names He said, 'Did I not say to you, I know the secrets of the heavens and of the earth, and I know what ye show and what ye were hiding?' And when we said to the angels, 'Adore Adam,' they adored him save only Iblis, who refused and was too proud and became one of the misbelievers. And we said, 'O Adam dwell, thou and thy wife, in Paradise, and eat therefrom amply as you wish; but do not draw near this tree or ye will be of the transgressors. And Satan made them backslide therefrom and drove them out from what they were in,

VII: 9. f.

We have established you in the earth, and we have made for you therein livelihoods; little is it that ye thank; and we created you, then we fashioned you, then we said unto the angels, 'Adore Adam,' and they adored, save Iblis, who was not of those who did adore.

Said He, 'What hinders thee from adoring when I order thee?' he said, 'I am better than he; Thou hast created me from fire, and him Thou hast created out of clay.'

Said He, 'Then go down therefrom; what ails thee that thou shouldst be big with pride therein? go forth! verily, thou art of the little ones.'

He said, 'Respite me until the day when they shall be raised.' He said, 'Verily, thou art of the respited;' said he, 'For that Thou hast led me into error, I will lie

in wait for them in Thy straight path; then I will surely come to them, from before them and from behind them; and most of them Thou shalt not find thankful.' He said, 'Go forth therefrom, despised, expelled; whoso follows thee, I will surely fill hell with you altogether. But, O Adam, dwell thou and thy wife in Paradise and eat from whence ye will, but draw not nigh unto this tree or ye will be of the unjust.'

But Satan whispered to them to display to them what was kept back from them of their shame, and he said, 'Your Lord has only forbidden you this tree lest ye should be twain angels, or should become of the immortals;' and he swore to them both, 'Verily, I am unto you a sincere adviser;' and he beguiled them by deceit, and when they twain tasted of the tree, their shame was shown them, and they began to stitch upon themselves the leaves of the garden. And their Lord called unto them, 'Did I not forbid you from that tree there, and say to you, Verily, Satan is to you an open foe?' They said, 'O our Lord! we have wronged ourselves-and if Thou dost not forgive us and have mercy on us, we shall surely be of those who are lost!' He said, 'Go ye down, one of you to the other a foe; but for you in the earth there is an abode, and a provision for a season.' He said, 'Therein shall ye live and therein shall ye die, from it shall ye be brought forth.'

O sons of Adam! we have sent down to you garments wherewith to cover your shame, and plumage; but the garment of piety, that is better. That is one of the signs of God, haply ye may remember.

XVII: 63 f.

And when we said to the angels, 'Adore Adam;' and they adored, save Iblis, who said, 'Am I to adore one whom Thou hast created out of clay?'

Said he, 'Dost thou see now? this one whom Thou hast honoured above me, verily, if Thou shouldst respite me until the resurrection day, I will of a surety utterly destroy his seed except a few.'

XX: 115 f.

We did make a covenant with Adam of yore, but he forgot it, and we found no firm purpose in him.

And when we said to the angels, 'Adore Adam!' they adored, save Iblis, who refused. And we said, 'O Adam! verily, this is a foe to thee and to thy wife; never let him drive you twain forth from the garden or thou wilt be wretched. Verily, thou hast not to be hungry there, nor naked! and, verily, thou shalt not thirst therein, nor feel the noonday heat!'

But the devil whispered to him. Said he, 'O Adam! shall I guide thee to the tree of immortality, and a kingdom that shall not wane?'

And they eat therefrom, and their shame became apparent to them; and they began to stitch upon themselves some leaves of the garden; and Adam rebelled against his Lord, and went astray.

2. Jesus was created in the same manner as Adam.

III: 52.

Verily, the likeness of Jesus with God is as the likeness of Adam. He created him from earth, then He said to him BE, and he was;-the truth from thy Lord, so be thou not of those who are in doubt.

APPENDIX II. Acts of God in time.

1. God sent prophets to warn men, and helped his prophets.
2. God always sent an apostle to warn before He sent punishment.
3. God brought destruction on cities that did wrong.
4. God punishes both in history and at the end of time.
5. God saved some people and destroyed others when He acted to judge a people in the past.
6. No nation can hasten or put off its appointed time for destruction.
7. God judged in history but left open the possibility of repentance.
8. God judged in history and did not leave possibility for repentance.
9. God makes believers prosper in history.
10. God acted to give victory at Badr.
11. God acted to give signs to the people.
12. God created and sustained Israel, and gave knowledge and wisdom to her leaders, Moses, David and Solomon.
13. God threatens Makkah with destruction citing as evidence His destruction of former disobedient cities.
14. God created Jesus, aided him with the Holy Spirit and raised him unto Himself.

1. God sent prophets to warn men, and helped his prophets.

XXI: 69 f.

Said they, 'Burn him, and help your gods, if ye are going to do so!

We said, 'O fire! be thou cool and a safety for Abraham!'

They desired to plot against him, but we made them the losers.

And we brought him and Lot safely to the land which we have blessed for the world, and we bestowed upon him Isaac and Jacob as a fresh gift, and each of them we made righteous persons; and we made them high priests to guide (men) by our bidding, and we inspired them to do good works, and to be steadfast in prayer, and to give alms; and they did serve us.

And Lot, to him we gave judgment and knowledge, and we brought him safely out of the city which had done vile acts; verily, they were a people who wrought abominations! And we made him enter into our mercy; verily, he was of the righteous!

And Noah, when he cried aforetime, and we answered him and saved him and his people from the mighty trouble and we helped him against the people who said our signs were lies; verily, they were a bad people, so we drowned them all together.

And David and Solomon, when they gave judgment concerning the field, when some people's sheep had strayed therein at night; and we testified to their judgment; and this we gave Solomon to understand. To each of them we gave judgment and knowledge; and to David we subjected the mountains to celebrate our praises, and the birds too,- it was we who did it.

And we taught him the art of making coats of mail for you, to shield you from each other's violence; are ye then grateful?

And to Solomon (we subjected) the wind blowing stormily, to run on at his bidding to the land which we have blessed,-for all things did we know,-and some devils to dive for him, and to do other works beside that; and we kept guard over them.

And Job, when he cried to his Lord, 'As for me, harm has touched me, but Thou art the most merciful of the merciful ones.' And we answered him, and removed from him the distress that was upon him; and we gave his

family, and the like of them with them, as a mercy from us, and a remembrance to those who serve us.

And Ishmail, and Idrîs, and Dhu 'l Kifl, all of these were of the patient: and we made them enter into our mercy; verily, they were among the righteous.

And Dhu 'nnun, when he went away in wrath and thought that we had no power over him, and he cried out in the darkness, 'There is no god but Thou, celebrated be Thy praise! Verily, I was of the evildoers!' And we answered him, and saved him from the trouble. Thus do we save believers!

And Zachariah, when he cried unto his Lord, 'O Lord! leave me not alone; for thou art the best of heirs.' And we answered him, and bestowed upon him John; and we made his wife right for him; verily, these vied in good works, and called on us with longing and dread, and were humble before us.

And she who guarded her private parts, and we breathed into her of our Spirit, and we made her and her son a sign unto the worlds. Verily, this your nation is one nation; and I am your Lord, so serve me. But they cut up their affair amongst themselves; they all shall return to us; and he who acts aright, and he who is a believer, there is no denial of his efforts, for, verily, we will write them down for him.

There is a ban upon a city which we have destroyed that they shall not return, until Yâgûg and Mâgûg are let out, and they from every hummock shall glide forth.

XXIX: 23 f.

But the answer of his people was only to say, 'Kill him or burn him! But God saved him from the fire; verily, in that are signs unto a people who believe.'

He said, 'Verily, ye take beside God idols, through mutual friendship in the life of this world; then on the day of judgment ye shall deny each other, and shall curse each other, and your resort shall be the fire, and ye shall have none to help.'

And Lot believed him. And (Abraham) said, 'Verily, I flee unto my Lord! Verily, He is mighty, wise! and we granted him Isaac and Jacob; and we placed in his seed prophecy and the Book; and we gave him his hire in this world; and, verily, he in the next shall be among the righteous.'

And Lot when he said to his people, 'Verily, ye approach an abomination which no one in all the world ever anticipated you in! What! do ye approach men? and stop folks on the highway? and approach in your assembly sin?' but the answer of his people was only to say, 'Bring us God's torment, if thou art of those who speak the truth!'

Said he, 'My Lord! help me against a people who do evil!'

And when our messengers came to Abraham with the glad tidings, they said, 'We are about to destroy the people of this city. Verily, the people thereof are wrong-doers.'

Said he, 'Verily, in it is Lot;' they said, 'We know best who is therein; we shall of a surety save him and his people, except his wife, who is of those who linger.' And when our messengers came to Lot, he was vexed for them, and his arm was straitened for them; and they said, 'Fear not, neither grieve; we are about to save thee and thy people, except thy wife, who is of those who linger. Verily, we are about to send down upon the people of this city a horror from heaven, for that they have sinned; and we have left therefrom a manifest sign unto a people who have sense.'

And unto Midian we sent their brother Sho'hâib, and he said, 'My people, serve God, and hope for the last day; and waste not the land, despoiling it.'

But they called him liar; and the convulsion seized them, and on the morrow they lay in their dwellings prone.

And Âd and Thamûd-but it is plain to you from their habitations; for Satan made seemly to them their works, and turned them from the way, sagacious though they were!

And Korah and Pharaoh and Hamân-Moses did come to them with manifest signs, but they were too big with pride in the earth, although they could not outstrip us!

And each of them we seized in his sin; and of them were some against whom we sent a sandstorm; and of them were some whom the noise seized; and of them were some with whom we cleaved the earth open; and of them were some we drowned; God would not have wronged them, but it was themselves they wronged.

The likeness of those who take, beside God, patrons is as the likeness of a spider, that takes to himself a house; and, verily, the weakest of houses is a spider's house, if they did but know!

Verily, God knows whatever thing they call upon beside Him; for He is the mighty, wise.

These are parables which we have struck out for men; but none will understand them, save those who know.

God created the heavens and the earth in truth; verily, in this is a sign unto believers.

XXXVII: 95 f.

Said they, 'Build for him a pyre, and throw him into the flaming hell!' They desired to plot against him, but we made them inferior. Said he, 'Verily, I am going to my Lord, He will guide me. My Lord! grant me (a son), one of the righteous;' and we gave him glad tidings of a clement boy.

And when he reached the age to work with him, he said, 'O my boy! verily, I have seen in a dream that I should sacrifice thee, look then what thou seest right.'

Said he, 'O my sire! do what thou art bidden; thou wilt find me, if it please God, one of the patient!'

And when they were resigned, and Abraham had thrown him down upon his forehead, we called to him, 'O Abraham! thou hast verified the vision; verily, thus do we reward those who do well. This is surely an obvious trial.' And we ransomed him with a mighty victim; and we left for him amongst posterity, 'Peace upon Abraham; thus do we reward those who do well; verily, he was of our servants who believe!' And we gave him glad tidings of Isaac, a prophet among the righteous; and we blessed him and Isaac;—of their seed is one who does well, and one who obviously wrongs himself.

And we were gracious unto Moses and Aaron. We saved them and their people from mighty trouble, and we helped them and they had the upper hand; and we gave them both the perspicuous Book; and we guided them to the right way; and we left for them amongst posterity, 'Peace upon Moses and Aaron; verily, thus do we reward those who do well; verily, they were both of our servants who believe!'

And verily, Elyās was of the apostles; when he said to his people, 'Will ye not fear? do ye call upon Baal and leave the best of Creators, God your Lord and the Lord of your fathers of yore.'

But they called him liar; verily, they shall surely be arraigned, save God's sincere servants. And we left for him amongst posterity, 'Peace upon Elyās; verily, thus do we reward those who do well; verily, he was of our servants who believe!'

And, verily, Lot was surely among the apostles; when we saved him and his people altogether, except an old woman amongst those who lingered; then we destroyed the others; verily, ye pass by them in the morning and at night; have ye then no sense?

And, verily, Jonah was amongst the apostles; when he ran away into the laden ship; and he cast lots and was of

XXXVIII: 27 f.

And we have not created the heavens and the earth, and what is between the two, in vain. That is what those who misbelieved did think, but woe from the fire to those who misbelieve!

Shall we make those who believe and do right like those who do evil in the earth? or shall we make the pious like the sinners?

A blessed Book which we have sent down to thee that they may consider its verses, and that those endowed with minds may be mindful.

And we gave to David, Solomon, an excellent servant; verily, he turned frequently to us. When there were set before him in the evening the steeds that paw the ground, and he said, 'Verily, I have loved the love of good things better than the remembrance of my Lord, until (the sun) was hidden behind the veil; bring them back to me;' and he began to sever their legs and necks.

And we did try Solomon, and we threw upon his throne a form; then he turned repentant. Said he, 'My Lord, pardon me and grant me a kingdom that is not seemly for any one after me; verily, thou art He who grants!'

And we subjected to him the wind to run on at his bidding gently wherever he directed it; and the devils-every builder and diver, and others bound in fetters-' this is our gift, so be thou lavish or withhold without account!'

And, verily, he had with us a near approach, and a good resort.

And remember our servant Job when he called upon his Lord that 'the devil has touched me with toil and torment!'

'Stamp with thy foot, this is a cool washing-place and a drink.' And we granted him his family, and the like of them with them, as a mercy from us and a reminder to those endowed with minds, - 'and take in thy hand a bundle, and strike therewith, and break not thy oath!' Verily, we found him patient, and excellent servant; verily, he turned frequently to us.

And remember our servants Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, endowed with might and sight; verily, we made them sincere by a sincere quality-the remembrance of the abode; and, verily, they were with us of the elect, the best.

2. God always sent an apostle to warn before He sent punishment.

XVII: 17 f.

Nor would we punish until we had sent an apostle. And when we desired to destroy a city we bade the opulent ones thereof; and they wrought abomination therein; and its due sentence was pronounced; and we destroyed it with utter destruction.

How many generations have we destroyed after Noah! but thy Lord of the sins of his servant is well aware, and sees enough.

XXIII: 46.

Then we sent our apostles one after another. Whenever its apostle came to any nation they called him a liar; and we made some to follow others; and we made them legends; away then with a people who do not believe!

XXVI: 205.

But we do not destroy any city without its having warners as a reminder, for we are never unjust.

XXVIII: 43 f.

And we gave Moses the Book, after that we had destroyed the former generations, as an insight to men and a guidance and a mercy; haply they may be mindful!

Thou was not upon the western side when we decided for Moses, but afar off; nor wast thou of the witnesses. But we raised up (other) generations, and life was prolonged for them; and thou wast not staying amidst the people of Midian, reciting to them our signs; but we were sending out apostles.

XXVIII: 58 f.

How many a city have we destroyed that exulted in its means of subsistence? These are their dwellings, never dwelt in after them, except a little; for we were the heirs.

But thy Lord would never destroy cities until He sent to the metropolis thereof an apostle, to recite to them our signs; nor would we destroy cities unless their people were unjust.

3. God brought destruction on cities that did wrong.

VI: 41 f.

Ere this we sent unto nations before thee, and we caught them in distress and trouble that haply they might humble themselves. And do they not, when our violence falls upon them, humble themselves?-but their hearts were hard, and Satan made seemly to them that which they had done.

And when they forgot what they were reminded of, we opened for them the gates of everything, until when they rejoiced at what they had, we caught them up suddenly, and lo! they were in despair.

And the uttermost part of the people who did wrong were cut off; praise be to God, Lord of the worlds!

XI: 46.

And it was said, 'O earth! swallow down thy water!' and, 'O heaven! hold! and the water abated; and the affair was decided, and it settled on Gûdi, and it was said, 'Away with the people who are evildoers!'

XI: 84.

And when our bidding came, we made their high parts their low parts. And we rained down upon them stones and baked clay one after another, marked, from thy Lord, and these are not so far from the unjust!

XI: 104.

Thus is thy Lord's overtaking when He overtakes the cities that have done wrong; verily, His overtaking is grievous, keen.

XIII: 32.

Before thee have apostles been mocked at; and those who misbelieved have I allowed to range at large; and then it caught them up! How then was my punishment?

XV: 71.

And the noise caught them at the dawn. And we made the higher parts (of the cities) their lower parts, and rained down on them stones of baked clay. Verily, in that is a sign to those who mark. And, verily, the (cities) are on a path that still remains. Verily, in that is a sign to the believers.

XVI: 28.

Those who were before them devised a stratagem, but God brought their building off its foundations, and the roof fell over them, and the torment came to them, from whence they could not perceive.

XIX: 75.

And how many generations before them have we destroyed who were better off in property and appearance?

XIX: 99.

How many a generation before them have we destroyed? Canst thou find any one of them, or hear a whisper of them?

XX: 80.

Then Pharaoh followed them with his armies, and there overwhelmed them of the sea that which overwhelmed them. And Pharaoh and his people went astray and were not guided.

XX: 128.

Does it not occur to them how many generations we have destroyed before them?-they walk in their very dwelling-places; verily, in that are signs to those endued with intelligence.

XXI: 11 f.

How many a city which had done wrong have we broken up, and raised up after it another people! And when they perceived our violence they ran away from it. 'Run not away, but return to what ye delighted in, and to your dwellings! haply ye will be questioned.' Said they, 'O woe is us! verily, we were wrong-doers.'

And that ceased not to be their cry until we made them mown down, -smouldering out!

XXII: 43 f.

But if they call thee liar, the people of Noah called him liar before them, as did 'Ād and Thamūd, and the people of Abraham, and the people of Lot, and the fellows of Midian; and Moses was called a liar too: but I let the misbelievers range at large, and then I seized on them, and how great was the change!

And how many a city have we destroyed while it yet did wrong, and it was turned over on its roofs, and (how many) a deserted well and lofty palace!

XXVI: 139.

And they called him liar! but we destroyed them. Verily, in that is a sign, but most of them will never be believers.

XXVI: 156.

But they hamstrung her, and on the morrow they repented; and the torment seized them; verily, in that is a sign; but most of them will never be believers:

XXVI: 189.

Said he, 'My Lord knows best what ye do!' but they called him liar, and the torment of the day of the shadow seized them; for it was the torment of a mighty day: verily, in that is a sign; but most of them will never be believers;

XXXV: 22 f.

And if they called thee liar, those before thee called their apostles liars too, who came to them with manifest signs, and the Scriptures, and the illuminating Book.

Then I seized those who misbelieved, and what a change it was!

XXXVIII: 11 f.

Before them did Noah's people, and 'Âd, and Pharaoh of the stakes call the apostles liars; and Thamûd and the people of Lot, and the fellows of the Grove, they were the confederates too.

They all did naught but call the apostles liars, and just was the punishment!

XL: 5.

The people of Noah before them called the prophets liars; and the confederates after them; and every nation schemed against their Apostle to catch him. And they wrangled with falsehood that they might refute the truth thereby, but I seized them, and how was my punishment!

XL: 85.

But their faith was of no avail to them when they saw our violence-the course of God with His servants in time past, and there the misbelievers lose!

LI: 40 f.

And we seized him and his hosts and hurled them into the sea; for he was to be blamed.

And in 'Âd, when we sent against them a desolating wind, that left naught on which it came without making it ashes!

And in Thamûd, when it was said to them, 'Enjoy yourselves for a season.' But they revolted against the bidding of their Lord; and the noise caught them as they looked on. And they could not stand upright, and they were not helped!

And the people of Noah of yore; verily, they were an abominable people.

LIV: 41.

The warning came to Pharaoh's people; they called our signs all lies, and we seized on them with the seizing of a mighty powerful one.

LXIX: 5 f.

Thamûd and 'Âd called the Striking Day a lie; but as for Thamûd they perished by the shock; and as for 'Âd they perished with the violent cold blast of wind, which He subjected against them for seven nights and eight days consecutively. Thou mightest see the people therein prostrate as though they were palm stumps thrown down, and canst thou see any of them left?

And Pharaoh and those before him of the overturned cities committed sins, and they rebelled against the apostle of their Lord, and He seized them with an excessive punishment.

Verily, we, when the water surged, bore you on it in a sailing ship, to make it a memorial for you, and that the retentive ear might hold it,

LXXI: 25.

because of their sins they were drowned and made to enter into the fire, and they found no helpers against God!

LXXXV: 19.

Has there come to thee the story of the hosts of Pharaoh and Thamûd?

LXXXIX: 5 f.

Hast thou not seen how thy Lord did with 'Âd-with Iram of the columns? the like of which has not been created in the land?

And Thamûd when they hewed the stones in the valley?
And Pharaoh of the stakes?

Who were outrageous in the land, and did multiply wickedness therein, and thy Lord poured out upon them the scourge of torment.

4. God punishes both in history and at the end of time.

XIII: 34.

For them is torment in this world's life; but surely the torment of the next is more wretched still-nor have they against God a keeper.

LXXIX: 15 f.

Has the story of Moses come to you? when his Lord addressed him in the holy valley of Tuvâ, 'Go unto Pharaoh, verily, he is outrageous; and say, "Hast thou a wish to purify thyself, and that I may guide thee to thy Lord, and thou mayest fear?"'

So he showed him the greatest sign; but he called him a liar and rebelled. Then he retreated hastily, and gathered, and proclaimed, and said, 'I am your Lord most High?' but God seized him with the punishment of the future life and of the former.

5. God saved some people and destroyed others when He acted to judge a people in the past.

VII: 62.

But they called him a liar, and we rescued him and those who were with him in the ark; and we drowned those who said our signs were lies, verily, they were a blind people.

VII: 70.

But we rescued him and those with him, by mercy from ourselves, and we cut off the hindermost parts of those who said our signs were lies and who were not believers.'

VII: 81.

But we saved him and his people, except his wife, who was of those who lingered; and we rained down upon them a rain:-see then how was the end of the sinners!

VII: 165 f.

But when they forgot what they had been reminded of, we saved those who forbade evil, but we overtook those who did wrong with punishment;- evil was the abomination that they did, but when they rebelled against what they were forbidden, we said to them, 'Become ye apes, despised and spurned!' and then thy Lord proclaimed that He would surely send against them till the resurrection day, those who should wreak them evil torment; verily, thy Lord is quick at following up, but, verily, He is forgiving, merciful.

We cut them up in the earth into nations. Of them are the righteous, and of them are the reverse of that; we have tried them with good things and with bad things; haply they may return.

X: 74.

But they called him a liar; and we saved him, and those with him, in the ark; and we made these successors, and drowned those who had said our signs were lies; see then how was the end of those who had been warned!

XI: 61.

And when our order came we saved Hûd, and those who believed with him, by mercy from us; and we saved them from harsh torment. That (tribe of) 'Âd denied the signs of their Lord, and rebelled against His apostles, and followed the bidding of every headstrong tyrant. They were followed in this world by a curse, and on the resurrection day-'Did not 'Âd disbelieve their Lord? Aye! away with 'Âd the people of Hûd!'

XI: 69 f.

And when our order came we saved Zâli'h, and those who believed with him, by our mercy, from disgrace upon that day. Verily, thy Lord He is powerful and mighty.

And the noise caught those who had done wrong; and on the morrow they were lying corpses in their houses, as though they had never dwelt therein. Did not Thamûd indeed disbelieve in their Lord? Aye! away with Thamûd!

XI: 97.

And when our bidding came we saved Sho'hâib, and those who believed with him, by our mercy; and the noise caught those who had done wrong, and on the morrow they were in their houses prone, as though they had not dwelt therein. Aye! 'Away with Midian!' as it was, 'Away with Thamûd!'

XXVI: 61.

And we inspired Moses, 'Strike with thy rod the sea;'

and it was cleft asunder, and each part was like a mighty mountain. And then we brought the others. And we saved Moses and those with him all together; then we drowned the others; and that is a sign; but most of them will never be believers!

XXVI: 120

So we saved him and those with him in the laden ark, then we drowned the rest; verily, in that is a sign, but most of them will never be believers;

XXVI: 170.

And we saved him and his people all together, except an old woman amongst those who lingered. Then we destroyed the others; and we rained down upon them a rain; and evil was the rain of those who were warned. Verily, in that is a sign; but most of them will never be believers.

XXVII: 52.

Behold, how was the end of their plot, that we destroyed them and their people all together!

Thus are their houses overturned, for that they were unjust; verily, in that is a sign to people who do know!

But we saved those who believed and who did fear.

XXVII: 56.

But we saved him and his family except his wife, her we destined to be of those who lingered; and we rained down upon them rain, and evil was the rain of those who were warned.

XXIX: 12.

And we sent Noah to his people, and he dwelt among them for a thousand years save fifty years; and the deluge overtook them while they were unjust: but we saved him and the fellows of the ark, and we made it a sign unto the worlds.

XXX: 46.

We have sent before thee apostles unto their people, and they came to them with manifest signs; and we took vengeance upon those who sinned, but due from us it was to help the believers.

XXXVII: 73.

Noah did call upon us, and a gracious answer did we give; and we saved him and his people from a mighty trouble; and we made his seed to be the survivors; and we left for him amongst posterity 'peace upon Noah in the worlds; verily, thus do we reward those who do well; verily, he was of our believing servants.' Then we drowned the others.

6. No nation can hasten or put off its appointed time
for destruction.

XV: 5.

No nation can hasten on its appointed time, nor put it off.

XVII: 60.

There is no city but we will destroy it before the day of judgment, or torment it with keen torment;-that is in the Book inscribed.

XXIII: 43 f.

And the noise seized them deservedly; and we made them as rubbish borne by a torrent; so, away with the unjust people!

Then we raised up after them other generations.

No nation can anticipate its appointed time, nor keep it back.

7. God judged in history but left open the possibility of repentance.

XIX: 57 f.

These are those to whom God has been gracious, of the prophets of the seed of Adam, and of those whom we bore with Noah, and of the seed of Abraham and Israel, and of those we guided and elected; when the signs of the Merciful are read to them, they fall down adoring and weeping.

And successors succeeded them, who lost sight of prayer and followed lusts, but they shall at length find themselves going wrong, except such as repent and believe and act aright; for these shall enter Paradise, and shall not be wronged at all,--gardens of Eden, which the Merciful has promised to His servants in the unseen; verily, His promise ever comes to pass!

8. God judged in history and did not leave possibility for repentance.

VII: 92.

We have not sent unto a city any prophet except we overtook the people thereof with trouble and distress, that haply they might humble themselves; and then did we give them, in exchange for evil, good, until they increased and said, 'Distress and joy both touched our fathers;' then we overtook them suddenly ere they could perceive.--Had the people of the town but believed and feared, we would have opened up for them blessings from the heavens and from the earth; but they said it was a lie, so we overtook them for that which they had earned.

9. God makes believers prosper in history.

XXII: 76.

O ye who believe! bow down and adore, and serve your Lord, and do well, haply ye may prosper; and fight strenuously for God, as is His due. He has elected you, and has not put upon you any hindrance by your religion,- the faith of your father Abraham. He has named you Muslims before and in this (book), that the Apostle may be a witness against you, and that ye may be witnesses against men.

10. God acted to give victory at Balr.

III: 11.

'Ye have had a sign in the two parties who met; one party fighting in the way of God, the other misbelieving; these saw twice the same number as themselves to the eyesight, for God aids with His help those whom He pleases.'

III: 119.

Why! God gave you victory at Bedr when ye were in a poor way; fear God, then, haply ye may give thanks. When thou didst say unto the believers, 'Is it not enough for you that your Lord assists you with three thousand of the angels sent down from on high? Yea, if ye are patient and fear God, and they come upon you on a sudden, now, your Lord will assist you with five thousand of His angels, (angels) of mark. God only made this as glad tidings for you to comfort your hearts withal, -for victory is but from God, the mighty, the wise; -to cut off the flank of those who misbelieve, or make them downcast, that they may retire disappointed.'

III: 159 f

Or when an accident befalls you, and ye have fallen on twice as much, ye say, 'How is this?' Say, 'It is from yourselves. Verily, God is mighty over all.'

And what befel you the day when the two armies met, it was by God's permission; that He might know the believers, and might know those who behaved hypocritically;

IV: 98.

Verily, the angels when they took the souls of those who had wronged themselves, said, 'What state were ye in?' they say, 'We were but weak in the earth;' they said, 'Was not God's earth wide enough for you to flee away therein?' These are those whose resort is hell, and a bad journey shall it be!

VIII: 16 f.

Ye did not slay them, but it was God who slew them; nor didst thou shoot when thou didst shoot, but God did shoot, to try the believers from Himself with a goodly trial; verily, God both hears and knows. There! verily, God weakens the stratagem of the misbelievers.

If ye wish the matter to be decided, a decision has now come to you; but if ye desist, it is better for you; and if ye turn back we will turn too, and your troop shall avail nothing, great in number though it be since God is with the believers!

XVIII: 52.

Naught prevented men from believing when the guidance came to them, or from asking pardon of their Lord, except the coming on them of the course of those of yore, or the coming of the torment before their eyes.

XXIII: 77.

And we caught them with the torment, but they did not abase themselves before their Lord, nor did they humble themselves; until we opened for them a door with grievous torment, then lo! they are in despair.

11. God acted to give signs to the people.

V. 98.

God has made the Kaabah, the sacred House, to be a station for men, and the sacred month, and the offering and its neck garland; this is that ye may know that God knows what is in the heavens and what is in the earth, and that God knows all things. Know that God is keen to punish, but that God is forgiving, merciful.

VII: 130.

Then we sent upon them the flood and the locusts and the lice and the frogs and the blood, -signs detailed; but they were big with pride and were a people who did sin.

XXX: 7.f.

Have they not journeyed on in the land and seen how was the end of those before them who were stronger than they, and who turned up the ground and cultivated it more than they do cultivate it? and there came to them their apostles with manifest signs; for God would never wrong them: it was themselves they wronged!

Then evil was the end of those who did evil, in that they said the signs of God were lies and mocked thereat.

CV: 2 f.

Hast thou not seen what thy Lord did with the fellows of the elephant?

Did He not make their stratagem lead them astray, and send down on them birds in flocks, to throw down on them stones of baked clay, and make them like blades of herbage eaten down?

12. God created and sustained Israel, and gave knowledge and wisdom to her leaders, Moses, David and Solomon.

II: 43 f.

O ye children of Israel! remember my favours which I have favoured you with, and that I have preferred you above the worlds. Fear the day wherein no soul shall pay any recompense for another soul, nor shall intercession be accepted for it, nor shall compensation be taken from it, nor shall they be helped.

When we saved you from Pharaoh's people who sought to wreak you evil and woe, slaughtering your sons and letting your women live; in that was a great trial for you from your Lord. When we divided for you the sea and saved you and drowned Pharaoh's people while ye looked on. When we treated with Moses forty nights, then ye took the calf after he had gone and ye did wrong. Yet then we forgave you after that; perhaps ye may be grateful. And when we gave Moses the Scriptures and the Discrimination; perhaps ye will be guided. When Moses said to his people, 'O my people! Ye have wronged yourselves in taking this calf; repent unto your Creator and kill each other; that will be better for you in your Creator's eyes; and He turned unto you, for He is the compassionate one easily turned.' And when ye said to Moses, 'O Moses! we will not believe in thee until we see God manifestly,' and the thunderbolt caught you while ye yet looked on. Then we raised you up after your death; perhaps ye may be grateful. And we overshadowed you with the cloud, and sent down the manna and the quails; 'Eat of the good things we have given you.' They did not wrong us, but it was themselves they were wronging. And then we said, 'Enter this city and eat therefrom as plentifully as ye wish; and enter the gate worshipping and say 'hittatun. So we will pardon you your sins and give increase unto those who do well.'

But those who did wrong changed it for another word than that which was said to them: and we sent down upon those who did wrong, wrath from heaven for that they had so sinned.

II: 253.

And they put them to flight by the permission of God, and David killed Galut, and God gave him the kingdom and wisdom, and taught him of what He willed. And were it not for God's repelling men one with another the earth would become spoiled; but God is Lord of grace over the worlds.

X: 90 f.

And we brought the children of Israel across the sea; and Pharaoh and his hosts followed them eager and hostile, until when drowning overtook him, he said, 'I believe that there is no god but He in whom the children of Israel believe, and I am of those who are resigned!-'Now! but thou didst rebel aforetime, and wert of those who do evil; but to-day we will save thee in thy body, that thou mayest be to those who come after thee a sign, for verily, many men are careless of our signs!'

And we established the people of Israel with a sure establishment, and we provided them with good things; nor did they disagree until there came to them the knowledge.

XVII: 105 f.

And he desired to drive them out of the land; but we drowned him and those with him, one and all.

And after him we said to the children of Israel, 'Dwell ye in the land; and when the promise of the hereafter comes to pass, we will bring you in a mixed crowd (to judgment).'

XXVIII: 30.

And when he came to it he was called to, from the right side of the wady, in the blessed valley, out of the tree, 'O Moses! verily, I am God the Lord of the worlds; so throw down thy rod;' and when he saw it quivering as though it were a snake, he turned away and fled and did not return. 'O Moses! approach and fear not, verily, thou art amongst the safe. Thrust thy hand into thy bosom, it shall come out white, without hurt; and then fold again thy wing, that thou dost now stretch out through dread; for these are two signs from thy Lord to Pharaoh and his chiefs; verily, they are a people who work abomination!'

XXXII: 23 f.

And we did give Moses the Book; be not then in doubt concerning the meeting with him; and we made it a guidance to the children of Israel.

And we made amongst them high priests who guided by our bidding, since they were patient and were sure of our signs.

XXVIII: 16.

Be patient of what they say, and remember our servant David endowed with might; verily, he turned frequently to us. Verily, we subjected the mountains to celebrate with him our praises at the evening and the dawn; and the birds too gathered together, each one would oft return to him; and we strengthened his kingdom and we gave him wisdom and decisive address.

XL: 56.

And we did give Moses the guidance; and we made the children of Israel to inherit the Book, as a guidance and a reminder to those endowed with minds.

XLV: 15.

And we did bring the children of Israel the Book and judgment and prophecy, and we provided them with good things, and preferred them above the worlds. And we brought them manifest proofs of the affair, and they disputed not until after knowledge had come to them, through mutual envy.

13. God threatens Makkah with destruction citing as evidence His destruction of former disobedient cities.

X: 14 f.

We have already destroyed generations before you when they did wrong, and there came to them their apostles with manifest signs, but they would not believe. Thus do we reward the sinful people.

Then we made you their successors in the earth after them, that we may see how ye will act.

XXIX: 65.

And when they ride in the ship they call upon God, making their religion seem sincere to Him; but when He saves them to the shore, behold, they associate others with Him; that they may misbelieve in our signs; and that they may have some enjoyment: But soon they shall know.

XXXII: 26.

Is it not conspicuous to them how many generations we have destroyed before them? they walk over their dwellings! verily, in that are signs: do they not then hear?

XXXIX: 51.

Those before them said it too, but that availed them not which they had earned, and there befel them the evil deeds of what they had earned; and those who do wrong of these (Meccans), there shall befall them too the evil deeds of what they had earned, nor shall they frustrate Him.

14. God created Jesus, aided him with the Holy Spirit
and raised him unto Himself.

II: 81.

We gave Moses the Book and we followed him up with other apostles, and we gave Jesus the son of Mary manifest signs and aided him with the Holy Spirit.

IV: 152f.

The people of the Book will ask thee to bring down for them a book from heaven; but they asked Moses a greater thing than that, for they said, 'Show us God openly;' but the thunderbolt caught them in their injustice. Then they took the calf, after what had come to them of manifest signs; but we pardoned that, and gave Moses obvious authority. And we held over them the mountain at their compact, and said to them, 'Enter ye the door adoring;' and we said to them, 'Transgress not on the Sabbath day,' and we took from them a rigid compact.

But for that they broke their compact, and for their misbelief in God's signs, and for their killing the prophets undeservedly, and for their saying, 'Our hearts are uncircumcised,'-nay, God hath stamped on them their misbelief, so that they cannot believe except a few,- and for their misbelief, and for their saying about Mary a mighty calumny, and for their saying, 'Verily, we have killed the Messiah, Jesus the son of Mary, the apostle of God,'...but they did not kill him, and they did not crucify him, but a similitude was made for them. And verily, those who differ about him are in doubt concerning him; they have no knowledge concerning him, but only follow an opinion. They did not kill him, for sure! nay, God raised him up unto Himself; for God is mighty and wise!

XIX: 21 f.

He said, 'Thus says thy Lord, It is easy for Me! and we will make him a sign unto man, and a mercy from us; for it is a decided matter.'

So she conceived him, and she retired with him into a remote place. And the labour pains came upon her at the trunk of a palm tree, and she said, 'O that I had died before this, and been forgotten out of mind!' and he called to her from beneath her, 'Grieve not, for thy Lord has placed a stream beneath thy feet; and shake towards thee the trunk of the palm tree, it will drop upon thee fresh dates fit to gather; so eat, and drink, and cheer thine eye; and if thou shouldst see any mortal say, "Verily, I have vowed to the Merciful One a fast, and I will not speak to-day with a human being."'

XXXVI: 19 f.

And there came from the remote part of the city a man hastening up. Said he, 'O my people! follow the apostles; follow those who do not ask you a hire, and who are guided. What ails me that I should not worship Him who originated me, and unto whom I must return? Shall I take gods beside Him? If the Merciful One desires harm for me, their intercession cannot avail me at all, nor can they rescue me. Verily, I should then be in obvious error; verily, I believe in your Lord, then listen ye to me!'

It was said, 'Enter thou into Paradise!' said he, 'O, would that my people did but know! for that my Lord has forgiven me, and has made me of the honoured.'

APPENDIX III. Contexts of the Hour, sā'at.

1. God has promised the Hour.
2. The coming of the Hour is absolutely certain.
3. The Hour will come suddenly.
4. God alone knows the time when the Hour will come.
5. The coming of the Hour is hidden by God.
6. The conditions of the Hour have come already.
7. God sent Jesus as a sign of the Hour.
8. Believers live in fear of the Hour.
9. They do not know whether earthly torment or the Hour is coming to them.
10. When the Hour comes, it will seem to men as though they had tarried but an hour of the day.
11. God will be the only source of help when the Hour comes.
12. When the Hour rises, sinners shall be confused, believers joyful.
13. When the Hour comes believers will say they have obeyed the Book, sinners will lie.
14. Sinners will be in the fire when the Hour comes.
15. When the Hour comes, the dead shall be called from their graves.

1. God has promised the Hour.

LIV: 46.

Nay, the Hour is their promised time! and the
Hour is most severe and bitter!

2. The coming of the Hour is absolutely certain.

XV: 85.

We did not create the heavens and the earth and all that is between them both, save in truth. And, verily, the Hour is surely coming; then do thou pardon with a fair pardon.

XVIII: 20.

Thus did we make their people acquainted with their story, that they might know that God's promise is true; and that the Hour, there is no doubt concerning it.

XXII: 1 f.

O ye folk! fear your Lord. Verily, the earthquake of the Hour is a mighty thing.

On the day ye shall see it, every suckling woman shall be scared away from that to which she gave suck; and every pregnant woman shall lay down her load; and thou shalt see men drunken, though they be not drunken: but the torment of God is severe.

And amongst men is one who wrangles about God without knowledge, and follows every rebellious devil; against whom it is written down that whoso takes him for a patron, verily, he will lead him astray, and will guide him towards the torment of the blaze!

O ye folk! if ye are in doubt about the raising (of the dead),-verily, we created you from earth, then from a clot, then from congealed blood, then from a morsel, shaped or shapeless, that we may explain to you. And we make what we please rest in the womb until an appointed time; then we bring you forth babes; then let you reach your full age; and of you are some who die; and of you are some who are kept back till the most decrepit age, till he knows no longer aught of knowledge. And ye see the earth parched, and when we send down water on it, it stirs and swells and brings forth herbs of every beauteous kind.

XXXIV: 3.

Those who misbelieve say, 'The Hour shall not come to us;' say, 'Yea, by my Lord it shall surely come to you! by Him who knows the unseen! nor shall there escape from it the weight of an atom, in the heavens or in the earth, or even less than that, or greater, save in the perspicuous Book;' and that He may reward those who believe and do right; these,-for them is forgiveness and a noble provision.

XL: 61.

Verily, the Hour will surely come; there is no doubt therein; but most men do not believe!

XLV: 25 f.

Say, 'God quickens you, then He kills you, then He will gather you unto resurrection day, there is no doubt therein; but most men do not know.'

God's is the kingdom of the heavens and the earth, and on the day when the Hour shall arise on that day shall those who call it vain be losers! And thou shalt see each nation kneeling, each nation summoned to its book, 'To-day are ye rewarded for that which ye have done.'

This is our Book that speaketh to you with truth; verily, we have written down what ye have done.

But as to those who believe and do righteous deeds their Lord will make them enter into His mercy: that is the obvious bliss.

And as for those who misbelieve,-were not my signs recited to you and ye were too big with pride and ye were a sinful people? And when it was said, 'Verily, the promise of God is true, and the Hour there is no doubt therein;' ye said, 'We know not what the Hour is, we only suspect, and we are not sure.'

But there shall appear to them the evils of what they have done, and that shall encompass them at which they have been mocking.

3. The Hour will come suddenly.

VI: 31.

Losers are they who disbelieved in meeting God, until when the hour comes suddenly upon them they say, 'Woe is us for our neglect thereof!' for they shall bear their burdens on their backs, evil is what they bear.

XII: 107.

Are they safe, then, from overwhelming vengeance coming on them from the torment of God? or from the Hour coming upon them suddenly while they do not perceive?

XXII: 54 f.

But those who misbelieve will not cease to be in doubt thereof until the Hour comes on them suddenly, or there comes on them the torment of the barren day.

The kingdom on that day shall be God's, He shall judge between them; and those who believe and do aright shall be in gardens of pleasure, but those who misbelieve and say our signs are lies, these-for them is shameful woe.

XLIII: 66.

Do they expect aught but that the Hour will come upon them suddenly while they do not perceive? Friends on that day shall be foes to each other, save those who fear.

4. God alone knows the time when the Hour will come.

VII: 186 f.

They will ask you about the Hour, for what time it is fixed?-say, 'The knowledge thereof is only with my Lord; none shall manifest it at its time but He; it is heavy in the heavens and the earth, it will not come to you save on a sudden.'

They will ask as though thou wert privy to it, say, 'The knowledge thereof is only with God,'-but most folk do not know.

Say, 'I cannot control profit or harm for myself, save what God will. If I knew the unseen I should surely have much that is good, nor would evil touch me; I am but a warner and a herald of good tidings unto a people who believe.'

XVI: 63.

If God were to punish men for their wrong-doing He would not leave upon the earth a single beast; but He respites them until a stated time; and when their time comes they cannot put it off an hour, nor can they bring it on.

XVI: 79.

God's are the unseen things of the heavens and the earth; nor is the matter of the Hour aught but as the twinkling of an eye, or nigher still! Verily, God is mighty over all!

XXXI: 34.

Verily, God, with Him is the knowledge of the Hour; and He sends down the rain; and He knows what is in the wombs; and no soul knows what it is that it shall earn to-morrow; and no soul knows in what land it shall die; verily, God is knowing, well aware!

XXXIII: 63.

The folk will ask thee about the Hour; say, 'The knowledge thereof is only with God, and what is to make thee perceive that the Hour is haply nigh?'

XXXIV: 29.

And they say, 'When shall this promise be, if ye do speak the truth?' say, 'For you is the appointment of a day of which ye shall not keep back an hour, nor shall ye bring it on!'

XLI: 47 f.

To Him is referred the knowledge of the Hour: and no fruits come forth from their husks, and no female conceives, or is delivered, save with His knowledge.

And the day when He shall call to them, 'Where are the partners ye did join with me?' they shall say, 'We do own to thee there is no witness amongst us!' and that on which they used to call before shall stray away from them, and they shall think there is no escape for them. Man is never tired of praying for good, but if evil touch him, then he is despairing and hopeless.

But if we make him taste mercy from us after distress has touched him he will surely say, 'This is for me, and I do not think the Hour is imminent; and if I be brought back to my Lord, verily, I shall surely have good with Him;' but we will inform those who misbelieve of what they have done, and we will surely make them taste wretched torment.

XLIII: 85.

And blessed be he whose is the kingdom of the heavens and the earth, and what is between both, and His is the knowledge of the Hour, and unto Him shall ye be brought back!

LXXIX: 42.

They shall ask thee about the Hour, for when it is set. Whereby canst thou mention it? Unto thy Lord its period belongs.

5. The coming of the Hour is hidden by God.

XX: 15.

'Verily, the hour is coming, I almost make it appear that every soul may be recompensed for its efforts.

6. The conditions of the Hour have come already.

XLVII: 20.

Do they wait for aught but the Hour, that it should come to them suddenly? The conditions thereof have come already; how, when it has come on them, can they have their reminder?

7. God sent Jesus as a sign of the Hour.

XLIII: 56 f.

And when the son of Mary was set forth as a parable, behold thy people turned away from him and said, 'Are our gods better, or is he?' They did not set it forth to thee save for wrangling. Nay, but they are a contentious people.

He is but a servant whom we have been gracious to, and we have made him an example for the children of Israel. And if we please we can make of you angels in the earth to succeed you. And, verily, he is a sign of the Hour. Doubt not then concerning it, but follow this right way; and let not the devil turn you away; verily, he is to you an open foe!

8. Believers live in fear of the Hour.

XXI: 50.

We did give to Moses and Aaron the Discrimination, and a light and a reminder to those who fear; who are afraid of their Lord in secret; and who at the Hour do shrink.

XLII: 16.

God it is who has sent down the Book with truth, and the balance; and what shall make thee know whether haply the Hour be nigh? Those who believe not would hurry it on; and those who believe shrink with terror at it and know that it is true. Ay, verily, those who dispute concerning the Hour are in remote error!

9. They do not know whether earthly torment or the Hour is coming to them.

XIX: 77.

Say, 'Whosoever is in error, let the Merciful extend to him length of days!-until they see what they are threatened with, whether it be the torment or whether it be the Hour, then they shall know who is worse placed and weakest in forces!'

10. When the Hour comes, it will seem to men as though they had tarried but an hour of the day.

X: 46.

And on the day when we will gather them together it will be as though they had not tarried save an hour of the day, they shall know each other.

XLVI: 35.

Then do thou be patient, as the apostles endowed with a purpose were patient, and hasten not on (their punishment). It shall be to them, on the day they see what they are threatened with, as though they had tarried but an hour of the day.

11. God will be the only source of help when the Hour comes.

VI: 40.

Say, 'Look you now! if there should come God's torment, or there should come to you the hour, on other than God would ye call, if ye do tell the truth?' Nay, it is on Him that ye would call, and He will avert that which ye call upon Him for if He but please; and ye shall forget that which ye did associate with Him.

12. When the Hour rises, sinners shall be confused,
believers joyful.

XXX: 11 f.

And on the day when the Hour shall rise, the sinners shall be confused; and they shall not have amongst their partners intercessors; and their partners shall they deny.

And on the day when the Hour shall rise, on that day shall they be scattered apart; and as for those who believe and do right, they in the garden shall be joyful; and as for those who misbelieved and said our signs and the meeting of the hereafter were lies, they shall be in the torment arraigned.

13. When the Hour comes believers will say they have
obeyed the Book, sinners will lie.

XXX: 54 f.

And on the day when the Hour shall rise, the sinners shall swear that they have not tarried save an hour; thus were they wont to lie!

But those who are given knowledge and faith will say, 'We have tarried according to the Book of God, until the day of resurrection;' and this is the day of resurrection, but ye-ye do not know.

And on that day their excuse shall profit not those who did wrong; nor shall they be asked to please God again.

14. Sinners will be in the fire when the Hour comes.

XXV: 12 f.

Nay, but they call the Hour a lie; but we have prepared for those who call the Hour a lie a blaze; when it seizes them from a far-off place they shall hear its raging and roaring; and when they are thrown into a narrow place thereof, fastened together, they shall call there for destruction.

Call not to-day for one destruction, but call for many destructions!

XL: 48 f.

And God guarded him from the evils of what they plotted, and there closed in upon Pharaoh evil woe.

The fire-they shall be exposed to it morning and evening; and 'on the day the Hour shall arise,' enter, O people of Pharaoh! into the keenest torment.

15. When the Hour comes, the dead shall be called from
their graves.

LIV: 1 f.

The Hour draws nigh, and the moon is split asunder.
But if they see a sign they turn aside and say, 'Magic
continuous!'

And they call it a lie and follow their lusts; but
every matter is settled!

There has come to them some information with restraint
in it-wisdom far-reaching-but warners avail not!

But turn thy back on them!

The day when the caller shall call to an awkward thing.

Humbly casting down their looks shall they come forth
from their graves, as though they were locusts scattered
abroad!

Hurrying forwards to the caller! the misbelievers
shall say, 'This is a difficult day!'

APPENDIX IV. Contexts of gathering, hashr.

1. There will be a cataclysm and God will gather all men.
2. When God gathers men it will be as though they had not tarried save an hour of the day.
3. It is God to whom men will be finally gathered.
4. The Messiah and the angels are submissive to God; men will also be gathered to Him.
5. Whether men die in God's way, or are killed, God will gather them to Himself.
6. When men are gathered to God on the resurrection day, they will be asked to explain what they worshipped instead of Him.
7. Men will be finally divided on the day.
8. Jinn will be gathered to God together with men and sent to hell.
9. Sinners will be gathered into hell.
10. The Qur'ān warns men to fear the gathering.
11. The idols will betray men when they are gathered to God.

1. There will be a cataclysm and God will gather all men.

XVIII: 45 f.

And the day when we will move the mountains, and thou shalt see the (whole) earth stalking forth; and we will gather them, and will not leave one of them behind. Then shall they be presented to thy Lord in ranks.-Now have ye come to us as we created you at first! nay, but ye thought that we would never make our promise good!

And the Book shall be placed, and thou shalt see the sinners in fear of what is in it; and they will say, 'Alas, for us! what ails this Book, it leaves neither small nor great things alone, without numbering them?' and they shall find present what they have done; and thy Lord will not wrong any one.

L: 43 f.

And listen for the day when the crier shall cry from a near place;-the day when they shall hear the shout in truth-that is the day of coming forth!

Verily, we quicken and we kill, and unto us the journey is!

On the day when the earth shall be cleft asunder from them swiftly;-that is a gathering together which is easy to us!

We know what they say; nor art thou over them one to compel.

Wherefore remind, by the Qur'ân, him who fears the threat.

2. When God gathers men it will be as though they had not tarried save an hour of the day.

I: 46.

And on the day when we will gather them together it will be as though they had not tarried save an hour of the day, they shall know each other. Lost are those who called the meeting with God a lie, and were not guided!

3. It is God to whom men will be finally gathered.

VI: 38.

we have omitted nothing from the Book; then to their Lord shall they be gathered.

VI: 71.

Say, 'Verily, God's guidance is the guidance, and we are bidden to resign ourselves unto the Lord of the worlds, and be ye steadfast in prayer and fear Him, for He it is to whom we shall be gathered.'

VIII: 24.

O ye who believe! answer God and His Apostle when He calls you to that which quickens you; and know that God steps in between man and his heart; and that to Him ye shall be gathered.

XV: 25.

And, verily, it is your Lord who will gather you; verily, He is wise and knowing.

XXIII: 81.

He it is who produced for you hearing, and sight, and minds, - little is it that ye thank. And He it is who created you in the earth, and unto Him shall ye be gathered. And He it is who gives you life and death; and His is the alternation of the night and the day; have ye then no sense?

LVIII: 10.

O ye who believe! when ye discourse together, then discourse not in sin and enmity and rebellion against the Apostle; but discourse together in righteousness and piety; and fear God, for unto Him ye shall be gathered!

LXVII: 24.

Say, 'It is He who sowed you in the earth, and unto Him shall ye be gathered!'

4. The Messiah and the angels are submissive to God;
men will also be gathered to Him.

IV: 171.

The Messiah doth surely not disdain to be a servant of God, nor do the angels who are nigh to Him; and whosoever disdains His service and is too proud, He will gather them altogether to Himself.

5. Whether men die in God's way, or are killed, God
will gather them to Himself.

III: 152.

And if, indeed, ye be killed in God's way or die, surely forgiveness from God and mercy is better than what ye gather; and if ye die or be killed it is to God ye shall be assembled.

6. When men are gathered to God on the resurrection day,
they will be asked to explain what they worshipped
instead of Him.

VI: 22.

On the day when we shall gather them all together, then shall we say to those who have associated others with ourself, 'Where are your associates whom ye did pretend?' Then they will have no excuse but to say, 'By God our Lord, we did not associate (others with thee)!' See how they lie against themselves, and how what they did forge deserts them!

XXV: 18.

And the day He shall gather them and what they served beside God, and He shall say, 'Was it ye who led my servants here astray, or did they err from the way?'

XXXIV: 39 f.

And on the day He will gather them all together, then He will say to the angels, 'Are these those who used to worship you?'

They shall say, 'Celebrated be thy praises! thou art our patron instead of them. Nay, they used to worship the ginns, most of them believe in them. But to-day they cannot control for each other, either profit or harm;' and we will say to those who have done wrong, 'Taste ye the torment of the fire wherein ye did disbelieve!'

7. Men will be finally divided on the day.

XIX: 88.

the day when we will gather the pious to the Merciful as ambassadors, and we will drive the sinners to hell like 'herds) to water!

8. Jinn will be gathered to God together with men
and sent to hell.

VI: 128.

And on the day when He shall gather them all together, 'O assembly of the jinns! ye have got much out of mankind.' And their clients from among mankind shall say, 'O our Lord! much advantage had we one from another;' but we reached our appointed time which thou hadst appointed for us. Says He, 'The fire is your resort, to dwell therein for aye! save what God pleases; verily, thy Lord is wise and knowing.'

XIX: 69.

And by thy Lord! we will surely gather them together, and the devils too; then we will surely bring them forward around hell, on their knees!

9. Sinners will be gathered into hell.

VIII: 37.

Those who misbelieve, into hell shall they be gathered!- that God may distinguish the vile from the good, and may put the vile, some on top of the other, and heap all up together, and put it into hell!

XXV: 36.

They who shall be gathered upon their faces to hell,- these are in the worst place, and err most from the path.

XLI: 18.

And the day when the enemies of God shall be gathered together into the fire, marshalled along; until when they come to it, their hearing and their eyesight and their skins shall bear witness against them of that which they have done.

10. The Qur'ân warns men to fear the gathering.

XLII: 5.

Thus have we revealed an Arabic Qur'ân, that thou mayest warn the Mother of cities and all around it; and warn them of a day of gathering, there is no doubt therein;

11. The idols will betray men when they are gathered to God.

XXXVII: 22.

Gather ye together, ye who were unjust, with their mates and what they used to serve beside God, and guide them to the way of hell, and stop them; verily, they shall be questioned.

XLVI: 5.

But who is more in error than he who calls beside God on what will never answer him until the resurrection day and who are heedless of their calling, and when men are gathered together are enemies of theirs and do deny their service?

APPENDIX V. Contexts of resurrection, qiyāmat.

1. Description of the resurrection day.
2. God will surely gather men together on the resurrection day, there is no doubt therein.
3. When men are gathered to God on the resurrection day, they will know His justice.
4. On the resurrection day God will inform men of what they have done.
5. God will not speak to, nor look at sinners on the resurrection day.
6. On the resurrection day, God will decide between men concerning that which they did dispute.
7. Those who reject the guidance will be punished on the resurrection day.
8. Believers pray for the fulfillment of the promise on the resurrection day.
9. Believers shall receive their reward on the resurrection day.
10. God controls night and day until the resurrection day.
11. There will be a just balance on the resurrection day.
12. Those who commit fornication will be punished on resurrection day.
13. Sinners will receive their punishment on resurrection day.
14. There will be no help other than God on resurrection day.
15. The final worth of people before God will be known on resurrection day.
16. Those who misbelieve will be punished on resurrection day.

17. The families of sinners will be punished on resurrection day.
18. God will judge men individually on resurrection day.
19. Men shall be raised from the dead on resurrection day.
20. The children of Adam bore witness of the resurrection day.
21. God asks men if they think they can force his justice.
22. God curses sinners in this life, and on the resurrection day.
23. Some people will be punished until the resurrection day.
24. God has cast enmity and hatred among the Jews and Christians until the resurrection day.
25. Jesus shall be a witness against the Christians on the day of judgment.

1. Description of the resurrection day.

XX: 102 f.

Thus do we narrate to thee the history of what has gone before, and we have brought thee a reminder from us.

Whoso turns therefrom, verily, he shall bear on the resurrection day a burden:-for them to bear for aye, and evil for them on the resurrection day will it be to bear.

On the day when the trumpet shall be blown, and we will gather the sinners in that day blue-eyed.

They shall whisper to each other, 'Ye have only tarried ten days.' We know best what they say, when the most exemplary of them in his way shall say, 'Ye have only tarried a day.'

They will ask thee about the mountains; say, 'My Lord will scatter them in scattered pieces, and He will leave them a level plain, thou wilt see therein no crookedness; and the voices shall be hushed before the Merciful, and thou shalt hear naught but a shuffling.

On that day shall no intercession be of any avail, save from such as the Merciful permits, and who is acceptable to Him in speech.

He knows what is before them and what is behind them, but they do not comprehend knowledge of Him.

Faces shall be humbled before the Living, the Self-subsistent; and he who bears injustice is ever lost.

But he who does righteous acts and is a believer, he shall fear neither wrong nor diminution.

XXXIX: 67.

And they do not value God at His true value; while the earth all of it is but a handful for Him on the resurrection day, and the heavens shall be rolled up in His right hand! Celebrated be His praise! and exalted be He above what they associate with Him! And the trumpet shall be blown, and those who are in the heavens and in the earth shall swoon, save whom God pleases. Then it shall be blown again, and, lo! they shall stand up and look on. And the earth shall beam with the light of its Lord, and the Book shall be set forth, and the prophets and martyrs shall be brought; and it shall be decreed between them in truth, and they shall not be wronged.

2. God will surely gather men together on the resurrection day, there is no doubt therein.

IV: 89.

God, there is no God but He! He will surely assemble you on the resurrection day, there is no doubt therein; who is truer than God in his discourse?

VI: 12.

He will surely gather you together for the resurrection day.

XVII: 99.

and we will gather them upon the resurrection day upon their faces, blind, and dumb, and deaf;

XLV: 25.

Say, 'God quickens you, then He kills you, then He will gather you unto the resurrection day, there is no doubt therein; but most men do not know.'

3. When men are gathered to God on the resurrection day, they will know His justice.

XVII: 99 f.

and we will gather them upon the resurrection day upon their faces, blind, and dumb, and deaf; their resort is hell; whenever it grows dull we will give them another blaze!

That is their reward for that they disbelieved in our signs, and said, 'What! when we are bones and rubbish, shall we then be raised up a new creation?'

XXVII: 85 f.

And the day when we will gather from every nation a troop of those who said our signs were lies; and they shall be marshalled; until they come, and He will say, 'Did ye say my signs were lies, when ye had compassed no knowledge whereof? or what is it that ye were doing?' and the sentence shall fall upon them for that they did wrong, and they shall not have speech.

Did they not see that we have made the night for them to rest in, and the day to see by? verily, in that are signs to people who believe.

And the day when the trumpet shall be blown and all who are in the heavens and the earth shall be startled, save whom God pleases! and all shall come abjectly to Him. And thou shalt see the mountains, which thou dost deem solid, pass away like the passing of the clouds;- the work of God who orders all things; verily, He is well aware of what ye do!

He who brings a good deed shall have better than it; and from the alarm of that day they shall be safe: but those who bring an evil deed shall be thrown down upon their faces in the fire. Shall ye be rewarded save for what ye have done?

4. On the resurrection day God will inform men of what they have done.

LVIII: 8

then He will inform them of what they have done upon the resurrection day;

LXXV: 1 f.

I need not swear by the resurrection day!
Nor need I swear by the self-accusing soul!

Does man think that we shall not collect his bones?
Able are we to arrange his finger tips!

Nay, but man wishes to be wicked henceforward! he asks, When is the resurrection day?

But when the sight shall be dazed, and the moon be eclipsed, and the sun and the moon be together, and man shall say upon that day, 'Where is a place to flee to?'- nay, no refuge! and to thy Lord that day is the sure settlement: He will inform man on that day of what He has sent forward or delayed!

5. God will not speak to, nor look at sinners on the resurrection day.

II: 169.

Verily, those who hide what God has revealed of the Book, and sell it for a little price, they shall eat nothing in their bellies save fire; and God will not speak to them on the day of resurrection, nor will He purify them, but for them is grievous woe.

III: 71.

God will not speak to them, and will not look upon them on the resurrection day, and will not purify them; but for them is grievous woe.

6. On the resurrection day, God will decide between men concerning that which they did dispute.

II: 107.

The Jews say, 'The Christians rest on nought;' and the Christians say, 'The Jews rest on nought;' and yet they read the Book. So, too, say those who know not, like to what these say; but God shall judge between them on the resurrection day concerning that whereon they do dispute.

IV: 140.

But God shall judge between you on the resurrection day; for God will not give the misbelievers a way against believers.

X: 93.

Verily, thy Lord shall decide between them on the resurrection day concerning that whereon they did dispute.

XVI: 94.

God only tries you therewith, but He will make manifest to you on the resurrection day that whereon ye did dispute.

XVI: 125.

The Sabbath was only made for those who dispute thereon; but, verily, thy Lord will judge between them on the resurrection day concerning that whereon they do dispute.

XXII: 17.

verily, God will decide between them on the resurrection day!

XXII: 68.

God shall judge between them on the resurrection day concerning that whereon they disagreed.

XXXII: 25.

Verily, thy Lord, he shall decide between them on the resurrection day concerning that thereon they do dispute.

XXXIX: 32.

Verily, thou shalt die, and, verily, they shall die; then, verily, on the resurrection day before your Lord shall ye dispute.

XLV: 16.

Verily, thy Lord will decide between them on the resurrection day concerning that whereon they did dispute.

7. Those who reject the guidance will be punished on the resurrection day.

XX: 10.

Whoso turns therefrom, verily, he shall bear on the resurrection day a burden;-for them to bear for aye, and evil for them on the resurrection day will it be to bear.

XX: 125.

And if there should come to you from me a guidance; then whoso follows my guidance shall neither err nor be wretched. But he who turns away from my reminder, verily, for him shall be a straitened livelihood; and we will gather him on the resurrection day blind!'

He shall say, 'My Lord! wherefore hast Thou gathered me blind when I used to see?' He shall say, 'Our signs came to thee, and thou didst forget them; thus to-day art thou forgotten!'

8. Believers pray for the fulfillment of the promise on the resurrection day.

III: 194.

'Lord! verily, we heard a crier calling to the faith, "Believe in your Lord," and we did believe. Lord! forgive us our sins and cover our offences, and let us die with the righteous. Lord! and bring us what Thou hast promised us by Thy apostles, and disgrace us not upon the resurrection day; for, verily, Thou dost not break Thy promises!'

9. Believers shall receive their reward on the resurrection day.

VII: 30.

'On the day of judgment they shall only be for those who believed when in the life of this world.'

10. God controls night and day until the resurrection day.

XXVIII: 71 f.

Have ye considered, if God were to make for you the night endless until the resurrection day, who is the god, but God, to bring you light? can ye not then hear?

Say, 'Have ye considered, if God were to make for you the day endless until the day of judgment, who is the god, except God, to bring you the night to rest therein? can ye not then see?' But of His mercy He has made for you the night and the day, that ye may rest therein, and crave of His grace, haply ye may give thanks.

11. There will be a just balance on the resurrection day.

XXI: 48.

We will place just balances upon the resurrection day, and no soul shall be wronged at all, even though it be the weight of a grain of mustard seed, we will bring it; for we are good enough at reckoning up.

12. Those who commit fornication will be punished on resurrection day.

XXV: 69.

and do not commit fornication; for he who does that shall meet with a penalty; doubled for him shall be the torment on the resurrection day, and he shall be therein for aye despised.

13. Sinners will receive their punishment on resurrection day.

III: 155.

It is not for the prophet to cheat; and he who cheats shall bring what he has cheated on the resurrection day.

III: 176.

What they have been niggard of shall be a collar round their necks upon the resurrection day.

III: 182.

Every soul must taste of death; and ye shall only be paid your hire upon the resurrection day.

V: 40.

Verily, those who disbelieve, even though they had what is in the earth, all of it, and the like thereof with it, to offer as a ransom from the punishment of the resurrection day, it would not be accepted from them; but for them is grievous woe. They may wish to go forth from the Fire, but they shall not go forth therefrom, for them is lasting woe.

X: 61.

What will those who forge lies against God think on the resurrection day? Verily, God is Lord of grace towards men, but most of them do not give thanks!

XVI: 27.

Then on the resurrection day He will put them to shame, and say, 'Where are your associates whom ye divided into parties about?' Those to whom knowledge is brought will say, 'Verily, disgrace today, and evil are upon the misbelievers!'

XXIX: 12.

But they shall surely bear their own burdens, and burdens with their burdens; and they shall surely be asked upon the resurrection day concerning what they did devise.

XXXIX: 25.

Shall he who must screen himself with his own face from the evil torment on the resurrection day...? And it shall be said of those who do wrong, taste what ye have earned.

XXXIX: 48.

And had those who do wrong all that is in the earth, and the like thereof with it, they would ransom themselves therewith from the evil of the torment on the resurrection day! but there shall appear to them from God that which they had not reckoned on; and the evils of what they have earned shall appear to them; but that shall close in on them at which they mocked!

XXXIX: 61.

And on the resurrection day thou shalt see those who lied against God, with their faces blackened.

14. There will be no help other than God on resurrection day.

IV: 109.

Here are ye, wrangling for them about this world's life;-but who shall wrangle with God for them on the day of judgment, or who shall be a guardian over them?

XXIX: 24.

'Verily, ye take beside God idols, through mutual friendship in the life of this world; then on the day of judgment ye shall deny each other, and shall curse each other, and your resort shall be the fire, and ye shall have none to help.'

XXXV: 15.

If you call upon them they cannot hear your call, and if they hear they cannot answer you; and on the resurrection day they will deny your associating them with God: but none can inform thee like the One who is aware.

XLVI: 4.

But who is more in error than he who calls beside God on what will never answer him until the resurrection day and who are heedless of their calling, and when men are gathered together are enemies of theirs and do deny their service?

LX: 3.

neither your kindred nor your children shall profit you upon the resurrection day; it will separate you! but God on what ye do doth look!

15. The final worth of people before God will be known on resurrection day.

II: 208.

Made fair to those who misbelieve is this world's life; they jest at those who do believe. But those who fear shall be above them on the resurrection day.

XXVIII: 61.

Is He to whom we have promised a goodly promise, which he shall meet with, like to whom we have given the enjoyment of the life of this world, and who upon the resurrection day shall be of the arraigned?

XLI: 40.

Is he who is cast into the fire better, or he who comes safe on the resurrection day?

16. Those who misbelieve will be punished on resurrection day.

XVIII: 105.

Those who misbelieve in the signs of their Lord and in meeting Him, vain are their works; and we will not give them right weight on the resurrection day.

17. The families of sinners will be punished on resurrection day.

XXXIX: 17.

'Verily, the losers are those who lose themselves and their families on the resurrection day.'

XLII: 44.

'Verily, the losers are they who have lost themselves and their families too upon the resurrection day!'

18. God will judge men individually on resurrection day.

XVII: 14 f.

And every man's augury have we fastened on his neck; and we will bring forth for him on the resurrection day a book offered to him wide open. 'Read thy book, thou art accountant enough against thyself to-day!'

He accepts guidance, accepts it only for his own soul; and he who errs, errs only against it; nor shall one burdened soul bear the burden of another.

XIX: 95.

He counts them and numbers them by number, and they are all coming to Him on the resurrection day singly.

19. Men shall be raised from the dead on resurrection day.

XXIII: 16.

Then shall ye after that surely die; then shall ye on the day of resurrection be raised.

20. The children of Adam bore witness of the resurrection day.

VII: 171.

And when thy Lord took from the children of Adam out of their loins their seed, and made them bear witness against themselves, 'Am I not your Lord?' They said, 'Yea! we do bear witness'-lest ye should say on the day of resurrection, 'Verily, for this we did not care;' or say, 'Verily, our fathers associated others with God before us, and we were but their seed after them: wilt Thou then destroy us for what vaindoers did?'-Thus do we detail the signs; haply they may return.

21. God asks men if they think they can force his justice.

LXVIII: 39.

Or have ye oaths binding on us until the judgment day that ye are surely to have what ye may judge?

22. God curses sinners in this life, and on the resurrection day.

XI: 63.

They were followed in this world by a curse, and on the resurrection day-'Did not Ād disbelieve their Lord? Aye! away with Ād the people of Hūd!'

XI: 100 f.

He shall approach his people on the resurrection day, and take them down to water at the Fire,-an evil watering-place to water at!

In this (world) were they followed by a curse; and on the resurrection day evil shall be the aid they are aided with!

XXII: 9.

for him is disgrace in this world, and we will make him taste, upon the resurrection day, the torment of burning.

XXVIII: 41 f.

and we followed them up in this world with a curse; and on the resurrection day they shall be abhorred!

And we gave Moses the Book, after that we had destroyed the former generations, as an insight to men and a guidance and a mercy; haply they may be mindful!

23. Some people will be punished until the resurrection day.

VII: 166

evil was the abomination that they did, but when they rebelled against what they were forbidden, we said to them, 'Become ye apes, despised and spurned!' and then thy Lord proclaimed that He would surely send against them till the resurrection day,

24. God has cast enmity and hatred among the Jews and Christians until the resurrection day.

V: 17.

And of those who say, 'Verily, we are Christians,' we have taken a compact; but they have forgotten a portion of what they were reminded of; wherefore have we excited amongst them enmity and hatred till the resurrection day; but God will tell them of what they have done.

V: 69.

The Jews say, 'God's hand is fettered;' their hands are fettered and they are cursed for what they said; nay! His hands are outspread, He expends how He pleases! and that which has been sent down to thee from thy Lord will surely increase many of them in their rebellion and misbelief, for we have cast amongst them enmity and hatred till the resurrection day.

25. Jesus shall be a witness against the Christians on the day of judgment.

IV: 157.

And there shall not be one of the people of the Book but shall believe in him before his death; and on the day of judgment he shall be a witness against them.

APPENDIX VI. Contexts of God brings back to life, a'āda.

1. God brings His creatures back to Himself according to His original purpose.
2. God who hath ordained the Qur'ān for men will bring men back to Him.
3. God destroyed cities that men might return to Him.

1. God brings His creatures back to Himself according to His original purpose.

X: 4.

To Him is your return all of you-God's promise in truth; verily, He produces the creature, then He makes it return again, that He may recompense those who believe and do what is right with justice; but those who misbelieve, for them is a drink of boiling water, and grievous woe, for that they did misbelieve.

XXI: 104.

The day when we will roll up the heavens as es-Sigill rolls up the books; as we produced it at its first creation will we bring it back again-a promise binding upon us; verily, we are going to do it.

XXVII: 65.

He who began the creation and then will make it return again; and who provides you from the heaven and the earth;

XXX: 10.

God produces a creation, then He makes it go back again, then unto Him shall ye return.

XXX: 26.

His are those who are in the heavens and the earth, and all to Him are devoted. And He it is who produces a creation and then makes it to go back again; for it is very easy to Him; and His are the loftiest similitudes in the heavens and the earth; and He is the mighty, wise!

LXXI: 17.

Do ye not see how God has created the seven heavens in stories, and has set the moon therein for a light, and set the sun for a lamp? And God has made you grow out of the earth, and then He will make you return thereto, and will make you come forth therefrom; and God has made for you the earth a carpet that ye may walk therein in broad paths."

LXXXV: 13.

Verily, He produces and returns, and He is the forgiving, the loving, the Lord of the glorious throne; the doer of what He will!

2. God who hath ordained the Qur'ân for men will bring men back to Him.

XXVIII: 85.

Verily, He who hath ordained the Qur'ân for thee will restore thee to thy returning place. Say, 'My Lord knows best who brings guidance, and who is in obvious error; nor couldst thou hope that the Book would be thrown to thee, save as a mercy from thy Lord! be not then a backer up of those who misbelieve; and let them not turn thee from the signs of God, after they have been sent down to thee; but call unto thy Lord and be not of the idolaters; and call not with God upon any other god; there is no god but He! everything is perishable, except His face; His is the judgment, and unto Him shall ye return!

3. God destroyed cities that men might return to Him.

XLVI: 26.

And we destroyed the cities that are around you:- and we turned about the signs that haply they might return.

APPENDIX VII. Contexts of reckoning, ḥisāb.

1. God's justice will be finally known on the day of reckoning.
2. Men will be finally divided on the day of reckoning.
3. God will give men their just reward on the day of reckoning.
4. Sinners receive their punishment on the day of reckoning.
5. Men are warned to fear God because the reckoning will come.
6. The reckoning is coming, though men are heedless of it.
7. The misbelievers merit punishment because they forget the day of reckoning.
8. Abraham warned of the reckoning.
9. Moses warned of the reckoning.
10. Noah warned of the reckoning.

1. God's justice will be finally known on the day of reckoning.

XIII: 40.f.

but thy duty is only to deliver thy message, and ours to reckon up.

Did they not see that we come to the land and diminish the borders thereof? God judges, and there is none to reverse His judgment, and He is swift at reckoning up!

XXIII: 117.

Did ye then reckon that we created you for sport, and that to us ye would not return?' But exalted be God, the true; there is no god but He, the Lord of the noble throne! and whoso calls upon another god with God has no proof of it, but, verily, his account is with his Lord;

XL: 17.

The day when they shall be issuing forth, naught concerning them shall be hidden from God. Whose is the kingdom on that day?-God's, the one, the dominant! to-day shall every soul be recompensed for that which it has earned. There is no wrong to-day; verily, God is quick at reckoning up!

2. Men will be finally divided on the day of reckoning.

LXIX: 20 f.

And as for him who is given his book in his right hand, he shall say, 'Here! take and read my book. Verily, I thought that I should meet my reckoning;' and he shall be in a pleasing life, in a lofty garden, whose fruits are nigh to cull-'Eat ye and drink with good digestion, for what ye did aforetime in the days that have gone by!'

But as for him who is given his book in his left hand he shall say, 'O, would that I had not received my book! I did not know what my account would be. O, would that it had been an end of me! my wealth availed me not! my authority has perished from me.'

LXXXIV: 8 f.

O man! verily, thou art toiling after thy Lord, toiling; wherefore shalt thou meet Him!

And as for him who is given his book in his right hand, he shall be reckoned with by an easy reckoning; and he shall go back to his family joyfully.

But as for him who is given his book behind his back, he shall call out for destruction, but he shall broil in a blaze! Verily, he was amongst his family joyful. Verily, he thought that he should never return to God.

Yea, verily, his Lord on him did look!

3. God will give men their just reward on the day of reckoning.

II: 198.

These,--they have their portion from what they have earned; for God is swift at reckoning up.

III: 199.

Verily, of the people of the Book are some who do believe in God, and in what has been revealed to you, and what was revealed to them, humbling themselves before God, and selling not the signs of God for a little price. These shall have their reward with their Lord; verily, God is quick at reckoning up.

XIII: 18.

For those who respond to their Lord is good; but those who respond not to Him, had they all that is in the earth and the like thereof as well, they would give it for a ransom; these shall have an evil reckoning up!

XXXVIII: 53.

'This is what ye were promised for the day of reckoning!'-

4. Sinners receive their punishment on the day of reckoning.

XIV: 51.

Thou shalt see the sinners on that day bound together in fetters; with shirts of pitch, and fire covering their faces;- that God may reward each soul according to what it has earned; verily, God is swift at reckoning up!

XXIV: 39.

But those who misbelieve, their works are like the mirage in a plain, the thirsty counts it water till when he comes to it he finds nothing, but he finds that God is with him, and He will pay him his account, for God is quick to take account.

XXXVIII: 25.

Verily, those who go astray from the path of God, for them is keen torment, for that they did forget the day of reckoning!

5. Men are warned to fear God because the reckoning will come.

V: 6.

and fear God, for verily, God is swift in reckoning up.'

6. The reckoning is coming, though men are heedless of it.

XXI: 1.

Their reckoning draws nigh to men, yet in heedlessness they turn aside.

XXXVIII: 15.

But they say, 'O our Lord, hasten for us our share before the day of reckoning!'

7. The misbelievers merit punishment because they forget the day of reckoning.

III: 17.

But whoso disbelieves in God's signs, truly God is quick at reckoning up.

8. Abraham warned of the reckoning.

XIV: 42 f.

'O my Lord! make me steadfast in prayer, and of my seed likewise! O our Lord! and accept my prayer! O our

Lord! pardon me and my parents and the believers on the reckoning day!'

So think not God careless of what the unjust do; He only respites them until the day on which all eyes shall stare!

9. Moses warned of the reckoning.

XL: 28.

And Moses said, 'Verily, I take refuge in my Lord and your Lord from every one who is big with pride and believes not on the day of reckoning.'

10. Noah warned of the reckoning.

XXVI: 113.

The people of Noah said the apostles were liars, when their brother Noah said to them, 'Will ye not fear? verily, I am a faithful apostle to you; then fear God and obey me. I do not ask you for it any hire; my hire is only with the Lord of the worlds. So fear God and obey me.' They said, 'Shall we believe in thee, when the reprobates follow thee?' He said, 'I did not know what they were doing; their account is only with my Lord, if ye but perceive. And I am not one to drive away the believers, I am only a plain warner.'

APPENDIX VIII. Contexts of hereafter, akhirat.

1. The abode of the future life is better.
2. God wishes the next world which is better than this world.
3. Those who prefer the love of this world's life to the next will be punished; the hereafter is better and more lasting.
4. In the next life are greater degrees and greater preferences.
5. God rewards and punishes both in this world and the hereafter.
6. Those who sin in earthly life will suffer torment in the hereafter, and they shall not be helped.
7. Those who misbelieve will be in torment in the hereafter.
8. God will pay their due to followers and annoyers.
9. The believers are those who are certain of, and love the hereafter.
10. God is Lord of this world and the next.
11. Believers hope and wish for the hereafter.
12. Disbelief in the warning of the hereafter will be punished.
13. Disbelief in the hereafter is sin.
14. The children of Israel know of the promise of the hereafter.
15. If the Jews think the hereafter is exclusively for them, let them long for death.
16. God's judgments are a sign of the hereafter.

1. The abode of the future life is better.

VII: 168

But the abode of the future life is better for those who fear-

XII: 57.

and surely the hire of the future life is better for those who believe and who have feared.

XII: 109

But the abode of the future is surely better for those who believe;-

XVI: 32

but certainly the abode of the next is best,

XVI: 43

but the hire of the future life is greater,

XVI: 123.

verily, in the next he will be among the righteous.

XXVIII: 77

but crave, through what God has given thee, the future abode;

XXVIII: 83.

That is the future abode; we make it for those who do

not wish to be haughty in the earth, nor to do evil, and the end is for the pious.

2. God wishes the next world which is better than this world.

VIII: 68

Ye wish to have the goods of this world, but God wishes for the next,

3. Those who prefer the love of this world's life to the next will be punished; the hereafter is better and more lasting.

II: 196 f.

There is among men such as says, 'Our Lord! give us in this world;' but of the future life no portion shall he have.

And some there be who say, 'Our Lord! give us in this world good and in the future good; and keep us from the torment of the fire!'

VI: 32.

The life of this world is nothing but a game and a sport, and surely the next abode were better for those who fear.

IX: 38.

were ye content with the life of this world instead of the next? but the provision of this world's life is but a little to the next.

XVI: 109.

That is because they preferred the love of this world's life to the next;-but, verily, God guides not the unbelieving people.

XXIX: 64

This life of the world is nothing but a sport and a play; but, verily, the abode of the next world, that is life,-

XL: 42.

O my people! verily, the life of this world is but a provision, but, verily, the hereafter, that is the abode of stability!

XL: 46.

Ye call on me to disbelieve in God, and to join with Him what I have no knowledge of; but I call you to the mighty forgiving One! no doubt that what ye call me to, ought not to be called on in this world or in the hereafter, and that we shall be sent back to God, and that the extravagant, they are the fellows of the Fire!

LXXV: 21.

Nay, indeed, but ye love the transient life, and ye neglect the hereafter!

LXXXVII: 17.

Nay! but ye prefer the life of this world, while the hereafter is better and more lasting.

XCIII: 4.

Thy Lord has not forsaken thee, nor hated thee! and surely the hereafter is better for thee than the former; and in the end thy Lord will give thee, and thou shalt be well pleased!

4. In the next life are greater degrees and greater preferences.

XVII: 22.

See how we have preferred some of them over others, but in the next life are greater degrees and greater preference.

5. God rewards and punishes both in this world and the hereafter.

II: 108.

'Tis not for such to enter into them except in fear, for them is disgrace in this world, and in the future mighty woe.

II: 124.

Who is averse from the faith of Abraham save one who is foolish of soul? for we have chosen him in this world, and in the future he is surely of the righteous.

II: 214

these are those whose works are vain in this world and the next;

II: 218.

haply ye may reflect on this world and the next!

III: 21.

These are they whose works are void in this world and the next.

III: 49

And as for those who misbelieve, I will punish them with grievous punishment in this world and the next,

III: 139, 141.

but he who wishes for the reward of this world we will give him of it, and he who wishes for the reward of the future we will give him of it, and we will recompense the grateful.

and God gave them the reward of this world, and good reward for the future too, for God doth love the kind.

IV: 79

'The enjoyment of this world is but slight, and the next is better for him who fears;'-

IV: 133

with God is the reward of this world and of the next,

V: 7.

But whoso disbelieves in the faith, of a truth his work is vain, and he shall be in the next life of those who lose.

V: 37

that is a disgrace for them in this world, and for them
in the next is mighty woe;

V: 45

for them in this world is disgrace, and for them in the
next is mighty woe,-

VII: 155.

'And write down for us in this world good, and in
the future too; verily, we are guided unto Thee.'

IX: 70.

Their works are vain in this world and the next.

IX: 75

God will torment them with mighty woe in this world and
in the next,

X: 65

for them are good tidings in the life of this world, and
in the future too;

XII: 102

Thou art my patron in this world and the next;

XVII: 74.

But he who in this life is blind shall be blind in the
next too, and err farther from the way.

XXII: 11.

but if there befall him a trial, he turns round again, and loses this world and the next-that is an obvious loss.

XXII: 15.

He who thinks that God will never help in this world or the next-let him stretch a cord to the roof and put an end to himself; and let him cut it and see if his stratagem will remove what he is enraged at.

XXIV: 14.

And but for God's grace upon you, and His mercy in this world and the next, there would have touched you, for that which ye spread abroad, mighty woe.

XXIV: 19

Verily, those who love that scandal should go abroad amongst those who believe, for them is grievous woe in this world and the next;

XXIV: 23

Verily, those who cast imputations on chaste women who are negligent but believing shall be cursed in this world and the next;

XLI: 31

we are your patrons in the life of this world and in the next, and ye shall have therein what your souls desire,

XLII: 19.

He who wishes for the tilth of the next world, we will increase for him the tilth; and he who desires the tilth of this world, we will give him thereof: but in the next he shall have no portion.

LXXIX: 25.

but God seized him with the punishment of the future life and of the former.

XCII: 13.

And, verily, ours are the hereafter and the former life!

6. Those who sin in earthly life will suffer torment in the hereafter, and they shall not be helped.

II: 80.

Those who have bought this worldly life with the Future, the torment shall not be lightened from them nor shall they be helped.

II: 96

And yet they knew that he who purchased it would have no portion in the future;

III: 71.

Those who sell God's covenant and their oaths for a little price, these have no portion in the future life.

III: 79.

Whosoever craves other than Islam for a religion, it shall surely not be accepted from him, and he shall, in the next world, be of those who lose.'

IV: 76

Let those then fight in God's way who sell this life of the world for the next;

XI: 19

These are those for whom there is nothing in the hereafter save the Fire;

XI: 24.

No doubt but that in the hereafter these are those who lose!

XVI: 110.

These are they on whose hearts, and hearing, and eyesight, God has set a stamp, and these, they are the careless. Without a doubt that in the next life they will be the losers.

XXVII: 5.

These are they who shall have an evil torment, and they in the hereafter shall be those who most lose!

XXXIX: 27.

But surely the torment of the hereafter is greater, if they did but know.

XLI: 15.

but the torment of the hereafter is more disgraceful, and they shall not be helped.

LXVIII: 33.

Thus is the torment, but, verily, the torment of the hereafter is greater, if ye did but know!

7. Those who misbelieve will be in torment in the hereafter.

XXIII: 34

Said the chiefs of his people who misbelieved, and called the meeting of the last day a lie,

XXX: 15.

and as for those who misbelieved and said our signs and the meeting of the hereafter were lies, they shall be in the torment arraigned.

XXXIV: 8.

And those who misbelieve say, 'Shall we guide you to a man who will inform you that when ye are torn all to pieces, then ye shall be a new creation? he has forged against God a lie, or there is a ginn in him:'-nay, those who believe not in the hereafter are in the torment and in the remote error!

LX: 13.

O ye who believe! take not for patrons a people whom God is wrath against; they despair of the hereafter, as the misbelievers despair of the fellows of the tombs.

8. God will pay their due to followers and annoyers.

XXXIIII: 29.

But if ye be desirous of God and His Apostle and of the abode of the hereafter, verily, God has prepared for those of you who do good a mighty hire.'

XXXIIII: 57.

Verily, those who annoy God and His Apostle, God will curse them in this world and the next, and prepare for them shameful woe!

9. The believers are those who are certain of, and love the hereafter.

III: 146.

and amongst you are those who love the next.

VI: 92

Those who believe in the last day believe therein,

XXXI: 3

and who of the hereafter are sure;

10. God is Lord of this world and the next.

XXVIII: 70.

He is God, there is no god but He; to Him belongs praise, in the first and the last; and His is the judgment; and unto Him shall ye return!

XXIX: 19.

Say, 'Journey ye on in the land, and behold how the creation appeared; then God produces another production: verily, God is mighty over all!'

XXXIV: 1.

Praise belongs to God, whose is whatsoever is in the heavens and whatsoever is in the earth; His is the praise in the next world, and He is the wise and well aware!

LIII: 25.

But God's is the hereafter and the present!

11. Believers hope and wish for the hereafter.

XVII: 20.

But whoso desires the next life, and strives for it and is a believer-these, their striving shall be gratefully received.

XXXIX: 12.

Shall he who is devout throughout the night, adoring and standing, cautious concerning the hereafter, and hoping for the mercy of his Lord...?

12. Disbelief in the warning of the hereafter will be punished.

XVII: 47.

And when thou readest the Qur'ân we placed between thee and those who believe not in the hereafter a covering veil.

XX: 127.

Thus do we recompense him who is extravagant and believes not in the signs of his Lord; and the torment of the hereafter is keener and more lasting!

XXVII: 3.

Those are the signs of the Qur'ân and the perspicuous Book; a guidance and glad tidings to the believers, who are steadfast at prayer, and give alms, and of the hereafter are sure; verily, those who believe not in the hereafter we have made seemly for them their works, and they shall wander blindly on!

13. Disbelief in the hereafter is sin.

VI: 113

And let the hearts of those who believe not in the hereafter listen to it;

VI: 151.

and those who do not believe in the last day.

VII: 43.

while in the hereafter they do disbelieve!

VII: 145

But those who say our signs and the meeting of the last day are lies, -vain are their works:

XI: 22.

and in the hereafter disbelieve!

XIII: 37.

while in the future too they disbelieve.

XVI: 23.

Your God is one God, and those who believe not in the hereafter their hearts are given to denial, and they are big with pride!

XVI: 62.

For those who disbelieve in the future life is a similitude of evil:

XVII: 11.

and that for those who believe not in the hereafter, we have prepared a mighty woe.

XXIII: 76.

but, verily, those who believe not in the hereafter from the way do veer.

XXVII: 68.

nay, but their knowledge attains to somewhat of the hereafter; nay, but they are in doubt concerning it! nay, but they are blind!

XXX: 6.

They know the outside of this world's life, but of the hereafter they are heedless.

XXXIX: 46

And when God alone is mentioned the hearts of those who believe not in the hereafter quake,

XLI: 6.

and woe to the idolaters, who give not alms, and in the hereafter disbelieve!'

LIH: 28.

Verily, those who believe not in the hereafter do surely name the angels with female names!-

LXXIV: 53.

Nay, but they did not fear the hereafter!

14. The children of Israel know of the promise of the hereafter.

XVII: 106.

And after him we said to the children of Israel, 'Dwell ye in the land; and when the promise of the hereafter comes to pass, we will bring you in a mixed crowd (to judgment).'

15. If the Jews think the hereafter is exclusively for them, let them long for death.

II: 88.

Say, 'An evil thing is it which your belief bids you do, if ye be true believers.' Say, 'If the abode of the future with God is yours alone and not mankind's: long for death then if ye speak the truth.'

16. God's judgments are a sign of the hereafter.

XI: 105.

Verily, in that is a sign to him who fears the torment of the last day;-that is a day unto which men shall be gathered;-that is a witnessed day!

APPENDIX IX. Contexts of eternity, khuld.

1. Men hope in vain to be immortal.
2. They shall taste the torment of eternity.
3. Eternal boys will go around them in Paradise.
4. The fire is an eternal abode.
5. Entrance into Paradise is the day of eternity.
6. Paradise is the garden of eternity.

1. Men hope in vain to be immortal.

VII: 19

But Satan whispered to them to display to them what was kept back from them of their shame, and he said, 'Your Lord has only forbidden you this tree lest ye should be twain angels, or should become of the immortals;'

XX: 118.

But the devil whispered to him. Said he, 'O Adam! shall I guide thee to the tree of immortality, and a kingdom that shall not wane?'

XXI: 8.

Nor did we make them bodies not to eat food, nor were they immortal.

XXI: 35.

We never made for any mortal before thee immortality; what, if thou shouldst die, will they live on for aye?

XXVI: 129.

Do ye build on every height a landmark in sport, and take to works that haply ye may be immortal?

CIV: 3.

He thinks that hiswealth can immortalize him.

2. They shall taste the torment of eternity.

X: 53.

Taste ye the torment of eternity!

XXXII: 14.

taste ye, for that ye forgot the meeting of this day
of yours,-verily, we have forgotten you! and taste ye
the torment of eternity for that which ye have done!'

3. Eternal boys will go around them in Paradise.

LVI: 17.

Around them shall go eternal youths, with goblets
and ewers and a cup of flowing wine; no head-
ache shall they feel therefrom, nor shall their wits
be dimmed!

LXXVI: 19

there shall go round them eternal boys; when thou
seest them thou wilt think them scattered pearls;

4. The fire is an eternal abode.

XLI: 28

That is, the recompense of the enemies of God,-
the fire! for them is an eternal abode therein:

5. Entrance into Paradise is the day of eternity.

L: 33.

'Enter into it in peace: this is the day of eternity!'

6. Paradise is the garden of eternity.

XXV: 16.

Say, 'Is that better or the garden of eternity which was promised to those who fear-which is ever for them a recompense and a retreat?' They shall have therein what they please, to dwell therein for aye: that is of thy Lord a promise to be demanded.

APPENDIX X. Contexts of Paradise, jannat.

1. Description of Paradise.
2. God will make those he pleases enter into Paradise.
3. God cares for man's life, and can grant him Paradise.
4. God promises Paradise to those who fear Him.
5. God promises Paradise to the pious.
6. God promises Paradise to believers for that which they have done.
7. God promises Paradise to those who do good.
8. God promises Paradise to those who act rightly.
9. Jews and Christians say Paradise is their exclusive right.
10. Those who are glad will be in Paradise.
11. God promises Paradise to those who believe and do right.
12. God will give Paradise to those slain in His cause.
13. God gave Paradise to Adam and his wife in the beginning.
14. The people without the warning from God hoped in vain for Paradise.
15. Idolaters are forbidden Paradise.
16. Some people hope in vain for Paradise.
17. Jesus entered into Paradise.
18. God promises Paradise to believers.
19. Satan invites to hell, God invites to Paradise.
20. God will award Paradise to the Apostle and those who believe him.
21. God offered Paradise to former people.

1. Description of Paradise.

III: 130.

-these have their reward;-pardon from their Lord, and gardens beneath which rivers flow, dwelling therein for aye; for pleasant is the hire of those who act like this.

III: 182.

But he who is forced away from the fire and brought into Paradise is indeed happy; but the life of this world is but a possession of deceit.

V: 119.

God said, 'This is the day when their confession shall profit the confessors, for them are gardens beneath which rivers flow, to dwell therein for ever and for aye.'

IX: 101.

He has prepared for them gardens beneath which rivers flow, to dwell therein for aye; that is the mighty happiness.

XVIII: 31.

These, for them are gardens of Eden; beneath them rivers flow; they shall be adorned therein with bracelets of gold, and shall wear green robes of silk, and of brocade; reclining therein on thrones;-pleasant is the reward, and goodly the couch!

XIX: 62 f.

for these shall enter Paradise, and shall not be wronged at all,-gardens of Eden, which the Merciful has promised to His servants in the unseen; verily, His promise ever comes to pass!

They shall hear no empty talk therein, but only 'peace'; and they shall have their provision therein, morning and evening; that is Paradise which we will give for an inheritance to those of our servants who are pious!

XXV: 26 f.

The fellows of Paradise on that day shall be in a better abiding-place and a better noonday rest.

The day the heavens shall be cleft asunder with the clouds, and the angels shall be sent down descending.

The true kingdom on that day shall belong to the Merciful.

XXXVI: 55.

Verily, the fellows of Paradise upon that day shall be employed in enjoyment; they and their wives, in shade upon thrones, reclining, therein shall they have fruits, and they shall have what they may call for. 'Peace!'- a speech from the merciful Lord!

XXXVII: 42.

Except God's sincere servants, these shall have a stated provision of fruits, and they shall be honoured in the gardens of pleasure, upon couches facing each other; they shall be served all round with a cup from a spring, white and delicious to those who drink, wherein is no insidious spirit, nor shall they be drunk therewith; and with them damsels, restraining their looks, large eyed; as though they were a sheltered egg; and some shall come forward to ask others; and a speaker amongst them shall say, 'Verily, I had a mate, who used to say, "Art thou verily of those who credit? What! when we are dead, and have become earth and bones, shall we be surely judged?" He will say, 'Are ye looking down?' and he shall look down and see him in the midst of hell. He shall say, 'By God,

thou didst nearly ruin me! And had it not been for the favour of my Lord, I should have been among the arraigned.-'
 'What! shall we not die save our first death? and shall we not be tormented?-Verily, this is mighty bliss! for the like of this then let the workers work.'

LVI: 12.

And the foremost foremost!
 These are they who are brought nigh,
 In gardens of pleasure!
 A crowd of those of yore,
 And a few of those of the latter day!

LVI: 88.

But either, if he be of those brought nigh to God,-then rest and fragrance and the garden of pleasure!

LVII: 21.

Race towards forgiveness from your Lord and Paradise, whose breadth is as the breadth of the heavens and the earth, prepared for those who believe in God and His apostles!

LIX: 20.

Not deemed alike shall be the fellows of the Fire and the fellows of Paradise: the fellows of Paradise they are the blissful!

LXIX: 22.

Verily, I thought that I should meet my reckoning;' and he shall be in a pleasing life, in a lofty garden, whose fruits are nigh to cull-'Eat ye and drink with good digestion, for what ye did aforetime in the days that have gone by!

2. God will make those he pleases enter into Paradise.

XXV: 11.

Blessed be He who, if He please, can make for thee better than that, gardens beneath which rivers flow, and can make for thee castles!

XLVIII: 17.

He will make him enter gardens beneath which rivers flow;

LVIII: 22.

He has written faith in their hearts, and He aids them with a spirit from Him; and will make them enter into gardens beneath which rivers flow, to dwell therein for aye! God is well pleased with them, and they well pleased with Him; they are God's crew; ay, God's crew, they shall prosper!

LXI: 12.

He will pardon you your sins, and bring you into gardens beneath which rivers flow, and goodly dwellings in gardens of Eden;-that is the mighty bliss!

LXXXIX: 30.

O thou comforted soul! return unto thy Lord,
well pleased and well pleased with!
And enter amongst my servants, and enter my
Paradise!

3. God cares for man's life, and can grant him Paradise.

XXVI: 85

And when I am sick He heals me; He who will kill me, and then bring me to life; and who I hope will forgive me my sins on the day of judgment! Lord, grant me judgment, and let me reach the righteous; and give me a tongue of good report amongst posterity; and make me of the heirs of the paradise of pleasure;

4. God promises Paradise to those who fear Him.

III: 13.

Say, 'But shall we tell you of a better thing than this?' For those who fear are gardens with their Lord, beneath which rivers flow; they shall dwell therein for aye, and pure wives and grace from God; the Lord looks on His servants, who say, 'Lord, we believe, pardon Thou our sins and keep us from the torment of the fire,'- upon the patient, the truthful, the devout, and those who ask for pardon at the dawn.

III: 127

And vie with one another for pardon from your Lord, and for Paradise, the breadth of which is as the heaven and the earth, prepared for those who fear;

III: 197

But those who fear their Lord, for them are gardens beneath which rivers flow, and they shall dwell therein for aye,

V: 70

But did the people of the Book believe and fear, we would cover their offences, and we would make them enter into gardens of pleasure;

XIII: 23.

Those who fulfil God's covenant and break not the compact, and those who attain what God has bidden to be attained, and dread their Lord and fear the evil reckoning up; and those who are patient, craving their Lord's face, and are steadfast in prayer, and expend in alms of what we have bestowed upon them secretly and openly, and ward off evil with good,--these shall have the recompense of the abode, gardens of Eden, into which they shall enter with the righteous amongst their fathers and their wives and their seed; and the angels shall enter in unto them from every gate :-'Peace be upon you! for that ye were patient; and goodly is the recompense of the abode.'

XIII: 35

The likeness of the Paradise which those who fear God are promised, beneath it rivers flow, its food is enduring, and likewise its shade! That is the recompense of those who fear;

XV: 45 f.

Verily, those who fear God shall dwell amidst gardens and springs: 'Enter ye therein with peace in safety!' And we will strip off whatever ill-feeling is in their breasts; as brethren on couches face to face.

No toil shall touch them therein, nor shall they be brought forth therefrom.

XXV: 16.

Say, 'Is that better or the garden of eternity which was promised to those who fear-which is ever for them a recompense and a retreat?' They shall have therein what they please, to dwell therein for aye: that is of thy Lord a promise to be demanded.

XXXIX: 73.

But those who fear their Lord shall be driven to Paradise in troops; until they come there, its doors shall be opened, and its keepers shall say to them, 'Peace be upon you, ye have done well! so enter in to dwell for aye!' and they shall say, 'Praise be to God, who hath made good His promise to us, and hath given us the earth to inherit! We establish ourselves in Paradise wherever we please; and goodly is the reward of those who work!'

And thou shalt see the angels circling round about the throne, celebrating the praise of their Lord; and it shall be decided between them in truth; and it shall be said, 'Praise be to God, the Lord of the worlds!'

LV: 46.

Then which of your Lord's bounties will ye twain deny? But for him who fears the station of his Lord are gardens twain!

LXXIX: 41.

But as for him who feared the station of his Lord, and prohibited his soul from lust, verily, Paradise is the resort!

5. God promises Paradise to the pious.

XIX: 64.

They shall hear no empty talk therein, but only 'peace'; and they shall have their provision therein, morning and evening; that is Paradise which we will give for an inheritance to those of our servants who are pious!

XXVI: 90

And paradise shall be brought near to the pious;

XXXVIII: 50.

This is a reminder! verily, for the pious is there an excellent resort,-gardens of Eden with the doors open to them;-reclining therein; calling therein for much fruit and drink; and beside them maids of modest glance, of their own age,-'This is what ye were promised for the day of reckoning!'-'This is surely our provision, it is never spent!'

XLIV: 52.

Verily, the pious shall be in a safe place! in gardens and springs, they shall be clad in satin and stout silk face to face. Thus!-and we will wed them to bright and large-eyed maids! They shall call therein for every fruit in safety. They shall not taste therein of death save their first death, and we will keep them from the torment of hell!

XLVII: 16.

The similitude of Paradise which is promised to the pious,-in it are rivers of water without corruption, and rivers of milk, the taste whereof changes not, and rivers of wine delicious to those who drink; and rivers of honey clarified; and there shall they have all kinds of fruit and forgiveness from their Lord!

I: 30 f.

And Paradise shall be brought near to the pious,-
not far off.

This is what ye are promised, to every one who turns
frequently (to God) and keeps His commandments: who
fears the Merciful in secret and brings a repentant heart.

'Enter into it in peace: this is the day of eternity!'

They shall have what they wish therein, and increase
from us!

II: 15.

Verily, the pious are in gardens and springs, taking
what their Lord brings them.

LII: 17 f.

Verily, the pious (shall be) in gardens and pleasure,
enjoying what their Lord has given them; for their Lord
will save them from the torment of hell.

'Eat and drink with good digestion, for that which
ye have done!'

Reclining on couches in rows; and we will wed them
to large-eyed maids.

And those who believe and whose seed follows them
in the faith, we will unite their seed with them; and
we will not cheat them of their work at all;-every man
is pledged for what he earns.

And we will extend to them fruit and flesh such as
they like. They shall pass to and fro therein a cup in
which is neither folly nor sin.

And round them shall go boys of theirs, as though
they were hidden pearls.

And they shall accost each other and ask questions,
and shall say, 'Verily, we were before amidst our
families shrinking with terror, but God has been gracious
to us and saved us from the torment of the hot blast.

LIV: 54.

Verily, the pious shall be amid gardens and rivers,
in the seat of truth, with the powerful king.

LXVIII: 34.

Verily, for the pious with their Lord are gardens of pleasure!

6. God promises Paradise to believers for that which they have done.

VII: 41

We will strip away what ill feeling is in their breasts- there shall flow beneath them rivers, and they shall say, 'Praise belongs to God who guided us to this! for we should not have been guided had not God guided us!-the apostles of our Lord did come to us with truth!' And it shall be cried out to them, 'This is Paradise which ye have as an inheritance for that which ye have done!' And the fellows of Paradise will call out to the fellows of the Fire. 'We have now found that what our Lord promised us is true;

XVI: 34.

To those whom the angels take off in a goodly state they shall say, 'Peace be upon you! enter ye into Paradise for that which ye have done.'

XLIII: 70 f.

Enter ye into Paradise, ye and your wives, happy! Dishes of gold and pitchers shall be sent round to them; therein is what souls desire, and eyes shall be delighted, and ye therein shall dwell for aye; for that is Paradise which ye are given as an inheritance for that which ye have done. Therein shall ye have much fruit whereof to eat.

LXXXI: 13.

And when the pages shall be spread out,
And when the heaven shall be flayed,
And when hell shall be set ablaze,
And when Paradise shall be brought nigh
The soul shall know what it has produced!

7. God promises Paradise to those who do good.

IV: 123.

But he who doeth good works,-be it male or female,-
and believes, they shall enter into Paradise, and they
shall not be wronged a jot.

V: 88.

Therefore has God rewarded them, for what they
said, with gardens beneath which rivers flow, to dwell
therein for aye; that is the reward of those who do good;

X: 27.

To those who do what is good, goodness and increase!
nor shall blackness or abasement cover their faces!
these are the fellows of Paradise, they shall dwell therein
for aye.

XXXV: 30.

Gardens of Eden shall they enter, adorned therein
with bracelets of gold and pearls; and their garments
therein shall be silk; and they shall say 'Praise
belongs to God, who has removed from us our grief;
verily, our Lord is forgiving, grateful! who has made
us alight in an enduring abode of His grace, wherein
no toil shall touch us, and there shall touch us no
fatigue.'

XL: 8.

Our Lord! make them enter into gardens of Eden which thou hast promised to them, and to those who do well of their fathers, and their wives, and their seed; verily, thou art the mighty, the wise! and guard them from evil deeds, for he whom thou shalt guard from evil deeds on that day, thou wilt have had mercy on, and that is mighty bliss!'

8. God promises Paradise to those who act rightly.

II: 76.

But such as act aright, those are the fellows of Paradise, and they shall dwell therein for aye!

XX: 78.

But he who comes to Him a believer who has done aright-these, for them are the highest ranks,-gardens of Eden beneath which rivers flow, to dwell therein for aye; for that is the reward of Him who keeps pure.

XL: 43.

and whoso does right, be it male or female and a believer, these shall enter into Paradise; they shall be provided therein without count.

9. Jews and Christians say Paradise is their exclusive right.

II: 105.

They say, 'None shall enter Paradise save such as be Jews or Christians;' that is their faith. Say thou, 'Bring your proofs, if ye be speaking truth.'

10. Those who are glad will be in Paradise.

XI: 110.

And as for those who are glad-why, in Paradise! to dwell therein for aye, so long as the heavens and the earth endure; save what thy Lord will,-a ceaseless boon!

11. God promises Paradise to those who believe and do right.

II: 23.

But bear the glad tidings to those who believe and work righteousness, that for them are gardens beneath which rivers flow; whenever they are provided with fruit therefrom they say, 'This is what we were provided with before,' and they shall be provided with the like; and there are pure wives for them therein, and they shall dwell therein for aye.

IV: 60.

But those who believe and do aright, we will make them enter gardens beneath which rivers flow, and they shall dwell therein for ever and aye, for them therein are pure wives, and we will make them enter into a shady shade.

IV: 121.

But those who believe, and do what is right, we will make them enter into gardens beneath which rivers flow, to dwell therein for aye,-

VII: 40 f.

But those who believe and do what is right-we will not oblige a soul more than its capacity-they are the fellows of Paradise, they shall dwell therein for aye.

We will strip away what ill feeling is in their breasts-there shall flow beneath them rivers, and they shall say, 'Praise belongs to God who guided us to this! for we should not have been guided had not God guided us!-the apostles of our Lord did come to us with truth!' And it shall be cried out to them, 'This is Paradise which ye have as an inheritance for that which ye have done!' And the fellows of Paradise will call out to the fellows of the Fire, 'We have now found that what our Lord promised us is true; have ye found that what your Lord promised you is true?' They will say, 'Yea!' And a crier from amongst them will cry out, 'The curse of God is on the unjust who turn from the way of God and crave to make it crooked, while in the hereafter they do disbelieve!'

And betwixt the two there is a veil, and on al Aarâf are men who know each by marks; and they shall cry out to the fellows of Paradise, 'Peace be upon you!' they cannot enter it although they so desire. But when their sight is turned towards the fellows of the Fire, they say, 'O our Lord! place us not with the unjust people.' And the fellows on al Aarâf will cry out to the men whom they know by their marks, and say, 'Of no avail to you were your collections, and what ye were so big with pride about; are these those ye swore that God would not extend mercy to? Enter ye Paradise; there is no fear for you, nor shall ye be grieved.'

IX: 21.

Those who believe and who have fled and been strenuous in the way of God, with their wealth and with their persons, are highest in rank with God, and these it is who are happy. Their Lord gives them glad tidings of mercy from Himself, and good-will; and gardens shall they have therein and lasting pleasure, to dwell therein for aye!

X: 9.

Verily, those who believe and do what is right, their Lord guides them by their faith; beneath them shall rivers flow in the gardens of pleasure.

XI: 25.

Verily, those who believe and do what is right, and humble themselves to their Lord, they are the fellows of Paradise; they shall dwell therein for aye.

XIV: 28.

But I will cause those who believe and do aright to enter gardens beneath which rivers flow, to dwell therein for aye by the permission of their Lord; their salutation therein is 'Peace!'

XVIII: 107.

Verily, those who believe and act aright, for them are gardens of Paradise to alight in, to dwell therein for aye, and they shall crave no change therefrom.

XXII: 14.

Verily, God makes those who believe and do aright enter into gardens beneath which rivers flow; verily, God does what He will.

XXII: 23.

Verily, God will make those who believe and do right enter into gardens beneath which rivers flow; they shall be bedecked therein with bracelets of gold and with pearls, and their garments therein shall be of silk, and they shall be guided to the goodly speech, and they shall be guided to the laudable way.

XXII: 55

The kingdom on that day shall be God's, He shall judge between them; and those who believe and do aright shall be in gardens of pleasure,

XXIX: 58.

And those who believe and act aright, we will surely inform them of upper chambers in Paradise, beneath which rivers flow; to dwell therein for aye-pleasant is the hire of those who work! those who are patient and rely upon their Lord!

XXXI: 7.

Verily, those who believe and do right, for them are gardens of pleasure, to dwell therein for aye;-God's promise in truth, and He is mighty, wise.

XXXII: 19.

As for those who believe and do right, for them are the gardens of resort, an entertainment for that which they have done!

XLI: 30.

Verily, those who say, 'Our Lord is God,' and then go straight, the angels descend upon them-'fear not and be not grieved, but receive the glad tidings of Paradise which ye were promised; we are your patrons in the life of this world and in the next, and ye shall have therein what ye call for,-an entertainment from the forgiving, the merciful!'

XLII: 21.

and those who believe and do right, in meads of Paradise, they shall have what they please with their Lord;-that is great grace!

XLVI: 13.

Verily, those who say, 'Our Lord is God,' and then keep straight, there is no fear for them, and they shall not be grieved. These are the fellows of Paradise to dwell therein for aye, a recompense for that which they have done.

XLVII: 13

Verily, God causes those who believe and do right to enter into gardens beneath which rivers flow;

LXIV: 9.

On the day when he shall gather you to the day of gathering, that is the day of cheating! but whoso believes in God and acts aright, He will cover for him his offences, and will bring him into gardens beneath which rivers flow, to dwell therein for aye! that is the mighty bliss!

LXV: 11.

and whoso believes in God and acts right He will bring him into gardens beneath which rivers flow, to dwell therein for ever and for aye! God has made goodly for him his provision!

LXXXV: 11.

Verily, those who believe and act aright, for them are gardens beneath which rivers flow,-that is the great bliss!

XCVIII: 7

Verily, those who believe and act aright, they are the best of creatures; their reward with their Lord is gardens of Eden, beneath which rivers flow, to dwell therein for aye;

12. God will give Paradise to those slain in His cause.

XLVII: 7.

And those who are slain in God's cause, their works shall not go wrong; He will guide them and set right their mind; and will make them enter into Paradise which He has told them of.

13. God gave Paradise to Adam and his wife in the beginning.

II: 33.

'O Adam dwell, thou and thy wife, in Paradise, and eat therefrom amply as you wish; but do not draw near this tree or ye will be of the transgressors.

VII: 18.

O, Adam, dwell thou and thy wife in Paradise and eat from whence ye will, but draw not nigh unto this tree or ye will be of the unjust.'

VII: 27

O sons of Adam! let not Satan infatuate you as he drove your parents out of Paradise, stripping from them their garments, and showing them their shame;

XX: 115.

O Adam! verily, this is a foe to thee and to thy wife; never then let him drive you twain forth from the garden or thou wilt be wretched.

14. The people without the warning from God hoped in vain for Paradise.

II: 210.

Did ye count to enter Paradise, while there had nothing come to you like those who passed away before you; there touched them violence and harm, and they were made to quake, until the Apostle and those who believed with him said, 'When (comes) God's help? Is not God's help then surely nigh?'

15. Idolaters are forbidden Paradise.

V: 76.

verily, he who associates aught with God, God hath forbidden him Paradise, and his resort is the Fire, and the unjust shall have none to help them.

16. Some people hope in vain for Paradise.

III: 136.

Do ye think that ye can enter Paradise and God not know those of you who have fought well, or know the patient?

VII: 38.

for these the doors of heaven shall not be opened, and they shall not enter into Paradise until a camel shall pass into a needle's eye.

LXX: 38.

Does every man of them wish to enter the garden of pleasure?

17. Jesus entered into Paradise.

XXXVI: 25.

It was said, 'Enter thou into Paradise!' said he, 'O, would that my people did but know! for that my Lord has forgiven me, and has made me of the honoured.'

18. God promises Paradise to believers.

IX: 73.

God has promised to believers, men and women, gardens beneath which rivers flow, to dwell therein for aye; and goodly places in the garden of Eden, But goodwill from God is the greatest of all! that is the mighty happiness!

IX: 112

Verily, God hath bought of the believers their persons and their wealth, for the paradise they are to have;

XLVIII: 50

to make the believers, men and women, enter into gardens beneath which rivers flow, to dwell therein for aye; and to cover for them their offences; for that with God is a grand bliss:

LVII: 12.

On the day when thou shall see believers, men and women, with their light running on before them and on their right hand, - 'Glad tidings for you to-day. - Gardens beneath which rivers flow, to dwell therein for aye; that is the grand bliss!'

LXI: 12 f.

He will pardon you your sins, and bring you into gardens beneath which rivers flow, and goodly dwellings in gardens of Eden; - that is the mighty bliss!

And other things which ye love, - help from God and victory nigh! - so do thou give the glad tidings unto the believers!

19. Satan invites to hell, God invites to Paradise.

II: 221.

Those invite you to the fire, but God invites you to paradise and pardon by His permission, and makes clear His signs to men; haply they may remember.

20. God will award Paradise to the Apostle and those who believe him.

IV: 17.

These be God's bounds, and whoso obeys God and the Apostle He will make him enter into gardens beneath which rivers flow, and they shall dwell therein for aye; - that is the mighty happiness.

IX: 90.

But the Apostle and those who believe with him are

strenuous with their wealth and with their persons; these shall have good things, and these it is shall prosper.

God has prepared for them gardens beneath which rivers flow, to dwell therein for aye; that is the mighty happiness!

LXVI: 8.

it may be that thy Lord will cover for you your offences and will bring you into gardens beneath which rivers flow!- the day God will not disgrace the Prophet nor those who believe with him; their light shall run on before them, and at their right hands! they shall say, 'Our Lord! perfect for us our light and forgive us; verily, Thou art mighty over all!'

21. God offered Paradise to former people.

V: 15.

God did take a compact from the children of Israel, and raised up of them twelve wardens; and God said, 'Verily, I am with you, if ye be steadfast in prayer, and give alms, and believe in my apostles, and assist them, and lend to God a goodly loan; then will I cover your offences and make you enter gardens beneath which rivers flow; and whoso disbelieves after that, he hath erred from the level way.

LXVI: 11.

And God strikes out a parable for those who believe: the wife of Pharaoh, when she said, 'My Lord, build for me a house with Thee in Paradise, and save me from Pharaoh and his works, and save me from the unjust people!'

APPENDIX XI. Contexts of hell, jahannam.

1. God will reward sinners with hell.
2. God will reward misbelievers with hell.
3. Those who reject the warning of the Prophet will go to hell.
4. God has revealed in the Book that misbelievers will go to hell.
5. Believers shall live in fear of hell.
6. God will send Satan and the jinn to hell.

1. God will reward sinners with hell.

II: 202.

And when he turns away, he strives upon the earth to do evil therein, and to destroy the tilth and the stock; verily, God loves not evil doing. And when it is said to him, 'Fear God,' then pride takes hold upon him in sin; but hell is enough for him! surely an evil couch is that.

III: 156.

It is not for the prophet to cheat; and he who cheats shall bring what he has cheated on the resurrection day. Then shall each soul be paid what it has earned, and they shall not be wronged. Is he who follows the pleasure of God, like him who has drawn on himself anger from God, whose resort is hell? An evil journey shall it be! These are degrees with God, and God sees what ye do.

IV: 95.

And whoso kills a believer purposely, his reward is hell, to dwell therein for aye; and God will be wrath with him, and curse him, and prepare for him a mighty woe.

IV: 99.

Verily, the angels when they took the souls of those who had wronged themselves, said, 'What state were ye in?' they say, 'We were but weak in the earth;' they said, 'Was not God's earth wide enough for you to flee away therein?' These are those whose resort is hell, and a bad journey shall it be!

IX: 35.

On the day when it shall be heated in the fire of hell, and their brows shall be branded therewith, and their sides and their backs!-'This is what ye stored up for yourselves, taste then what ye stored up!'

IX: 64 f.

Do they not know that whoso setteth himself against God and His Apostle, for him is the fire of hell, to dwell therein for aye? and that is mighty shame!

The hypocrites are cautious lest there be revealed against them a surah to inform them of what is in their hearts; say, 'Mock ye! verily, God will bring forth that of which ye are so cautious!' But if thou shouldst ask them, they will say, 'We did but discuss and jest;' say, 'Was it at God and His signs, and His Apostles, that ye mocked?'

Make no excuse! Ye have misbelieved after your faith; if we forgive one sect of you, we will torment another sect, for that they sinned!

The hypocrites, men and women, some of them follow others, bidding what is wrong and forbidding what is right, and they clench their hands. They forget God and He forgets them! Verily, the hypocrites, they are the doers of abomination!

IX: 96.

They will adjure you by God when ye have come back to them, to turn aside from them; turn ye aside then from them; verily, they are a plague, and their resort is hell! a recompense for that which they have earned!

IX: 110.

Is he who has laid his foundation upon the fear of God and of His good-will better, or he who has laid his foundation upon a crumbling wall of sand, which crumbles away with him into the fire of hell?-but God guides not a people who do wrong.

XIII: 18.

For those who respond to their Lord is good; but those who respond not to Him, had they all that is in the earth and the like thereof as well, they would give it for a ransom; these shall have an evil reckoning up! and their resort is hell,-an evil couch shall it be!

XIV: 19.

Then they asked for an issue; and disappointed was every rebel tyrant! Behind such a one is hell, and he shall be given to drink liquid pus! He shall try to swallow it, but cannot gulp it down; and death shall come upon him from every place, and yet he shall not die; and behind him shall be rigorous woe!

XIV: 34.

Dost not thou see those who have changed God's favours for misbelief, and have made their people to alight at the abode of perdition?-in hell they shall broil, and an ill resting-place shall it be!

XV: 43.

Verily, my servants thou hast no authority over, save over those who follow thee of such as are seduced: and, verily, hell is promised to them all together. It has seven doors; at every door is there a separate party of them.'

XVI: 31.

Those whom the angels took away were wronging themselves; then they offered peace:: 'We have done no evil.'- 'Yea! verily, God knows what ye did. Wherefore enter ye the doors of hell, to dwell therein for aye; for ill is the resort of the proud.'

XVII: 19.

Whoso is desirous of this life that hastens away, we will hasten on for him therein what we please,-for whom we please. Then we will make hell for him to broil in-despised and outcast.

XVII: 40.

All this is ever evil in the sight of your Lord and abhorred.

That is something of what thy Lord has inspired thee with of wisdom; do not then put with God other gods, or thou wilt be thrown into hell reproached and outcast.

XVII: 99.

He whom God guides, he is guided indeed; and he whom God leads astray, thou shalt never find patrons for them beside Him; and we will gather them upon the resurrection day upon their faces, blind, and dumb, and deaf; their resort is hell; whenever it grows dull we will give them another blaze!

XVIII: 106.

Those who misbelieve in the signs of their Lord and in meeting Him, vain are their works; and we will not give them right weight on the resurrection day. That is their reward,-hell! for that they misbelieved and took my signs and my apostles as a mockery.

XX: 76.

Verily, he who comes to his Lord a sinner,-verily, for him is hell; he shall not die therein, and shall not live.

XXI: 30.

And whoso of them should say, 'Verily, I am god instead of Him,' such a one we recompense with hell; thus do we recompense the wrong-doers.

XXIII: 105.

And he whose scales are heavy,-they are the prosperous. But he whose scales are light,-these are they who lose themselves, in hell to dwell for aye!

XXV: 36.

They who shall be gathered upon their faces to hell,- these are in the worst place, and err most from the path.

XXXVIII: 56.

This!-and, verily, for the rebellious is there an evil resort,-hell; they shall broil therein, and an ill couch shall it be! This,-so let them taste it!-hot water, and pus, and other kinds of the same sort! 'This is an army plunged in with you! there is no welcome for them! verily, they are going to broil in the fire!'

XL: 62.

And your Lord said, 'Call upon me, I will answer you; verily, those who are too big with pride to worship shall enter into hell, shrinking up'.

XL: 50.

And those who are in the fire shall say unto the keepers of hell, 'Call upon your Lord to lighten from us one day of the torment.' They shall say, 'Did not your apostles come to you with manifest signs?' They shall say, 'Yea!' They shall say, 'Then, call!'-but the call of the misbelievers is only in error.

XL: 76.

There! for that ye did rejoice in the land without right; and for that ye did exult; enter ye the gates of hell, to dwell therein for aye; for evil is the resort of those who are too big with pride!

XLIII: 74 f.

Verily, the sinners are in the torment of hell to dwell for aye. It shall not be intermitted for them, and they therein shall be confused. We have not wronged them, but it was themselves they wronged.

And they shall cry out, 'O Mālik! let thy lord make an end of us;' he shall say, 'Verily, ye are to tarry here.'

XLV: 9.

Woe to every sinful liar who hears God's signs sent to him, then persists in being big with pride as though he heard them not-so give him the glad tidings of grievous woe-and when he knows something of our signs takes them for a jest! These,-for them is shameful woe, behind them is hell, and what they have earned shall not avail them aught, nor what they have taken besides God for patrons; and for them is mighty woe.

XLVIII: 6.

to torment the hypocrites, men and women, and the idolaters, men and women, who think evil thoughts of God:-over them is a turn of evil fortune, and God will be wrath with them and curse them, and has prepared for them hell, and an evil journey shall it be!

L: 22 f.

And his mate shall say, 'This is what is ready for me (to attest).

'Throw into hell every stubborn misbeliever!-who forbids good, a transgressor, a doubter! who sets other gods with God-and throw him, ye twain, into fierce torment!'

His mate shall say, 'Our Lord! I seduced him not but he was in a remote error.'

He shall say, 'Wrangle not before me; for I sent the threat to you before. The sentence is not changed with me, nor am I unjust to my servants.'

On the day we will say to hell, 'Art thou full?' and it will say, 'Are there any more?'

LV: 41 f.

The sinners shall be known by their marks and shall be seized by the forelock and the feet!
Then which of your Lord's bounties will ye twain deny?

'This is hell, which the sinners did call a lie! they shall circulate between it and water boiling quite!'

XVIII: 9.

Why does not God torment us for what we say? Hell is enough for them! They shall broil therein, and an ill journey shall it be!

LXVI: 9 f.

O thou prophet! fight strenuously against the misbelievers and hypocrites and be stern towards them; for their resort is hell, and an evil journey shall it be!

God strikes out a parable to those who misbelieve: the wife of Noah and the wife of Lot; they were under two of our righteous servants, but they betrayed them; and they availed them nothing against God: and it was said, 'Enter the fire with those who enter.'

LXXVIII: 20.

Verily, hell is an ambushade; a reward for the outrageous, to tarry therein for ages. They shall not taste therein cool nor drink, but only boiling water and pus,-a fit reward!

LXXXV: 10.

Verily, those who make trial of the believers, men and women, and then do not repent, for them is the torment of hell, and for them is the torment of the burning!

LXXXIX: 24.

Nay, when the earth is crushed to pieces, and thy Lord comes with the angels, rank on rank, and hell is brought on that day,-on that day shall man be reminded! but how shall he have a reminder?

2. God will reward misbelievers with hell.

III: 10.

Say to those who misbelieve, 'Ye shall be overcome and driven together to hell, an ill couch will it be.

IV: 58.

Verily, those who disbelieve in our signs, we will broil them with fire; whenever their skins are well done, then we will change them for other skins, that they may taste the torment. Verily, God is glorious and wise.

IV: 165. f.

Verily, those who misbelieve and obstruct the way of God, have erred a wide error.

Verily, those who misbelieve and are unjust, God will not pardon them, nor will He guide them on the road--save the road to hell, to dwell therein for aye;-that is easy enough to God!

VIII: 16.

O ye who believe! when ye meet those who misbelieve in swarms, turn not to them your hinder parts; for he who turns to them that day his hinder parts, save turning to fight or rallying to a troop, brings down upon himself wrath from God, and his resort is hell, and an ill journey shall it be!

VIII: 35 f.

Their prayer at the House was naught but whistling and clapping hands!-taste then the torment for that ye misbelieved!

Verily, those who misbelieve expend their wealth to turn folk from the path of God; but they shall spend it, and then it shall be for them sighing, and then they shall be overcome! Those who misbelieve, into hell shall they be gathered!-that God may distinguish the vile from the good, and may put the vile, some on the top of the other, and heap all up together, and put it into hell!-

IX: 49.

Of them are some who say, 'Permit me, and do not try me!' Have they not fallen into the trial already, but hell shall encompass the misbelievers.

IX: 74.

O thou prophet! strive strenuously against the misbelievers and the hypocrites, and be stern against them; for their resort is hell, and an ill journey shall it be.

XVII: 8.

It may be that thy Lord will have mercy on you;- but if ye return we will return, and we have made hell a prison for the misbelievers.

XVIII: 100 f.

And we will set forth hell on that day before the misbelievers, whose eyes were veiled from my Reminder, and who were unable to hear. What! did those who misbelieve reckon that they could take my servants for patrons beside me? Verily, we have prepared hell for the misbelievers to alight in!

Say, 'Shall we inform you of those who lose most by their works? those who erred in their endeavours after the life of this world, and who think they are doing good deeds.'

Those who misbelieve in the signs of their Lord and in meeting Him, vain are their works; and we will not give them right weight on the resurrection day. That is their reward,-hell! for that they misbelieved and took my signs and my apostles as a mockery.

XIX: 86.

Dost thou not see that we have sent the devils against the misbelievers, to drive them on to sin? but, be not thou hasty with them. Verily, we will number them a number (of days),-the day when we will gather the pious to the Merciful as ambassadors, and we will drive the sinners to hell like (herds) to water! They shall not possess intercession, save he who has taken a compact with the Merciful.

XXI: 98 f.

And the true promise draws nigh, and lo! they are staring-the eyes of those who misbelieve! O, woe is us! we were heedless of this, nay, we were wrong-doers!

Verily, ye, and what ye serve beside God, shall be the pebbles of hell, to it shall ye go down!

XXIX: 54.

They will wish thee to hurry on the torment, but, verily, hell encompasses the misbelievers!

On the day when the torment shall cover them from above them and from beneath their feet, and He shall say, 'Taste that which ye have done!'

XXIX: 68.

But who is more unjust than he who devises against God a lie, or calls the truth a lie when it comes to him? Is there not in hell a resort for the misbelievers? but those who fight strenuously for us we will surely guide them into our way, for, verily, God is with those who do well.

XXV: 33.

But those who misbelieve, for them is the fire of hell; it shall not be decreed for them to die, nor shall aught of the torment be lightened from them; thus do we reward every misbeliever; and they shall shriek therein, 'O our Lord! bring us forth, and we will do right, not what we used to do!'

XXXVI: 60.

On that day we will seal their mouths, and their hands shall speak to us, and their feet shall bear witness of what they earned. And if we please we could put out their eyes and they would race along the road; and then how could they see? And if we pleased we would transform them in their places, and they should not be able to go on, nor yet to return. And him to whom we grant old age, we bow him down in his form; have they then no sense?

XXXIX: 33.

And who is more unjust than he who lies against God, and calls the truth a lie when it comes to him? Is there not in hell a resort for those who misbelieve? but whoso brings the truth and believes in it, these are they who fear.

XXXIX: 61.

Yea! there came to thee my signs and thou didst call them lies, and wert too big with pride, and wert of those who misbelieved!'

And on the resurrection day thou shalt see those who lied against God, with their faces blackened. Is there not in hell a resort for those who are too big with pride?

XXXIX: 71.

And every soul shall be paid for what it has done, and He knows best that which they do; and those who misbelieve shall be driven to hell in troops; and when they come there, its doors shall be opened, and its keepers shall say to them, 'Did not apostles from amongst yourselves come to you to recite to you the signs of your Lord, and to warn you of the meeting of this day of yours?' They shall say, 'Yea, but the sentence of torment was due against the misbelievers!' It shall be said, 'Enter ye the gates of hell, to dwell therein for aye! Hell is the resort of those who are too big with pride!'

XCVIII: 5.

Verily, those who disbelieve amongst the people of the Book, and the idolaters shall be in the fire of hell, to dwell therein for aye; they are wretched creatures!

3. Those who reject the warning of the Prophet will go to hell.

IX: 82.

Those who were left behind rejoiced in staying behind the apostle of God, and were averse from fighting strenuously with their wealth and their persons in God's way, and said, 'March not forth in the heat.' Say, 'The fire of hell is hotter still, if ye could but discern!' Let them then laugh little, and let them weep much, as a recompense for that which they have earned!

LII: 13.

The day when the heavens shall reel about, and the mountains shall move about,--then woe upon that day to those who call (the apostles) liars, who plunge them into discussion for a sport!

On the day when they shall be thrust away into the fire of hell,--'This is the fire, the which ye used to call a lie!--Is it magic, this? or can ye not see?--broil ye therein, and be patient thereof or be not patient, it is the same to you: ye are but rewarded for that which ye did do!'

LXVII: 6 f.

And we have adorned the lower heaven with lamps; and set them to pelt the devils with; and we have prepared for them the torment of the blaze!

And for those who disbelieve in their Lord is the torment of hell, and an evil journey shall it be!

When they shall be cast therein they shall hear its braying as it boils--it will well-nigh burst for rage!

Whenever a troop of them is thrown in, its treasurers shall ask them, 'Did not a warner come to you?'

They shall say, 'Yea! a warner came to us, and we called him liar, and said, "God has not sent down aught; ye are but in great error!"'

And they shall say, 'Had we but listened or had sense we had not been amongst the fellows of the blaze!'

LXXII: 24.

Say, 'Verily, as for me none can protect me against God, nor do I find any refuge beside Him,-except delivering the message from God and His errands: and whoso rebels against God and His Apostle, verily, for him is the fire of hell for them to dwell therein for ever and for aye!'

4. God has revealed in the Book that misbelievers will go to hell.

IV: 139.

He hath revealed this to you in the Book, that when ye hear the signs of God disbelieved in and mocked at, then sit ye not down with them until they plunge into another discourse, for verily, then ye would be like them. Verily, God will gather the hypocrites and misbelievers into hell together.

5. Believers shall live in fear of hell.

XXV: 66.

And those who pass the night adoring their Lord and standing; and those who say, 'O our Lord! turn from us the torment of hell; verily, they are evil as an abode and a station.'

6. God will send Satan and the jinn to hell.

VII: 17.

We have established you in the earth, and we have made for you therein livelihoods; little is it that ye thank; and we created you, then we fashioned you, then we said unto the angels, 'Adore Adam,' and they adored, save Iblis, who was not of those who did adore.

XI: 120.

Had thy Lord pleased, He would have made men one nation; but they will not cease to differ, save those thy Lord has had mercy on. For this has He created them, and the word of thy Lord is fulfilled, 'I will surely fill hell with ginns and mankind altogether.'

XIX: 69.

And by the Lord! we will surely gather them together, and the devils too; then we will surely bring them forward around hell, on their knees!

XXXII: 13.

Had we pleased we would have given to everything its guidance; but the sentence was due from me;-I will surely fill hell with the ginns and with men all together: 'So taste ye, for that ye forgot the meeting of this day of yours,-verily, we have forgotten you! and taste ye the torment of eternity for that which ye have done!'

XXXVIII: 85.

Said He, 'It is the truth, and the truth I speak; I will surely fill hell with thee and with those who follow thee amongst them all together.'

APPENDIX XII. Contexts of fire, nār.

1. The recompense of the misbelievers is the Fire.
2. The recompense of sinners is the Fire.
3. There will be no helpers to save sinners from the Fire on the day.
4. The Fire is promised to those who disbelieve in the guidance.
5. The unjust patrons of others will be in the Fire.
6. Those who are content with the life of this world, their resort is the Fire.
7. The sinners in hell will be in fire.
8. Reward and punishment are both in this world and the next.
9. Idolaters invite to the fire, and God invites to Paradise.
10. The Jews say fire shall not touch them save for a certain number of days.
11. God created Iblis and angels from fire.
12. Those who take idols beside God will be in the fire.

1. The recompense of the misbelievers is the Fire.

II: 37.

But those who misbelieve, and call our signs lies, they are the fellows of the Fire, they shall dwell therein for aye.'

II: 120.

'And he who misbelieves, I will give him but little to enjoy, then will I drive him to the torment of the fire, an evil journey will it be.'

II: 259.

But those who misbelieve, their patrons are Tághút, these bring them forth from light to darkness,-fellows of the Fire, they dwell therein for aye.

III: 8.

Verily, those who misbelieve, their wealth shall not help them, nor their children, against God at all; and they it is who are the fuel of the fire.

XIII: 35.

but the recompense of misbelievers is the Fire!

XXII: 20.

but those who misbelieve, for them are cut out garments of fire, there shall be poured over their heads boiling water, wherewith what is in their bellies shall be dissolved and their skins too, and for them are maces of iron. Whenever they desire to come forth therefrom through pain, they are sent back into it: 'And taste ye the torment of the burning!'

XXIII: 71.

Say, 'Shall I inform you of something worse than that for you, the Fire which God has promised to those who misbelieve?

XXIV: 56.

Do not reckon that those who misbelieve can frustrate (God) in the earth, for their resort is the Fire, and an ill journey shall it be.

XLVII: 13.

but those who misbelieve enjoy themselves and eat as the cattle eat; but the fire is the resort for them!

LVII: 14.

'Wherefore to-day there shall not be taken from you a ransom, nor from those who misbelieved. Your resort is the fire; it is your sovereign, and an ill journey will it be!'

XC: 20.

But those who disbelieve in our signs, they are the fellows of the left, for them is fire that closes in!

2. The recompense of sinners is the Fire.

II: 75.

Yea! whoso gains an evil gain, and is encompassed by his sins, those are the fellows of the Fire, and they shall dwell therein for aye!

II: 162.

So will God show them their works; for them are sighs, and they shall not come forth from out the fire.

II: 170.

They who sell guidance for error, and pardon for torment, how patient must they be of fire!

II: 276.

But whosoever returns (to usury) these are the fellows of the Fire, and they shall dwell therein for aye.

XLI: 23.

And if they are patient, still the fire is a resort for them; and if they ask for favour again, they shall not be taken into favour.

XLI: 28.

That is, the recompense of the enemies of God,-the fire! for them is an eternal abode therein: a recompense for that they did gainsay our signs.

CI: 6.

But as for him whose balance is light, his dwelling shall be the pit of hell.

And who shall make thee know what it is?-a burning fire!

3. There will be no helpers to save sinners from the
Fire on the day.

XI: 115.

Lean not unto those who do wrong, lest the Fire touch you, for ye have no patrons but God; and, moreover, ye shall not be helped!

XLV: 33.

'Today will we forget you as ye forgot the meeting of this day of yours, and your resort shall be the fire, and ye shall have no helpers.

4. The Fire is promised to those who disbelieve in the guidance.

XI: 20.

These believe in it; and whosoever of the crews disbelieves in him, the Fire is his promise.

5. The unjust patrons of others will be in the Fire.

VI: 128 f.

Says He, 'The fire is your resort, to dwell therein for aye! save what God pleases; verily, thy Lord is wise and knowing.'

Thus do we make some of the unjust patrons of the others for that which they have earned.

6. Those who are content with the life of this world,
their resort is the Fire.

X: 8.

Verily, those who hope not for our meeting, and are content with the life of this world, and are comforted thereby, and those who are neglectful of our signs,- these, their resort is fire for that which they have earned!

XI: 19.

Whosoever shall wish for the life of this world and its ornaments, we will pay them their works therein, and they shall not be cheated. These are those for whom there is nothing in the hereafter save the Fire; and void is what they made therein, and vain what they were doing!

7. The sinners in hell will be in fire.

XIV: 50.

Thou shalt see the sinners on that day bound together in fetters; with shirts of pitch, and fire covering their faces;

LV: 35.

There shall be sent against you a flash of fire, and molten copper, and ye shall not be helped!

CIV: 6.

And what shall make thee understand what El 'Hutamah is?- the fire of God kindled; which rises above the hearts. Verily, it is an archway over them on long-drawn columns.

8. Reward and punishment are both in this world and the next.

II: 197.

And some there be who say, 'Our Lord! give us in this world good and in the future good; and keep us from the torment of the fire!'

II: 214.

these are those whose works are vain in this world and the next; they are the fellows of the Fire, and they shall dwell therein for aye.

9. Idolaters invite to the fire, and God invites to Paradise.

II: 221.

And wed not to idolatrous men until they believe, for a believing slave is better than idolater, even though he please you.

Those invite you to the fire, but God invites you to paradise and pardon by His permission, and makes clear His signs to men; haply they may remember.

10. The Jews say fire shall not touch them save for a certain number of days.

II: 74.

And then they say, 'Hell fire shall not touch us save for a number of days.' Say, 'Have ye taken a covenant with God?' but God breaks not His covenant. Or do ye say of God that which ye do not know?

Yea'. whoso gains an evil gain, and is encompassed by his sins, those are the fellows of the Fire, and they shall dwell therein for aye! But such as act aright, those are the fellows of Paradise, and they shall dwell therein for aye!

III: 23.

that is because they say the fire shall not touch us save for a certain number of days. But that deceived them in their religion which they had invented.

11. God created Iblis and angels from fire.

VII: 11.

Thou hast created me from fire, and him Thou hast created out of clay.

XV: 27.

And the ginns had we created before of smokeless fire.

XXXII: 20.

But as for those who commit abomination there resort is the Fire. Every time that they desire to go forth therefrom, we will send them back therein, and it will be said to them, 'Taste ye the torment of the fire which ye did call a lie!' and we will surely make them taste of the torment of the nearer torment beside the greater torment, -haply they may yet return.

XXXVIII: 77.

Said He, 'O Iblis! what prevents thee from adoring what I have created with my two hands? art thou too big with pride? or art thou amongst the exalted?' Said he, 'I am better than he, Thou hast created me from fire, and him Thou hast created from clay.'

LV: 14.

He created men of crackling clay like the potters.
And He created the ginn from smokeless fire.

12. Those who take idols beside God will be in the fire.

III: 144.

We will throw dread into the hearts of those who misbelieve, for that they associate that with God which He has sent down no power for; but their resort is fire, and evil is the resort of the unjust.

V: 76.

verily, he who associates aught with God, God hath forbidden him Paradise, and his resort is the Fire, and the unjust shall have none to help them.

XXIX: 24.

He said, 'Verily, ye take beside God idols, through mutual friendship in the life of this world; then on the day of judgment ye shall deny each other, and shall curse each other, and your resort shall be the fire, and ye shall have none to help.'

APPENDIX XIII.Contexts of Messiah, masih.

1. The Messiah is Jesus the son of Mary.
2. The Messiah Jesus was not crucified.
3. The Messiah Jesus was only a prophet of God.

1. The Messiah is Jesus the son of Mary.

III: 40.

When the angel said, 'O Mary! verily, God gives thee the glad tidings of a Word from Him; his name shall be the Messiah Jesus the son of Mary, regarded in this world and the next and of those whose place is nigh to God.

2. The Messiah Jesus was not crucified.

IV: 156.

for their misbelief, and for their saying about Mary a mighty calumny, and for their saying, 'Verily, we have killed the Messiah, Jesus the son of Mary, the apostle of God,'...but they did not kill him, and they did not crucify him, but a similitude was made for them. And verily, those who differ about him are in doubt concerning him; they have no knowledge concerning him, but only follow an opinion. They did not kill him for sure! nay, God raised him up unto Himself; for God is mighty and wise!

3. The Messiah Jesus was only a prophet of God.

IV: 169.

The Messiah, Jesus the son of Mary, is but the apostle of God and His Word, which He cast into Mary and a spirit from Him; believe then in God and His apostles, and say not 'Three.'

V: 19.

They misbelieve who say, 'Verily, God is the Messiah the son of Mary;' say, 'Who has any hold on God, if he wished to destroy the Messiah the son of Mary, and his mother, and those who are on earth altogether?'

V: 76.

They misbelieve who say, 'Verily, God is the Messiah the son of Mary;' but the Messiah said, 'O children of Israel! worship God, my Lord and your Lord;' verily, he who associates aught with God, God hath forbidden him Paradise, and his resort is the Fire, and the unjust shall have none to help them.

V: 79.

The Messiah the son of Mary is only a prophet: prophets before him have passed away; and his mother was a confessor; they used both to eat food.

IX: 30.

The Jews say Ezra is the son of God; and the Christians say that the Messiah is the son of God; that is what they say with their mouths, imitating the sayings of those who misbelieved before.-God fight them! how they lie!

They take their doctors and their monks for lords rather than God, and the Messiah the son of Mary; but they are bidden to worship but one God, there is no god but He;

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