Stories and tales about the prophets, and about pious, ascetic, and righteous people of bygone days, the so called qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ, circulated widely in the Muslim community already in the first century of Islam. The origin of these stories, as stated by T. Nagel, must be traced back to pre-Islamic Arabia; they were disseminated in that period by Jews and Christians.¹ The recently published papyrus of Wahb b. Munabbih,² the papyri edited by the late Nabia Abbott³ and the papyri of Hirbet Mird edited by A. Grohmann bear evidence to the fact that already in that early period of Islam there were elaborate stories about prophets, sages, and saints which were widely circulated. The Tafsir of Muqatil b. Sulaymān⁵ and the Tafsīr of 'Abd al-Razzaq⁶ contain valuable material of the qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ, and reflect the way in which these stories were absorbed and incorporated into the exegetical compilations of the Quran. The important work of Ishaq b. Bišr (d. 206 H.) Mubiada' al-dunyā wa-qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ, until recently considered lost,⁷ has been rediscovered and, I am told, is

¹ T. Nagel, Kiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ, EP.
³ Nabia Abbott, Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri I (Historical texts) and II (Quranic Commentary and Tradition), Chicago 1957, 1967.
⁴ Adolf Grohmann, Arabic Papyri from Hirbet Mird, Louvain 1963.
⁷ See Nabia Abbott, op. cit., I, 46 sup.: (Document 2, Story of Adam and Eve) "...there is a strong possibility that the papyrus with its rather ‘unique’ text could belong to this somewhat discredited and lost work..."
now being prepared for a critical edition. The importance of this early compilation was pointed out by T. Nagel in his Inaugural Dissertation, *Die Qisas al-anbiyāʾ*, Nagel devoted five pages to an examination of the personality of Ishaq b. Bisr and to a detailed scrutiny of the sources of the *Mubtadaʾ*. The MS, which contains the first part of the composition, consists of 218 folios, and ends with the death of Abraham.

Nagel's high view of the significance of this rich early source is entirely justified.

The Quran contains a great many reports concerning prophets and sages, but these are usually formulated in vague terms and frequently do no more than mention an event or refer to a person who is not further specified. The transmitters of the tales aimed at widening the scope of the stories; they availed themselves of the lore contained in local traditions current in the Arab Peninsula in the period of the Gāhiliyya, in Christian narratives concerning the life of Jesus, the Apostles, the martyrs and the monks, in Jewish Biblical legends, and in the utterances of sages and ascetics. This huge mass of material started to infiltrate into the realm of ḥadīṯ and tafsīr very early on in the Islamic period, and from the terse reports and utterances, combined with the additional material derived from other sources, a rich tapestry of lively and plastic narrative was woven. As the advent of Islam and the mission of the prophet Muḥammad were, according to the concepts of the Muslim community, part of God's predestination, as they were contained in God's prior knowledge and heralded by the prophets of all ages, the stories of the prophets became an integral part of the books of history, and were duly embedded in the preamble (the *mubtadaʾ*, *badʾ*, or *ibtidāʾ*) with which, as a rule, these compilations began. The Muslim community was eager to learn of the biographies of the prophets, of the past, because the Prophet was identified

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1 Bodleian Library, MS Huntingdon 388. For using this MS I owe thanks to Mrs. Ruth Lieber, who is working on its edition.


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in certain passages of the Quran with their mission and vocation, and especially with the sufferings and persecution which they had undergone. It is evident that these stories had some bearing on current trends within the Muslim community and that they both reflected and shaped to a certain extent the religious and political ideas of the various factions which made up the community of Islam.

The rich treasure of stories and traditions relating to Ādam, Ħawwā' and their progeny is closely connected to the narrative verses of the Quran which deal with their creation, temptation, vicissitudes, and fate. These stories often present divergent and even contradictory conceptions of these events. The traditions attributed to the Prophet are frequently accompanied by commentaries, discussions and analyses provided by theologians, scholars of religious law, and especially by scholars of hadîth. The scrutiny of some of this material as presented by the tafsîr and hadîth literature may help us gain a better understanding of the ideas and beliefs prevalent in the various divisions of the Muslim community; it may help us reach a better definition of their religious and political attitudes and of the arguments used within their internal struggles.

I

A key verse concerning the creation of Ādam is: "And when thy Lord said to the angels: 'I am setting in the earth a viceroy' they said: 'What, wilt Thou set therein one who will do corruption there and shed blood, while we proclaim Thy praise and call Thee Holy?' He said, 'Assuredly I know that you know not'" (Surat al-Baqara 30, transl. A.J. Arberry). This verse is interpreted in several ways. The word qāla "said" in the phrase "Thy Lord said" is not an utterance to which an answer or advice of the angels is expected: God said it in order to inform them ('alî 'alî sabili l-tanwihi bi-'alii), not in order to consult them (la-qa'la arbiibu I-maciinl: Ia!aba Iliahu I-ma/ii'ikata la li-l-masiirati we-lakin Ii-stilragi ma fihim min ru'yati I-lJarakali wa-l-'ibsdat! wa-I-lasbi1;li wa-l-taqdisi, 

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angels: “What, will thou set therein one who will do corruption...” does not reflect any objection to God’s utterance or a low opinion of the qualities of Man; the angels’ question is an attempt to solicit knowledge about the purpose of God’s deed, “to set in the earth a ḥaļīfa.” Commentators are not unanimous about the identity of the angels ordered by God to bow to Ādām: one account gives a different setting in which God’s order was uttered: God’s command was released to a group of angels who were with Iblīs; other angels residing in the Heavens were not present. According to another opinion God addressed all the angels. Although the more general opinion of the scholars was that God merely informed the angels about “setting the viceroy in the earth”, some held the view that He consulted them; this interpretation established the moral to be drawn from the story, viz., that we too should consult wise and knowledgeable people.

The term ḥaļīfa is crucial for the correct understanding of the phrase “I am setting in the earth a viceroy”. The word denotes a person who replaces another one. Lane records, inter alia, “one who has been made, or appointed, to take the place of him who has been before him”, “a substitute”, “a successor”, “deputy”, “who supplies the place of him who has been before him”. These definitions are more in harmony with the meaning of the word than “viceroy”, used by Arberry in the translation of the verse.

Almost all commentators take it for granted that ḥaļīfa refers to Ādām.

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15 Abū Ḥasyʿān, op. cit., I, 1. 8: ...wa-in kāna l-malāʾikati ġamʿa l-malāʾikati fa-sababu l-qawwī irādaṭu liʾāhī an yuṭlū l-līhū l-malāʾikata ʿalā mā ʾa mafṣī ibīla min al-kihibi wa-an yužhira ma sabaqa ʿalayhi fi ʾilmīhi; Miṭam, op. cit., I, 173–174.

who was sent as messenger. Some people deny his prophethood, but this denial should be considered kufr. Ādam undoubtedly deserved the title ḥalīfa.

Some commentators assume that he was the ḥalīfa of the angels who dwelt on earth, others maintain that he was the ḥalīfa of Iblīs in holding sway over the earth. In the opinion of some the term ḥalīfa should be applied to Ādam and his progeny. This is said to be proved by the words of the angels: “What, wilt Thou set therein one who will do corruption there and shed blood?” This expression refers to the progeny of Ādam who would do corruption, not to Ādam himself as a person.

Some scholars are of the opinion that Ādam was the ḥalīfa of the ġinn, the sons of al-Ḡānī. A peculiar tradition says that fi l-ardī refers to Mecca. According to some Ādam was entrusted with establishing a rule of truth and justice on earth; others speak of his duties of cultivating the soil, digging canals, and building houses.

The distinctive position of Ādam as a prophet is reflected in the traditions about the books of revelation (ṣaḥīfa, ṣaḥāfīf or ṣuhuf) which God sent down to him and about the religious injunctions which He ordered him to carry out. Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn records a report according to which God revealed to Ādam the letters of the alphabet; they were written down on 21 pages. Another tradition says that God revealed to him 40
A tradition quoted from 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Bistāmī’s *Durrat al-ma‘ārif* says that God granted Ādam the secrets of the letters; this is a piece of information which He did not reveal to the angels. God sent down to him 10 books *(saḥāf)* and so he talked about “ilm al-ḥurūf.” Ādam wrote 3 books on the science of letters: *Kitāb al-malakūt, Kitāb al-ḥafṣāyā, al-Sifr al-mustaqfī*. According to a tradition reported on the authority of Abū Darr, God sent down to Ādam a book containing the letters of the alphabet. The Prophet states authoritatively that the letter “lā” (*lām alif*) is one of the 29 letters of the alphabet and that the number of the letters revealed to Ādam was 29, including the letter “lā”; he who denies the letter “lā” as one of the letters of the alphabet is guilty of kufr; he who does not admit that the number of letters is 29 will not come out from Hell. The first who wrote Arabic, and Persian as well as other scripts, was Ādam; he put it down in clay, which he later burnt. Those tablets of burnt clay survived the Deluge, were found by the various peoples and applied to writing their languages. Ādam is said to have been the first human being who composed poetry; he composed his verses in Arabic.

Ādam is said to have been the first to have prayed the morning prayer and to have performed two rak‘as in this prayer. Mas‘ūdī records a tradition saying that God revealed to Ādam 21 books, Gibrīl taught him the practices of the pilgrimage to Mecca and God enjoined him to pray, to pay the zakāt, to wash from ritual impurity, and to perform the wudu’. According to another tradition God sent down to Ādam 21 books *(saḥīfa)* and enjoined him to perform 50 rak‘as. He forbade him to eat pork, carrion and blood (of animals); God also forbade him to lie, to behave treacherously and to fornicate. God’s injunctions were dictated by Gibrīl and written down by Ādam in Syriac. In Paradise Ādam spoke Arabic.

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after his disobedience and expulsion he spoke Syriac. These injunctions and prohibitions seem to have formed the *sara* at Ādam, the binding law of Ādam. The Prophet is said to have acted before his Call according to the *sara* of Ādam. Before his death Ādam summoned Sīt, ordered him to hide his will (*waṣīyya*) from the progeny of Qābīl and instructed him as to the injunctions and penalty laws enjoined by God, (*al-sara'ī fī wa-l-ḥudūd*). The Sīt version of the transfer of the will is slightly more detailed. According to it, God ordered Ādam to hand over to Sīt (=Ḥabatullāh) the True Name of God (*al-ism al-αẓam*), the Ark of Covenant (*tābūt*) in which the Knowledge (*al-ilm*) and the Will (*waṣīyya*) had to be deposited. Ādam enjoined Sīt to avoid contact with the progeny of Qābīl.

There are many reports about the ġinn and the angels who ruled on earth before Ādam and who had to be replaced by the rule of Ādam. We have mentioned above the view that the announcement made by God that He was installing a ḥalifā was directed at the angels who were in the company of Iblīs. Abū Ḥayyān indeed says that God addressed the angels who fought the ġinn on the side of Iblīs; God intended to lift them to Heaven and replace them by Ādam and his progeny. Abū Ḥayyān gives a short report about the rule of the ġinn on earth and says that a force of angels was dispatched under the command of Iblīs to fight them.

The reports recorded by ʿIshaq b. Biṣr in his *Mutbadaʾ* contain interesting details about the role of Iblīs and give us an idea as to the notions concerning the ġinn that were current in the early period of Islam. An account given on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās tells the following story about angels and ġinn. The ġinn were inhabitants of the earth, the angels were in the Heavens. Every heaven had its angels, who performed their special prayers and glorifications of God; the higher the Heaven, the more powerful was the worship, the glorifications, and prayer. According to some they inhabited the earth for 2,000 years, according to others, for only 40 years and “God knows the truth.”

The other report recorded by ʿIshaq b. Biṣr is also given on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās and contains some new details about the classes of the ġinn and their activities. When God created Sawmā, the father of the ġinn — it was he who was created from the smokeless fire (*mārīg*) — God said to

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him: "(say) what is your desire?" Sawmā answered: "I wish that we should see but remain unseen, that we should disappear in moist ground (al-lard) and that our people of ripe age should be turned young." These wishes were granted: ġinnīs see but remain unseen, the dead disappear in moist ground, a ġinnī of ripe age never dies before being turned into a young ġinn. This report is followed by a short passage: When God created Ādām He asked him about his desire; Ādām said that he desired horses (al-hayl), which were indeed granted to him.39

The story about the revolt of the ġinn on earth and about the expedition of warriors from heaven against them is given in the following passage: God created the ġinn and ordered them to inhabit and build up the earth. They did so and worshipped God for a very long time. But afterwards they became disobedient toward God and shed blood; amongst them was an angel called Yūsuf; they killed him. Then God dispatched against them a military force of the angels who dwelt in the Lower Heaven (sama' al-dunyā); this force was of the division of the ġinn.40 Among them was

38 Ps. Āshma', Qiṣṣa al-anbiyā', MS Br. Mus. Or. 1493, fol. 5b; al-Śibīl, Akām al-marqān, p. 85.
39 Išāq b. Bišr, op. cit., fol. 38b; this and the following are recorded in Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Śibīl's Akām al-marqān fi ǧarāṭib l-aḥbār wa-ḥākāmi l-ġānīn, ed. 'Abdallāh Muḥammad al-Śadīq, Caire 1376, pp. 9–11; the author quotes the source: Abū ʿUḏayfa Išāq b. Bišr's al-Mubtada'. The name of the "father of the ġinn" is given as Sawmaya; the editor remarks that Burhān al-Ḥalabī records the name in his 'lqd al-marqān (see Brockelmann, GAL, II, 307, SII, 82) as Sawmaya. And see al-Qalyūbi, Nawādir, Caire 1371/1955, p. 125 (whether the creation of the horse preceded the creation of Ādām). And see al-Ṣallūrī, Nuẓhat al-maḡālis wa-munāṭḥab al-nafūṣ, Beirut n.d., p. 227: when God showed Ādām all the creations He allowed him to choose one of them; Ādām chose the horse. Then he was told that he had chosen glory and power ('izz) for himself and for his progeny. And see Ibn Ḥaḡar al-Ḥaytāmī, al-Fatwā al-Idāliyya, p. 65. Some reports stress the differences between the ġinn and the angels; the angels do not eat, drink or copulate; the ġinn eat, drink and copulate (al-Ḥaytāmī, op. cit., p. 63). And see al-Ḥaytāmī, op. cit., p. 71 (the ġinn die like human beings; Ibīs grows old, but turns to be young like a person of 30 years).
40 Išāq b. Bišr, op. cit., fols. 38b–39a; The ġinn are defined as the lowest class of the ġinn; they are nicknamed kilāb al-ġinn; al-Śibīl, Akām, p. 6 inf. and see al-Fayrūzābādī, al-Qānūs al-muḥīt, Caire 1371/1952, IV, 218, s.v. ġinn: wa-l-ġinn bi-l-kasr ḥayyūn mina l-ġinnīn minhumu l-kilāb l-sādū l-buhmū wa-ṣafaṭāwūnum aw kilābhum, aw ḥalqun bayna l-ġinnīn wa-l-ins; and see Ibn al-ʻAšīr, al-Nihāya fi ǧarāṭib l-ḥadīth wa-l-ʻatār, ed. al-Ẓawī and al-Ṭanāḥī, Caire 1383/1963, I, 453, s.v. ḥān n; and see al-Zamāḥīrī, al-Fārīq, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bīgāwī and Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Caire 1971, I, 325.

Another version of this report (al-Ṭabarī, Ṭafṣīr, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Caire 1378/1967, I, 84) has been blurred by an incorrect reading (...)kāna ibīsū min ḥayyīn min aḥyātī l-malāfikatī yuqālū lahumu l-ġinnīn... fa-ba'atā lāhā yihīm ibīsīsī fī ǧundīn mina l-malāfikatī wa-hum ḥādī l-ḥayyūn llaqīna yuqālū lahumu l-ġinnīn...). The error of the reading of the name of Ibīs's group is evident. The error was rightly corrected in Ṭabarī's Ṭafṣīr (ed. Maḥmūd and Muḥammad Sākir, Caire n.d., I, 455, note 1) where the group to which Iblīs
Iblīs, who stood at the head of a troop of 4,000 warriors (scil. of the hīnn). They descended, banned the Sons of al-Ǧānn and exiled them from the earth to the isles of the sea. Iblīs and the warriors under his command settled on earth. Worship became easy for them and they were inclined to go on dwelling on earth. The report recorded by Abū Ḥayyān has some additional phrases which explain the attitude of the hīnn and of their head, Iblīs. When God announced that He intended to put up a ḥalīfa on earth He let them know that He decided to raise them (i.e., the hīnn — K.) to heaven, but they did not like the idea, as their worship (on earth — K.) was of the lightest kind among the angels. This is why they were reluctant to return to heaven. Further, they remembered the case of the prophet (!) Yūsuf who was killed by the ǧinn, and when God told them that He intended to set up a substitute on earth, they asked him: "Wilt thou set therein one who will do corruption there?" The report makes it clear that these angels had no knowledge of hidden things. Their question was based only on their experience and on what they saw of the corruption of the ǧinn.

An elaborate version of the events and of the position of Iblīs is given in Diyarbakrī's Ta'rīh al-ḥamīs; it is told on the authority of Ubayy b. Ka'b who claimed that he had found it in the Torah. It relates a story of a division of angels called al-Ǧīnn b. al-Ǧānn. They were sent down from Heaven and God granted them sexual desire. They multiplied in large numbers and for a long period remained righteous and God-worshipping. However, they deteriorated and became corrupt, especially when they got addicted to drinking wine; this led them to sodomy, fornication, and murder. A righteous man from among them, called al-Ḥārīṣ or 'Āzāzīl, decided to part from the wicked community; he was joined by a thousand honest believers, who settled separately in an isolated place and worshipped God. When the Earth complained of the wrong deeds of the

belonged is correctly given as hīn; comp. Muqātil b. Sulaymān, Tafsīr, ed. Šaḥāta, I, 29...

...fa-waqa'a fi l-ǧinni l-ṣītānu wa-l-ḥasadu fa-qaiyalū fa-ba'aṣa lāḥū ǧundan min ʾahlī ʾamārī l-dunyā yuqālu lahumu l-ǧinnu (sic! — the correct reading seems to be: al-hīnu) iblīsu, ʿadwumu lāḥī minhum...

41 In text: fa-ḥāna ʿalayhim al-ʿamal; the intent is elucidated in Abū Ḥayyān's Tafsīr, I, 141, 1. 5 — wa-ḥāffa'atu anhum al-ʿibāda; and see Muqātil, op. cit., I, 29: ...wa-lam yakallafū mina l-ʿibādati fi l-ardī mā kullūsū fi l-samāʾi, fa-aḥabbū l-qiyāma fi l-ardī fa-awhā lāḥūʿ azza wa-gālla ilayhim: innī ǧāʾ ilun fi l-ardī ʾaḥdūtan siwākum wa-raṣūl ilayya, fa-karihū dālika, li-annahum kānu ʾahwana l-malāʾikati ʿamalan...


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The ginn community, God ordered ʿAzāzīl to send one of his community in order to summon them to abandon disobedience and accept belief. ʿAzāzīl sent to them Sahlūt b. Balāḥi; he summoned them to embrace Islam, but they killed him. ʿAzāzīl continued to send messengers to them and they went on killing them. The last of the messengers was Yūsuf b. Yāsīf; the ginn tortured him and finally killed him by casting him into a copper cauldron filled with boiling oil. Then God sent down against them a troop of angels; they held swords in their hands and fire poured from their mouths. God put them under the command of al-Ḥārīṭ (i.e., ʿAzāzīl — K.) and they defeated the wicked ginn. It is evident that this account is different from the reports recorded by Ishāq b. Bišr: Iblīs (alias al-Ḥārīṭ, alias ʿAzāzīl) is one of the ginn who, inspired by a deep religious conviction, parts from the sinful community, dedicates himself to the worship of God, and fights at the head of the troops of angels for a victory of righteousness and truth. Nothing is said about the vicissitudes of ʿAzāzīl (=al-Ḥārīṭ, Iblīs) after that victory.

A quite different account recorded by al-Diyārbakrī gives interesting details of the career of the pious ginn ʿAzāzīl. When the community of the ginn deteriorated he separated himself from them and devoted himself to the fervent worship of God. The angels in heaven admired him so much that they asked God to lift him to Heaven. God raised him to the Lower Heaven and he exerted himself in worship there as well. The angels of the second Heaven asked God to elevate him, and so he passed all the heavens until God placed him in the highest position, that of the Treasurer of the Throne, and entrusted him with its keys. He used to circumambulate the Heavens; the angels sought his favours and addressed him as the Treasurer of Paradise and the Chief of the Pious (ascetics).

Additional traditions concerning the events in the career of Iblīs are no less divergent. Some early traditions reported on the authority of the Companions of the Prophet or of their Successors (the tābiʿūn) say that Iblīs belonged to the ginn who dwelt on earth and were defeated by the force of the angels dispatched against them. He was young when he was captured and brought to Heaven; there he worshipped God in the company of the angels. When God ordered the angels to bow to Ādām, Iblīs refrained. Other traditions maintain that Iblīs (named al-Ḥārīṭ) belonged to a group of angels created from the fire of samīm, while other groups were created from light. They were called al-hinn. Several traditions say that he was one of the dignified angels; God put him at the head of the

45 Al-Diyārbakrī, op. cit., 1, 33.
46 Al-Diyārbakrī, op. cit., 1, 32, inf. — 33.
47 Al-Ṭabarī, Tārīḥ, 1, 87; idem, Tafsīr, 1, 507, nos. 698–699; Abū Ḥayyān, op. cit., 1, 153.
48 Al-Ṭabarī, Tafsīr, 1, 502, no. 685.
kingdom of the Lower Heaven and appointed him as Treasurer of Paradise; the division of angels to which he belonged was called al-ġinn, because they were the Treasurers of Paradise (huzzān al-ġanna).

Some accounts stress his knowledge, devotion in the worship of God, and his high position: he was the head (rā'īs) of the angels in the Lower Heaven and his kunya was Abū Kurdūs; he belonged to the division of angels called al-ġinn, who were the Treasurers of Paradise and was one of the noble group of angels who were equipped with four wings.

A peculiar tradition says that Iblīs was sent as judge (qāḍī) to the ginn on earth and that he meted out judgment among them in righteousness for 1,000 years; he was called Ḥakam and God approved of this name. He grew, however, haughty and insolent and began to cause hatred and dissension to spread among people, and for 2,000 years they shed blood in internal wars. Then God sent a fire and burnt the people. Having seen that which had happened, Iblīs went up to Heaven and became a fervent and devout worshipper at the side of the angels. Some scholars denied his provenance from the angels and based their argument on the verse of the Quran (Sūrat al-kahf, 50): kāna min al-ġinn. Al-Ṭabarī provides a harmonizing solution in his Ṭafsīr: it is possible that God created one part of His angels from light and another part from fire; Iblīs could possibly belong to that group of angels who were created from fire and he may have also been created from the fire of samūm. The fact that Iblīs had offspring can be explained by the hypothesis that God instilled in him sexual desire, an impulse which was denied to other angels. The fact that he was from the ginn does not mean that he was not an angel, as the angels also belong to the category of the ginn, because they are invisible to the sight of human beings (lī-ġtinānihim 'an absāri bani ādam).

Ṭabarī's opinion can be traced back to Ibn Qutayba and is echoed in Sibīl's Ākām.  

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51 Al-Ṭabarī, Taʿrīḥ, I, 88.


The pivot of lengthy discussions was the question whether Iblīs belonged to the angels or to the ginn.\textsuperscript{54} According to some scholars Iblīs was an angel; he was metamorphosed (musīlqa) by the order of God and having been banned from the community of angels he joined the ginn.\textsuperscript{55}

Descriptions of Iblīs' odd and perverse ways of copulation and parturition and several lists of his sons are actually given in the literature.\textsuperscript{56} One of his descendants, Hāma b. aI-Hīm, is said to have visited the Prophet; the Prophet taught him some chapters of the Quran and welcomed his conversion to Islam.\textsuperscript{57}

\textsuperscript{54} Al-Sībīlī, Ākām, p. 7: li-anna l-ġinna taštāmulu ‘alā l-malāā’ikati wa-ġayrihim mimmanī niţanma ‘ani l-absār.


\textsuperscript{56} See e.g., al-Rāzī, Masā’il, pp. 202–203; al-Suyūṭī, al-Durr, IV, 227; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīdīt, Ṣarīḥ, VI, 435–436.

\textsuperscript{57} See e.g., Iṣḥāq b. Biṣr, op. cit., fols. 52b–53b; al-Kisā’ī, ‘Aṯīb al-malakūt, MS fol. 42b (and see ib., fol. 39a); al-Maḡlīṣīt, Biḥār al-anwār, LXIII, 306–307; X, 237; al-Daylamī, Firдавs al-aḥbār, MS Chester Beatty 3037, fol. 74a: ḫīna amara ḫūṣu ‘azza wa-ḡalla an yahīṣa ḡādamu ḡabāṭa wa-zawqatuwa ḡabāṭa ibīls wa-lā zawqatu lahu wa-ḥabāṭatī l-ḥayyatu wa-lā zawqū lāhā fa-kāna awwalan man ṭalawwaṭa bi-nafṣībi ibīsu, wa-kāna ṭuriyyatūnu min nafṣībi... Muḥammad b. Ḥābīb, al-Muḥabbār, ed. Iṣlaḥ Lichtenstädter, Hyderabad 1361/1942, p. 395; al-Sūṭī, ib., op. cit., pp. 176–177; al-Suyūṭī, al-Durr, IV, 226 inf.: ... wa-lā ṭabīr ibīls ḡāmasatun: tabīr wa-ḥabībīn wa-ḥabībīn ḡaṭāmsa ḡasīmīn... ; ḡāla: ṭabīr ibīls ḡaṭāmsa ḡasīmīn... L’A, s.v. ṭə y: when God was willing to create a wife and progeny for Iblīs He imposed wrath on Iblīs; from a splinter of fire of this wrath God created the wife of Iblīs. (See this report in al-Damīrī, Ḥayāt al-ḥayāwān, Cairo 1383/1963, 1, 209; and see about the peculiar way of the self-fertilization of Iblīs and about his children; ib., 1, 209; and see Ibn Ḥībān al-Bustī, K. al-Maḏrūḥīn, ed. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Zāyīd, Cairo 1976, 1, 266; al-Aynī, ‘Umdat al-qāfīf, XV, 168; ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ḥābīb, Ta’rīḥ, MS, p. 11 inf.

Everybody is, in fact, accompanied by a Satan and even the Prophet had his Satan; God, however, helped the Prophet, and his Satan embraced Islam.  

The Prophet pointed out the difference between his Satan and the Satan of Adam: "My Satan was an unbeliever, but God helped me against him and he converted to Islam; my wives were a help for me. Adam's Satan was an infidel and Adam's wife was an aid in his sin."  

Scholars devoted long discussions to the question of where the angels got their knowledge that Man would cause corruption on earth. Some assumed that God had disclosed it to them, others conjectured that they might have seen it on the Tablet (al-lawh al-mahfūz); some commentators surmised that they had learnt it by analogy from the corruption and decline which had previously befallen the realm of the ġinn on earth. A different explanation of the sources of information available to the angels is supplied in an account traced back to Muğahid (d. 104 H.): Iblīs was given the rule of the lower heaven of this world (kāna iblīs 'alā sulṭān samā'ī l-dunya) and of the heaven of the earth (wa-sulṭān samā'ī l-ardī). It was written in the highest firmament (al-raaqī' al-ālam) in the presence of God (‘inda l-liihi ‘azza wa-gallāw, that from early on it was in God's knowledge (qad sabaqa fi ilmihi) that He would set up a ḥalīfa on earth and that there would be bloody events and calamities. Iblīs saw the document and read it (while the angels did not know it); when God mentioned Ādam to the angels, Iblīs informed them that Allah would...
bring about a creation which would shed blood and that He could order the angels to bow to this ḥālīfā. Thus when God said: 

*Iznī ǧa‘īlūn fi l-ardī halīfatan,* the angels remembered what Iblīs had said to them and they questioned: “"a-taḡ'alū fiḥā man yufsīdu fiḥā?”62

A short report quoted in other sources affords us a glimpse of the way by which secret information was passed from certain rather suspect sources. The angels, according to this report, got the information from Hārūt and Mārūt, who in their turn got it from an angel who was superior to them and whose name was al-Siğill.63 A more detailed version is recorded in Ibn Kaṣīr’s *Tafsīr*: Hārūt and Mārūt were the helpers of the angel al-Siğill. Al-Siğill had the privilege of looking at the *Umm al-Kitāb* three times a day. Once he cast a glance at a tablet that was forbidden to him, and learnt from it of God’s plan to create ʿĀd and of the events that would follow. He disclosed this information to his two helpers. When God announced that He was going to establish a ḥalīfā on earth it was Hārūt and Mārūt who asked: *a-taḡ'āl...* Ibn Kaṣīr marks the tradition as an *isrā‘iliyyāt* story.64

The question of the angels *a-taḡ’āl* “Wilt thou set therein...” was asked according to another report in quite different circumstances. When, having committed his sin, ʿĀd was expelled from Paradise and sent down to Earth, the angels asked God the fateful question *a-taḡ’āl*. God bade them choose two angels who would be sent down to Earth and whose deeds would subsequently be watched and tested. They chose Hārūt and Mārūt, who descended to Earth and whose way of life was one of corruption and depravity. For their sins they must undergo pain and suffering until the present day. The profligate Zuhara (Venus) was hanged up in the sky as a star and remains there until now.65

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63 Ibn Gungūl, *op. cit.*, fol. 23b: *wa-qīla aṯlād’ahum ‘alayhi hārūt wa-mārūt ‘an malakin fawqahumū smuhi l-siğīlū*. L’A lists al-siğill as an angel (s.v. s g I), and so does al-Fayrūzābādī in his *Qāmūs* (s.v. s g I). Ibn Kaṣīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, Beirut-Riyad 1966, I, 71 sup.
The word *halīfa* became the pivot of a heated discussion in connection with the need to establish an authoritative ruler over the Muslim community. Al-Qurtubī scrutinizes the orthodox Sunnī views, while he also records the Shi'ī views. It is here, in the crucial problem of the exclusive right of the Shi'a to get the Caliphate, that the miraculous elements of the *qiṣas al-anbiyā‘* became part and parcel of the Shi'ī arguments. The Sunnī view was necessarily based on the notion that the exclusive right of Qurayṣ to be granted the Caliphate was legitimate, as it resulted in the meeting of the Saqīfat Banī Sā'idā, on the precedent that the authority of the Caliphate was ceded to another person, as happened in the case of Abū Bakr who transferred the Caliphate to 'Umar before his death, or on the authorization of an electoral body entrusted with the appointment of the Caliph, as in the case of 'Uṭmān. In his account of the Sunnī arguments al-Qurtubi records the rejection of the Shi interpretation of the widely circulating traditions: "*man kuntu mawlāhu fa-‘aliyyun mawlāhu*" and "*anta minni bi-manzilati hārūn min müsā illā annahu là nabiyya ba’di‘.*" The Sunnī argument emphasizes the differences in the position of Hārūn as opposed to 'Aṭī: Hārūn shared the prophethood with Müsā, while 'Aṭī did not share the prophethood with Muḥammad. Hārūn was the brother of Moses, while 'Aṭī was not Muḥammad's brother. The Prophet’s intention was not that 'Aṭī would be his *halīfa*; this is indicated by the fact that Hārūn died before the death of Müsā and was not his *halīfa*, the *halīfa* of Müsā was Yūša’ (Joshua). Had the Prophet had the intention to intimate that 'Aṭī would be his successor he would have said: *anta minni bi-manzilati yūša‘ min müsā*. As to the tradition in *man kuntu mawlāhu* — al-Qurtubi quotes the opinion of scholars to the effect that the tradition was not considered to be sound; philological analysis and comparison with other traditions in which the word *mawlā* appeared proved that the Shi'ī interpretation is misleading. An additional argument was the recording of the circumstances in which the Prophet uttered the tradition: when 'Aṭī quarrelled with Usāma b. Zayd, Usāma said to 'Aṭī: "I am not your *mawlā*, I am the mawlā of the Prophet." Then the Prophet is said to have uttered: *man kuntu mawlāhu fa-‘aliyyun mawlāhu*. This tradition is said to have been uttered on another occasion; when 'Ā‘īṣa was suspected of having had an affair with a Muslim warrior as reported in the "*hadīth al-ifk*", 'Aṭī advised the Prophet to find another woman as wife, "There are many women", said 'Aṭī. 'Ā‘īṣa was offended by his words, hypocrites in Medina calumniated 'Aṭī and tried to get rid of him. Then the Prophet uttered the saying: *man kuntu mawlāhu*, thus refuting the calumnies of the hypocrites. Finally: the Prophet used to appoint a deputy when he left Medina for an

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expedition. When he appointed 'Ali and left for the expedition of Tabuk, the hypocrites claimed that he left him at Medina because he hated him. Another rumour which was bruited about in Medina by wicked people said that he left 'Ali merely in charge of his family. The sayings of the hypocrites were denied when the Prophet said about 'Ali: \( \text{kaḍabū, bal hallaftuka kamā hallafta mūsā hārūna.} \)

The Shi'a's conception of the Caliphate on Earth was defined with great precision: there existed only four \( \text{hūlaflf} \) on Earth, of whom 'Ali was the fourth. That is why 'Ali could say: "He who does not say that I am the fourth of the four Caliphs, on him fall God's curse". The four Caliphs were: Ādam, Dāwūd, Hārūn and 'Ali. This statement was also uttered by al-Ḥiḍr and was confirmed by the Prophet. A story says that the Prophet walked one day with 'Ali in Medina. They met a Bedouin with a long beard who addressed 'Ali: "O, Amīr of the Faithful, Peace be upon you, the fourth Caliph!" The man disappeared and the Prophet explained to 'Ali that it was al-Ḥiḍr, and told him: the first Caliph is your ancestor Ādam, the second is Hārūn (the successor of Mūsā), the third is Dāwūd, you are the fourth: "O 'Ali," said the Prophet, "you are indeed my successor (\( \text{ḥaḷifati} \)) after my death and you will pay my debts." In his thorough and fundamental work on the concept of "Nūr Muḥammad" Uri Rubin gave a lucid exposition of the Shi'i concept of the prerogatives for authority and about the legacy of the Prophet.

Ādam was surnamed Abū Muḥammad. He is the only person distinguished by this \textit{kunya} in Paradise in order to display the honour of the prophet Muḥammad. Muḥammad was invested with prophethood before the creation of Ādam. In the first month of the pregnancy of

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67 Al-Qurtubi, \textit{Tafsīr}, I, 265–268; and see al-Buḥārī, \textit{al-Tā'īrī al-kabīr}, Hyderabad 1380, VI, 241, no. 2277: \( \text{mā samīrīn hādā l-hadīth hattā gā'a hādā min hurāsān fa-nā'qa bihi;} \) \( \text{ya'ni abā iṣḥāq, ya'ni man kuni mawlāhu fa'-alīyyun mawlāhu, fa-ttabe'ahu l-nāsū.} \)


Amina, the mother of the Prophet, she saw in her dream a tall man who gave her the good tidings that she would give birth to the Lord of the Messengers; the tall man was Ādam.74 When Muḥammad was born he disappeared for a short time; he was brought to the presence of Ādam, who kissed him on his forehead and told him that he would be the lord of Ādam’s progeny; those who adhered to his faith and uttered his saḥāda would gather on the Day of Resurrection under the banner of the Prophet.75

God created the world for the sake of Muḥammad, Ādam saw on the throne of God the saḥāda: “There is no god except God, Muḥammad is the messenger of God,” and when Ādam begged God to forgive him his sin he invoked by the merit of Muḥammad.76 On Ādam’s forehead was a blaze of light which was to be transferred through the generations down to Muḥammad: it was the light of Muḥammad.77

Ṣiṭṭ traditions give an extended version of the inscription on the Throne. The saḥāda included an addition mentioning ‘Alī.78 An almost identical inscription was on the gate of Paradise.79 A tradition traced back to Ibn ‘Abbās says that when God created Ādam He put him up in His presence and then Ādam sneezed; God inspired in him the formula of praise and gratitude to God and said: “Ādam, you praised Me, therefore I swear by My power and splendour that were it not for two servants whom I intend to create at the end of time (fi i‘lājirī l-zāmānī) I would not have created you.” Ādam inquired about their names and God showed him two lines of light on His Throne; on the first line: “There is no god save God, Muḥammad is the prophet of mercy, ‘Alī is the key of Paradise;” on the second line: “I bind myself by oath that I shall have mercy upon him who would be faithful to both of them (man wālāhūmā) and I shall punish (u‘aqqibu) him who would be hostile towards them.”80 The Śiṭṭ traditions record extended inscription formulae which incorporate the Prophet and

74 Al-Ṣaffūrī, op. cit., p. 354.
75 Al-Ṣaffūrī, op. cit., p. 355.
77 Rubin, op. cit., pp. 91–96.
79 Al-Madāni, op. cit., p. 150, no. 730.
other members of 'Ali’s family: ‘Ali, Fātimma, al-Hasan, al-Husayn. God explained to Ādam that these are “better than Ādam and all of God’s creatures;” had it not been for them, God would not have created Paradise, the Earth, Hell, and the sky.81

Another report on an expanded Šī‘ī inscription is linked with the term “yawm ‘arafa” and with the stipulations associated with the forgiveness of sins. When Ādam was in Paradise, he one day looked at the Throne and saw lines of light containing the names of Muhammad and the members of the ahl al-bayt: this took place on the eighth day (of his stay in Paradise — K.). On the next day God acquainted him with their rank and position and stated that had it not been for them He would not have created him (i.e., Ādam — K.) nor anyone else. This day was called yawm ‘arafa. Later, after God had refused to accept Ādam’s repentance, Gibrīl visited him and encouraged him to ask God’s forgiveness “by the merit” (bi-haqqa) of Muhammad, ‘Ali, Fātimma, Ḥasan, Ḥusayn and the imāms whose names were written on the Throne. This was, in fact, the content of the phrase of the Quran: fa-talaqqā ādamu min rabbīhi kalimātin fa-tāba ‘alayhi. Then God revealed to Ādam: “O Ādam, had you not invoked me with these names I would not have accepted your repentance; I swear that there will be no sinner who invokes Me with these names but that I shall forgive his sins.”82

As a counterpart to the Šī‘ī conception that there were inscriptions in Heaven legitimizing the claims of the Šī‘ī imāms and emphasizing the usurpatory character of the rule of the first Caliphs and their Umayyad successors, there were the Sunnī orthodox traditions, which upheld the legitimacy of the first three “Guided Caliphs”. Many traditions record predictions of the Prophet concerning the virtuous character of the rule of the first three guided Caliphs and of the merits of the first Umayyad rulers. To this category belongs the tradition quoted by Rubin, according to which the Prophet saw on the night of the Mi‘rāg in each Heaven an inscription: Muhammad is the Prophet of God and Abu Bakr is his successor.83 On the Throne is written: Lā ilāha illā llāhu Muhammad rasūlu llāhi Abū Bakr in wa-‘Umaru wa-‘Uṭmānu, yuqṭalun ṣahīdan.84 A

81 Ni‘matullāh al-Mūsawi, op. cit., 1, 243 inf.
82 Ni‘matullāh al-Mūsawi, op. cit., 1, 247.
83 Rubin, op. cit., p. 107, note 21: the tradition is indeed recorded in Ḥasam ‘Arafa’s Guz, MS Chester Beatty 4433, fol. 125a; Anonymous, Manāqib al-ṣahāba, MS Br. Mus. Or. 8273, fol. 22b; and see al-Ṭaʿlabī, Tafsīr, MS Sprenger, p. 88: The Prophet saw during his mi‘rāg an inscription on the throne containing the ṣahīda and the names of Abū Bakr and ‘Umar; and see Anonymous, Manāqib al-ṣahāba, fol. 11b: when on his mi‘rāg the Prophet saw on the rising sun the ṣahīda and the names of Abū Bakr and ‘Umar.
84 Rubin, op. cit., p. 107, note 22; Anonymous, Manāqib al-ṣahāba, MS Br. Mus. Or. 8273, fol. 22b; and cf. Anonymous, A collection of ḥadīṯ, MS Yahuda Ar. 1050, The Hebrew
tradition reported on the authority of Ibn 'Abbas says that on every tree and on every leaf there is an inscription: *lä ilâha illâ îllahu, Muḥammadun rasûlu îllahi, Abû Bakrîn l-ṣiddiqî Umaru l-fârûqu ûmmanu dâ l-nûrâyyn.* Here only the three guided Caliphs are mentioned; 'Ali is ignored. Another tradition recorded on the authority of Quṭba b. Mālik is similar in content: when the Prophet laid the foundations of the mosque at Qubā' three of his Companions were with him: Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uṭmān. Quṭba passed by and asked him: "O Messenger of God, you laid the foundation of the mosque and with you is only this (tiny — K.) group of three persons?" The Prophet answered: "These are the people entitled to successorship (wulât al-ḥilâfa) after my death." This tendency to eliminate 'Ali and to glorify the three first Caliphs is evident in the following utterance of 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. al-Ḥāṭṭāb: In the time of the Prophet we did not consider anybody equal to to Abū Bakr; after him we counted 'Umar and 'Uṭmān; after that we abandoned making any further order of preference among the Companions of the Prophet (summa natriku aṣḥāba l-nabîyyîn (g) lâ nusfâ'dâlu baynahum). A significant utterance of al-Ḥasan al- Bàṣîrī assesses the statu of the first two Caliphs putting them on a par with the Prophet: "Never will a fourth be counted together with the three: The Prophet, Abū Bakr and 'Umar". Mālik b. Anas used to count: Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uṭmān; then he used to remain silent. 'Umar himself gained the highest praises from the Prophet: the Prophet said that had he not been sent as a prophet 'Umar would have been sent. Several of

University, fol. 8a: Ka'b informs Mu'āwiyah about an utterance in the Holy Scriptures: "Muḥammad aḥmad allâhu 'alayhi wa-sallam, abû bakr al-ṣiddiq, 'umar al-fârûq, 'ujmn al-amîn rađiya allâhu 'anhum a$qmânīn."

89 Al-Ṭabarî, *op. cit.,* II, 806 penult. (and see ib. p. 807 II. 1-2).
‘Umar’s precepts proved to be congruent with the will of God and some Quranic verses confirmed his suggestion. The few traditions quoted give us some insight into the ongoing and uninterrupted competition between the Šī‘a and their opponents as to the position of ‘Alī and his descendants, the imāms, and the rights of Šī‘a aspirants to the Caliphate. Šī‘a missionaries tried to explicate to their adherents the deliberate forgeries of the Umayyad officials who circulated them. They themselves circulated stories and reports about the Caliphs which contained defamations not less abusive than those which their opponents told of the Šī‘a leaders.

Having made these remarks on the use of the word ḥalīfa, it should be remarked that there is a variant reading of this word: ḥalīqa. This reading, not widely current, could have changed the content of the discussion or even made it entirely superfluous.

II

The stories about the creation of Ādam are abundant and often divergent or contradictory: only a few aspects of these stories can be treated here. Well-known are the stories about Iblīs who heard that God was about to send an angel to bring a handful of dust for the creation of Ādam; he went down in order to persuade the Earth to refuse to hand over the handful of dust. The Earth indeed tried to refuse, and asked for God’s protection when the angels came to take the dust. Two of the angels could not stand against the beseeching of the Earth and returned to God without the required dust; the third angel disregarded the beseeching of the Earth and preferred to carry out God’s command to return carrying the dust; this

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91 See e.g., Anonymous, Manāqib al-ṣahāba, MS fol. 3a; al-‘Aynī, ‘Umdat al-qārī, II, 284–285 sup.; IV, 143–144; Maḥmūd Ḥasan Rābi’, Risālat sahī al-samar bi-muwāfaqāt ʿumar, Cairo 1373/1954, pp. 122–128; and see additional bibliography in EP “Maḵām Ibrāḥīm”.


93 See e.g., al-Katakānī, op. cit., I, 498–500 (Abū Bakr and ‘Umar depicted as eating, drinking wine in Ramāḍān and denouncing their allegiance to the Prophet and to Islam).

94 See Abū Ḥayyān, op. cit., I, 140; al-Qurṭubī, op. cit., I, 263; al-Ṭaʿlabī, Taṣfīr, MS Sprenger, p. 409; al-Fāhr al-Rāzī, Taṣfīr, II, 166, sup.

95 See e.g., al-Kisāʾī, The Tales of the Prophets, translated and annotated by W.M. Thackston, Jr., Boston 1978, p. 22; al-Kisāʾī, ʿAğāʾib al-malakūt, MS 47a; Anonymous, Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ, MS Leiden Or. 14,027, fol. 5b.
angel became the Angel of Death. The versions of the story telling of the dust brought to the presence of God usually say that it was gathered from different places on the earth and that is the reason why mankind consists of different colours. Other reports say that the dust for the shaping of Adām’s body was collected from the Six Earths; the major part of it was taken from the Sixth Earth, which is called adāmā, a word from which the name of Adām is derived. The dust was not gathered from the Seventh Earth because that is where Hell is found. Al-Šabraḥī records this tradition, but does not mention the name of the Sixth Earth. Another tradition, attributed to Wahb, gives a detailed list of the parts of Adām’s body mentioning their provenance from the various earths; but in this tradition his shank and his feet were from the dust of the Seventh Earth. 

Another type of tradition lists the members of Adām’s body and gives the various regions of the world from which they were taken: his head was from the dust of the Ka’ba, his breast from the dust of al-Daḥnā, his back and his belly from the dust of India, his hands from the dust of the East and his legs from the dust of the West. Different data are provided by al-Daylami in a tradition on the authority of Ābū Hurayra: his head and forehead were from the dust of the Ka’ba, his body from Jerusalem (bayt al-maqdis), his thighs from Yaman, his shanks from the dust of Ḥiḡāz, his right hand from the dust of the East, his left hand from the dust of the West, his skin from the dust of al-Ṭā’īf, his heart from the dust of Mawsīl, his spleen and his lungs from the region of al-Gazīra. Another list of the

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97 See e.g., al-Qurtubi, op. cit., 1, 280; al-Šabraḥī, Šarḥ ‘alā al-arba’in ḥadīth (!) al-nawewiyya, Beirut (reprint), n.d. p. 288 ult.; cf. al-Samarqandi, Tafsīr, MS 1, 13a; al-Bayhaqī, al-Asnām wa-l-ṣifāt, pp. 362-363; Ibn Ḥuzayma, Kitāb al-tawḥīd, ed. Muḥammad Ḥāfīz Harrās, Cairo 1387/1968, pp. 63-64, al-Ta’labī, Tafsīr, MS Sprenger, p. 84; al-Ḥāzin, Tafsīr, I, 40; al-Saqqīnī, op. cit., MS p. 8; ’Abd al-Razzāq, Tafsīr, MS fol. 2b inf.; Anonymous, Siyar al-anbiyāʾ, MS Br. Mus. Or. 1510, fol. 11a-b (see fol. 11a: The Rūm and the Arabs created from the white dust, the Turks from the red one and the Abyssinians from the black); Ibn Ṭūrak, Muṣkīl al-hadīth, Hyderabad 1362, pp. 25-26; al-Ḥuwairī, Niḥayat al-arab, Cairo 1357/1938, XIII, 11.

98 Ishāq b. Bišr, op. cit., fol. 41a; cf. al-‘Aynī, Ṭumad al-qārī, XV, 204 (called Adām because he was created from adīm al-arq, or because the dust of the earth is called in Hebrew ādām; the second ā in the word is shortened into a in the name ādām (quoted from Ta’labī. See Ta’labī, Tafsīr, MS Sprenger p. 84).

99 Al-Šabraḥī, op. cit., p. 289 sup.

100 Al-Šabraḥī, op. cit., p. 289.

101 Al-Daylami, al-Firdaws, MS Chester Beatty, 3037, fol. 77b.
parts of the body of Ādam and their qualities according to their provenance is given by Suyūṭī in his *al-Kalām ʿalā ḥalqī ādama wa-dīkri waḥātihi ʿalayhi l-ṣalātu wa-l-salām*. The tradition is transmitted on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbas: God created the head of Ādam from the dust of Jerusalem (*bayt al-maqdis*), his face from the dust of Paradise, his teeth from the Kawtār (said to be a river in Paradise — K.), his right hand from the Kaʿba, his left hand from Persia, his feet from India, his bones from the mountain (perhaps Ḥabāl, the mountainous province in Persia is meant — K.), his pudenda from Babylon, his back from Iraq, his heart from Paradise, his tongue from al-Ṭāʿīf and his eyes from the Ḥawḍ (= the pond with a delicious beverage from which the believers will be given permission to drink of the Day of Resurrection — K.). As his head is from Jerusalem it became the place of reason and sagacity; as his face is from Paradise it became the place of beauty and comeliness; as his teeth are from the Kawtār they became a spot of sweetness; as his right hand is from the Kaʿba it became the place of assistance; as his back is from Iraq it became the place of strength; as his pudenda are from Babylon it became a place of lust; as his bones are from al-Ḥabāl they became the place of rigidity; as his heart is from Paradise (*firdaws*) it became the place of belief; as his tongue is from al-Ṭāʿīf it became the place of the *sahāda*.102 It is obvious that we have stories closely akin to the type of *fādāʿīl al-buldān* or *fādāʿīl al-amākīn*; places have distinctive features, which affect the people living in these places. There are traditions saying that Ādam was created from the dust of Mecca.103 Others claim that he was created from the dust of al-Ḡābiya.104 Saʿīd b. Ṣubayr said that God created Ādam from the dust of Daḥnā.105 Al-Ḥasan (probably al-Baqri — K.) reported that his breast (*guʿguʿ*) was from Ḥimā Dariyya.106 Some reports say that God created Ādam from the dust of al-Daḥnā.107 In the wadi of al-Daḥnā God is said to have performed the act of the Covenant with the progeny of Ādam, which

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105 Al-Quṭūbī, *op. cit.*, vi, 388 (comp. al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḫ* i, 121; Ādam alighted in Daḥnā in India; and see Ishāq b. Bīr, *op. cit.*, fol. 64b: Daḥnā in India).
was in his loins. Adam alighted in the wadi of al-Daḥnā when he was expelled from Paradise. It is a wadi between Mecca and al-Ṭā`if. On a mountain outside Nablus (in the Holy Land) Ādam prostrated himself to God. He is said to have dwelt in a village in the vicinity of Bayt Liḥya in the region of Damascus. There are several other places connected with the life of Ādam; some of them serve as places of pilgrimage though not necessarily favoured by orthodox scholars.

Ādam was created on Friday, the best day of the week; he was introduced to Paradise on that day and was expelled from Paradise on that day. His repentance was accepted on Friday and he died on Friday. As the angels bowed to Ādam on Friday, this day became a day of feast for the believers.

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One aspect of the story of the creation of Ādam became the pivot of a heated discussion between the anthropomorphistic scholars and their opponents. The important verse which speaks of God's creation of Ādam with His own hands (Sūrat Ṣād, XXXVIII, 75: "... Said He: Iblīs, what prevented thee to bow thyself before that I created with My own hands?" (transl. A.J. Arberry) is in fact the bone of contention between the two opposing theological schools. The question is whether the expression "My own hands" should be understood as referring literally to God's hands, or metaphorically. Tradition enlarged the scope of the role of God's hands in the process of creation. God is said to have made three things with His own hands: the creation of Ādam, the writing of the Torah, and the planting of the trees of Paradise. Some traditions add a
fourth object: the Pen.\textsuperscript{115} Al-\textasciitilde{A}š\textasciitilde{a}r\texti{i} records the tree of Tūbā as the fourth thing.\textsuperscript{116}

It is evident that the anthropomorphists (\textit{al-mu\textasciitilde{g}assima}) interpreted the "hands" literally; others rendered this expression as "power", "ability" (\textit{qudra, quwwa}) or "favour", "grace" (\textit{al-n\textasciitilde{f}ma}); some argued that the expression "hands" serves for emphasis with the aim of stressing that Ādam was God's own creation.\textsuperscript{117} Abū Ḥayyān records two readings: \textit{bi-yadayya} (with My two hands) and \textit{bi-yadī} (with My hand) and explains the word as ability and strength (\textit{al-qudra wa-l-quwwa}).\textsuperscript{118} Al-\textasciitilde{S}awkānī records the various meanings attributed to the word \textit{yad} and the two readings mentioned above. The meaning "ability", "strength" (\textit{qudra}) is rejected because the dual cannot denote strength and ability; it denotes two attributes of God (\textit{bal li-l-dalālati annahum ścifatāni min ścifātī dāthi subḥānahu}).\textsuperscript{119} Further Sawkānī records another opinion, that the two hands are used metaphorically emphasizing God's deed; the expression "with My two hands" thus denotes: I myself created him. In another formulation quoted by Sawkānī the aim of the expression is, as in the former explication, to stress that God created Ādam without mediation (\textit{wāṣīta}) and attributed the creation to Himself, in this way bestowing special honour on Ādam, although He is the Creator of all things (\textit{wa-adāfa ḥalqahu ilâ nafsihi takrīman lahu wa-ta\textasciitilde{s}rīfan}).\textsuperscript{120} More explicit about the mediators is Al-\textasciitilde{G}āwī: "before him whom I created with My own hands" means "whom I created by My power and will" (\textit{bi-qudrati wa-irtidāti}) without the mediation of a father and mother.\textsuperscript{121} Explanations of the kind mentioned above are given in other commentaries as well.\textsuperscript{122} Al-\textasciitilde{A}š\textasciitilde{a}r\texti{i} criticizes severely the widely current interpretations. Basing himself on the sound usage of the Arabic language Al-\textasciitilde{A}š\textasciitilde{a}r\texti{i} states that "God's two hands" mentioned in the verse cannot denote "favour or grace." God's two hands cannot denote, as some commentators maintain, strength; their


\textsuperscript{116} Al-\textasciitilde{A}š\textasciitilde{a}rī, \textit{al-Ibānā 'an al-\textit{di}yānā}, Cairo n.d., p. 36 sup.

\textsuperscript{117} See e.g., al-Naysābūrī, \textit{Ṣafā'}, XXIII, 107.


\textsuperscript{119} al-\textasciitilde{S}awkānī, \textit{Fat\\u00e1h al-qadir}, IV, 445 (\textit{al-yad hāhunā bi-ma'na l-ta'kīd wa-l-ṣila mağāzan ka-qawlihi: wa-yabqī wağhū lāh...}).

\textsuperscript{120} Idem, \textit{op. cit.}, IV, 445.

\textsuperscript{121} Al-\textasciitilde{G}āwī, \textit{Marāb lābiḍ}, Cairo 1305, II, 233.

\textsuperscript{122} Al-Wāḥidī, \textit{al-Wāqī'ī tafsīr al-qur'ān al-'asīz} (on margin of al-\textasciitilde{G}āwī's \textit{Marāb}, II, 233; al-Nasafi, \textit{Taf\textit{f}sr}, IV, 47; al-Qurṭubī, \textit{Taf\textit{f}sr}, XV, 228; al-Katākānī, \textit{op. cit.}, IV, 64.
recourse to the meanings of *ayd* (wa-*l-samāʾ* banaynāhā bi-*aydìn*, Sūrat al-ḍāriyāt, 47) has nothing to do with “the two hands” because the plural of *yad* as favour or grace is *aydidin*, *aydī*. If the meaning of the hand in the verse were power (*qudra*) Ādam would not have got any distinction over Iblīs because Iblīs was also created by God’s power as He did everything else. “God’s hands” are however not the same as the hands of a human being. Ibn Ḥuzayma too uses the same arguments in rejecting the meanings “favour” and “strength.” He who explains the two hands of God as meaning “strength” (*quwwa*) adducing *ayd(in)* as proof, should be sent to the *kutdīb* to be taught proper Arabic.124 Al-Bayhaqī reiterates the arguments which refute the interpretation of God’s hands as either God’s body extremities (*gāriṭa*), as favour or as power; the word must be understood as denoting two attributes of God connected with the creation of Ādam.125 Al-Faḥr al-Rāzī scrutinizes the various explanations of the word *yad* in the verse; having rejected them all he chooses to explain it as a metaphor which denotes the keenness and care with which the work was carried out.126

Another tradition concerning the creation of Ādam became the subject of keen debate: that was the utterance of the Prophet according to which God created Adam in his image (*inna llāha ‘azza wa-ğalla ḥalaqa ādama*

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126 Al-Faḥr al-Rāzī, *Tafsīr*, XXVI, 229–232 and see pp. 231 ult.—232, ll. 1–2; *wa-llaḍī talahḥaṣa ‘indī fi ḥādā l-bābī anna l-sulṭāna l-ṣāṭima lā yaqdīrū ‘alā ṣamījīn bi-yadīhi illā ʿidā kānāt ḡayatu ‘inayaihi maṣrūfatān illā ḍālika l-ṣamījī; fa-īdā kānātī l-inayatu l-ṣadīqīdūtū min lawdāzīmi l-ṣamījī bi-l-yādī amkāna ḡalū hu maḡāzan ‘anhu ‘inda qiyyāmi l-dālalāʾīlī l-ṭāḥriḥatī...* and see the commentary of the tradition about God’s creation of Eden and His planting of the trees with His own hands: al-Munawi, *Fayd al-qadir, III*, 444, no. 3926: *...‘garasā aṣṭāraḥa bi-yadīhi’, ay bi-ṣifāt tinayatin tāmātatin, fa-inna l-ṣāḥfa lā yadār yahdu fi amrin illā ʿidā kānā lahu bihi ‘inayatūn ṣadīdatin fa-ṣaḥāqa l-lāzima wa-huwa l-yadu wa-arāda l-mālzūma wa-huwa l-inayatu maḡāzan, li-anna l-yada bi-ma’nā l-ğāriṭahī muḥālun ‘alā llikī...*
This is usually coupled with a further tradition which says that Ādam was 60 cubits in height when created, that God sent him to greet the angels and that his greeting became the current greeting of the Muslim community. Everybody entering Paradise will be 60 cubits high; people have been gradually losing their height. Ibn Qutayba scrutinizes the interpretations of the scholars concerning this utterance. Some of them assume that the suffix *hi* in ṣūratīhi goes back to Ādam; but this interpretation is rejected by Ibn Qutayba, as it is obvious that God created Ādam in his shape and the beasts in their shape. According to some scholars, this indicates that God created Ādam following an image that was with Him; this interpretation is also rejected, as God did not create any of His creatures according to a model. The interpretation of this tradition is further complicated if one takes into account another saying of the Prophet in which he forbade to disform the face (of an adversary — K.) because God created it in his shape, i.e., in the shape of the adversary’s face. This is again rejected by Ibn Qutayba, as it is obvious that Ādam’s face was similar to that of his posterity.

A further complication arises from a peculiar utterance which states explicitly that God created Ādam in the image of al-Rahmān. It is undeniable that al-Rahmān is identical with Allah; the Arabic of the sentence is clumsy and the utterance simply indicates that God created Ādam in the image of God. Ibn Qutayba concludes that the tradition of God’s creation of Ādam indicates that Ādam was created in Paradise having the same shape that he retained when removed to earth. But Ibn Qutayba himself is uncertain as to whether this was the intention of the Prophet. He quotes the verse from the Torah where it is said that “God created Ādam in His shape” and points out that it fits in with the interpretation of the *ḥadīth*, according to which the suffix *hi* refers to God. According to a more moderate interpretation, God’s creation of Ādam in His shape alludes to some of God’s attributes, like knowledge and power.


Comp. Ibn Ṭawṣūs, *Ṣad al-suṣūd*, p. 33 penult.: fa-qāla fi l-ṣuḥufi mā hādā lafṣuhu: fa-ḥalaqa lāhu ādama ‘alā šūratīn allatt (l) ṣawwarahā fi l-lawḥi l-mahfsūthi...


See e.g., Genesis 1, 26–27.

Ibn Ḥagar al-Haytamī, *op. cit.*, 290, 292; and see the comments in Munāwī’s *Fayḍ*, III, 445–447.
Traditions say that Ādam was 60 cubits high at the time when he was created. According to other reports Ādam’s head reached up to Heaven and alighted in India; the angels were afraid of him and his stature was reduced to 60 cubits; Ādam was cut off from the voices of the angels and their praises of God and became sad, God gave him solace by causing the House in Mecca to descend on earth and by ordering Ādam to set out to Mecca to perform the ṭawāf. Divergent stories say that he was so tall that the clouds rubbed his head and he became bald; his baldness was inherited by his posterity. His height was then reduced to 60 cubits. Some sources are critical of these fabulous stories: many believers reject the story that Ādam’s height was reduced to 60 cubits, as this is unnatural; baldness, say the physicians, stems from humidity in the brain. Ādam is said to have been the most beautiful of creatures; he was beardless (amrad) and only his descendants got a beard later on. According to a divergent tradition, Ādam prostrated himself when he received the good tidings that God accepted his repentance, and asked God for more beauty. God granted him a black beard; this will remain the adornment of men until the Day of Resurrection.

Ibn Kāṭīr indeed records on the authority of Ka‘b al-ʾĀhbar that Ādam is the only man in Paradise with a long black beard which reaches down to his navel. It is evident that we have here two contradictory views about

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135 Al-Qurtubī, _Tafsīr_, VI, 388, I, 319 inf.; cf. al-Maqḍiṣī, _op. cit._, XI, 127 (his head reaching the sky, his feet treading on the Ṣafā; reduced to 70 cubits); and cf. al-ʾIṣāmī, _Simt_ I, 77 (70 cubits); cf. al-ʾAynī, _Umāt al-qāṭī, _XV, 209; al-Ṭabarānī, _Tafsīr_, MS Sprenger, p. 168; cf. al-Suyūṭī, _al-Wasāṭī, _142 (awwal mana ṣaliʿa).


137 Al-Maqḍiṣī, _op. cit._, II, 00 ult.

138 Al-Maqḍiṣī, _op. cit._, LXXVI, 110 inf.; and see al-ʾIṣāmī, _Simt_ I, 571; and see the description of the hairless Ādam: Anonymous, _Qisāṣ al-anbiyā_ MS Leiden Or. 14, 027, fol. 15a.

139 Ibn ʿAbī, _al-Bidāya_, I, 97; ibn Ğungul, _op. cit._, MS I, 28b; al-Suyūṭī, _al-Durr_, I, 62 (Ādam had no beard when alive; men’s beards originated only after Ādam, but in Paradise he is the only person with a beard, a black one reaching down to his navel. Another tradition says that the only person with a long black beard in Paradise is Moses: see al-Suyūṭī, _al-Durr_, I, 62 and al-Ḍahabī, _Mizān al-ḥidāiy_, II, 286, no. 3763; al-Daylamī, _Firdaws al-ḥabār_, MS Chester Beatty 4139, fol. 112a; and see ʿAlī al-Qāṭī, _al-Aṣrāʿ al-maṣfūʿa fi al-ḥabār al-mawḍūʿa_, ed. Muḥammad al-Ṣabbāḥ, Beirut 1391/1971, 124, no. 83).
the beauty of man: a young beardless ephebe and a man with a full black beard.

Wa-‘allama ādama l-asmā‘a kullahā, “and He taught Ādam the names, all of them” is interpreted in several different ways in the commentaries of the Quran. God taught him, according to the commentators, one of the following things: the names of all the creatures, the names of events which happened in the past or which will happen in the future, all the languages (so that he could speak with each of his sons in a special language), the names of all the stars, the names of the angels, the names of his progeny, or the names of the various species of His creatures; or He taught him everything, including even the grammar of Sibawayh.140

Some traditions say that the secret language which God taught Ādam was Syriac.141 An early report states that God taught Ādam the names in Syriac in order to hide from the angels the knowledge thus acquired.142 Al-Suyūṭī records a tradition saying that Ādam spoke Arabic in Paradise; when he committed the sin he began to speak Aramaic, but after God accepted his repentance he reverted to Arabic.143 The early ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb has a more detailed account of the language of Ādam; Ādam is included in the list of prophets whose language was Arabic. He descended from Paradise speaking Arabic because Arabic was the language of God, of the angels, and the people of Paradise. This is supported by the words spoken by the Prophet to Salmān al-Fārisī: “You should love the Arabs because of three things: your Qatar and your Prophet are Arab and your language in Paradise will be Arabic.”144 ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb explains the position of Arabic in comparison with Aramaic: Ādam and his progeny spoke Arabic. In a later period Arabic degenerated (hurrifa) into Syriac, which is akin to Arabic.145

Sīra tradition explains that God taught Ādam the names of the prophets, the names of Muḥammad, ‘Alī, Fāṭima, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, the names of the prominent men of their family (āl), the names of the righteous men of the Sīra and the names of the rebellious men of their opponents.145

140 Abū Ḥayyān, op. cit., I, 145–146; and comp. al-Faḍl al-Ṭabarānī, Maqma‘ al-Bayān fi tafsir al-quṭrān, Beirut 1380/1961, I, 168–196; and see al-Maḡlisi, op. cit., XI, 146. Knowledge of language (‘ilm al-luga) follows in importance the perception of the unity of God; God showed the angels the superiority of Ādam by his knowledge of language (see al-Samarqandi, Tafsīr, MS, fol. 13b.).

141 Al-Ṣāliḥi, al-Sīra al-ṣāmiyya (=Subul al-hudā wa-l-raṣād), I, 364.

142 Yaḥyā b. Salām, Tafsīr, MS, p. 7.

143 Al-Suyūṭī, al-Durr al-mantūr, I, 58; and see a similar report in al-Maṣūḏī’s Abhūr al-zamān, p. 49.


"Then He presented them unto the angels" is consequently explained that God presented unto the angels the spectres of the prophets and the imāms as lights within shadows. The angels committed themselves to faith and obedience, and undertook to recognize the excellence of 'Āli and of the Srī imāms.

The Srī idea of the superiority of 'Āli and the imāms provides the reason why God ordered that the angels prostrate themselves in front of Ādam. As the angels became convinced that the Srī imāms surpass them in rank and position they prostrated when they were ordered to do so.

A clear exposition of the Srī idea is given in a story in which the Prophet is made to reply to the hypocrites who asked him whether 'Āli was superior to the angels. He explained that the angels gained honour only through their love of the Prophet and 'Āli and through the acceptance of their wilāya. Adherents of 'Āli who cleansed their hearts from deceit, hatred, and the impurity of sins are purer and better than the angels. As the angels believed that they surpass the creatures on earth, God created Ādam, taught him all the names, ordered him to test their knowledge through questions and to show them that they were inferior. Then He ordered them to prostrate themselves to Ādam. The Prophet stresses that the Srī are constant in their struggle against oppressive rulers, that they suffer and grieve as a result of the persecution of their enemies, and that they subdue their lust and desire; the angels do not need to cope with such difficulties and do not suffer pain as do the Srī adherents. The angels perceived that Ādam possessed the light of these noble creatures and they therefore prostrated themselves to Ādam. The same idea in another tradition in which he emphasized the superiority of the Srī over the angels: God put us into the loins of Ādam and ordered the angels to prostrate themselves to him as a mark of honour and glorification for us; their prostration was thus an act of worship for God and one of

146 Al-Maġlisī, op. cit., XI, 117 ult. — 118, l. 1; and see ib., II, 5-7: ...fa-qāla llāhu taʾāla: yā ādamu anbī ḥaṭūlā il-malāʾikātā bi-asmaʾihim, asmaʾi l-anbiyyā wal-ā'immati (s) "fa-lammā anbaʾahum" ʿarafiḥā, aḥāda ʿalayhim al-ṣahda wa-l-miṣqa bi-l-imāmi biihim wa-l-taṣaffūlī lahūm...

147 Al-Maġlisī, op. cit., XI, 137-138: ...fa-lammā ʿarrafa llāhu malāʾikatuhu faḍla hiyāri ummati muḥammadin (s) wa-ṣrāti ʿaliyyin wa-ḥulafaʾihi (ʿalayhimu l-salāmu) ʿalayhim, wa-ḥīmilahum fī ūnbi mahabbati rabbihim mā lā yaḥṣamihihu l-malāʾikatu abāānā bānī ādam l-hiyāra l-muttaqīna bi-l-faḍlī ʿalayhim, jumma qāla: fa-lī-ḡarika fa-ṣḥūtā li-ādama limā kāna mūṣāmanāna ʿalā anwār ḥāṭihi l-ḥalqa lqī l-afṣafa... The tradition is recorded from Ahmad b. ʿAli al-Ṭabarānī al-Ībióšī, ed. Muḥammad Bāqir al-Ḥarsān, Najāf 1386/1966, 1, 62-63; cf. the story of the conversation of the angels with God, in which they boasted of their fast. God replied: You fast because you do not desire food, but these (i.e., the human beings — K.) are better than you, because they need food, nevertheless they fast. Thus the human beings are superior to the angels. (Al-Zandawayshī, Rawḍat al-ʿulamāʾ wa-nuzhat al-faṣalālā, MS Br. Mus. Add. 7258, fol. 267b (=150b).
rendering homage and obedience for Ādam, because we were in his loins. How can we not be considered superior to the angels while they (i.e., the angels) prostrated themselves to Ādam?\footnote{148} In a third tradition the Prophet mentions again the prostration of the angels as an argument for the superiority of Muḥammad, 'Alī, Fāṭima, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn over the angels. "I, 'Alī, Fāṭima, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn were in the pavilion of the Throne: we glorified God and the angels glorified Him by our glorification; this was two thousand years before the creation of Ādam. When God created Ādam he ordered the angels to prostrate themselves to him, but He did not order us to do so, says the Prophet." The expression 'ālūna (contained in the rebuke addressed at Iblīs: istakbarta ʿam kunta min al-ʿālīn) refers to the five who were in the pavilion of the Throne.\footnote{149} A tradition which fits in with the Ṣīḥi story states that the place where the angels prostrated themselves to Ādam was al-Kūfa (which was a Ṣīḥī stronghold).\footnote{150}

The Sunni explanations of the command given to the angels to prostrate themselves to Ādam are concise and touch upon the problem whether one is permitted to prostrate oneself in front of a human being. Some scholars argue that the prostration was only done in the direction of Ādam; others claim that the prostration was no more than an act of bowing (inhinā') toward Ādam; that li-ādām means "with Ādam" (Ādam serving as imām — K.); or that the prostration was in front of God and the bowing was to Ādam as a mark of respect for him. Finally, some commentators claimed that it was a real prostration to Ādam, but that this was not yet forbidden at that time.\footnote{151}

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\footnote{148} Al-Maḡlī广泛的, op. cit., XI, 140, 150 inf. — 151.

\footnote{149} Al-Maḡlī广泛的, op. cit., XI, 142. According to a Ṣīḥī tradition the cherubs behind the throne are people of the Ṣīḥī, of the First Creation (al-Maḡlī广泛的, op. cit., XIII, 224).

\footnote{150} Al-Ayyāsī广泛的, Taṣfīr, ed. Ḥāsim al-Raṣūlī al-Maḥallātī, Qummi 1371, l, 34, no. 18; al-Kataḵānī广泛的, op. cit., I, 79; al-Maḡlī广泛的, op. cit., XI, 149; al-Burāqī广泛的, Taṣfīr al-Kūfa, ed. Muḥammad Ṣādiq al-Bahr al-Uṯūm, Najaf 1379/1960, p. 59 (more precisely, the outskirts of al-Kūfa, zahr al-kūfa, by which probably Najaf is meant).

\footnote{151} See e.g., al-Ṭabarī广泛的, Taṣfīr, 1, 512; al-Gaḏḏāsī广泛的, Aḥkām al-qurʾān, Qusṭaʿnīniyya 1338 (reprint — Beirut) 1, 32; and see ib., the assumption about whether it is permissible to prostrate oneself according to the šarīʿat ādām: ...wa-qad kāna l-suǧūdū ḍarʾūn fī šarīʿat ādām ʿalayhi l-salām li-l-maḥliẓīn wa-yuṣbihu an yakūna qad kāna bāqiyan ilā zamānī yūṣufa ʿalayhi l-salām. This kind of prostration was abolished in Islam); al-Ṭaʿlabī广泛的, Taṣfīr, MS Sprenger, p. 84: ...amarahhum illā huwa an yaʿammū bi-ādāma fa-suǧūdā l-malākīkātaw wa-ādāmu l-illāhi rabbi l-ʿalāmin... guʿīla ādāmu qīblatān lahum, wa-l-suǧūdū ili-liḥī, kāmā ḥawwilātā l-kābatu qīblatān il-l-muʿmīnā, wa-l-saldu il-liḥī ʿazza wa-ġalla; see Ishāq b. Bisr, op. cit., fol. 43a, 1, l: ...kāna suǧūdūn muṣṭatān, li-annahu lā yābqū ṭī-hādīn an yṣuǧūdū illā il-liḥī ʿazza wa-ġalla; and see Anonymous, Siyār al-anbiyā广泛的, MS BR. Mus. Or. 1510, fol. 13b: ...wa-l-taṣlāfū ʿfī suǧūdū ādām; qāla baʿdahu: suǧūdū taʿzīmin wa-tahbiyyātīn,
The creation of  Hawwā’ and the time when this took place formed the subject of another discussion. The verse in the Quran: wa-qunā yū ādamu skun anta wa-zawḏuka l-ğannata does not indicate when and how Hawwā’ was created. The best known traditions transmit the story that Hawwā’ was created from the rib of Ādam during his sleep. A widely current tradition of the Prophet states that “the woman was created from a crooked rib; if you are eager to set her aright you will break her; so treat her with gentleness and you will live with her.”\(^{152}\) Al-Māwārdī records that story of her creation from a rib and adds several anecdotes concerning the meeting of the couple and their marriage; as in other sources, al-Māwārdī quotes two alternative opinions, that Hawwā’ was created either before Ādam entered Paradise, or after that event. A short passage in his report, an individual view expressed by one scholar, deserves particular attention: Abū Bahr says that God created her from the material from which He created Adam.\(^{153}\)


\(^{154}\) Al-Māwārdī, Aṭīm al-nubuwwa, p. 32: ...annahu ḥalaqātū min ṭiḥāq minhū ādama, wa-hāḏa qawlun tafṣaradu bihi ibn baḥr...; and see ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn, op. cit., MS, fol. 140b (quoting al-Māwārdī).

\(^{155}\) Al-Maqlīsī, op. cit., XI, 99 (al-Maqlīsī XI, 101 quotes from “Ḥabar ibn Ṣalām” the answer of the Prophet about the creation of Hawwā’: ...fa-min aynu ḥuliqat? qāla: min al-ṣinā‘i lla‘t fāqalat min ḍi‘īhi a-qāṣar. The passage quoted by Maqlīsī can easily be identified as copied from the “Mas‘īl ‘Abd al-Salām”, a well-known popular treatise. I have a photostat of a manuscript of this work from the library of the late S.M. Stern. The phrase on fol. 3b, ll. 12-13 is as follows: fa-ahbīrin min ayyi mawfī in ḥuliqat minhu? qāla: sadaqa yā muḥammad; the text in Maqlīsī, op. cit., LX, 246 has: ḥuliqat min dī‘īhi i-ḥaqar).
A more detailed report is attributed to Wahb (b. Munabbih? - K.): God created Hawwa\(^\text{a}\) from the remainder of the clay of Ādām, forming her in Ādām's shape. God put sleep on Ādām and showed it (!) to him; it was the first dream on earth. When Ādām awoke, Hawwa\(^\text{a}\) was sitting at his head. He asked who she was and God replied that she was the person whom he had seen in his dream.\(^\text{156}\) A Șī'ī ʾimām (Abū Ga'far) remarks angrily on the opinion that Hawwa\(^\text{a}\) was created from Ādām's rib: "They lie! Was God powerless to create her from material other than Ādām's rib?" He quoted on the authority of one of his ancestors the following utterance of the Prophet: God took a handful of clay, mixed it with His right hand (both of His hands were right hands) and created Ādām from it: from a remainder of the clay He created Hawwa\(^\text{a}.\)\(^\text{157}\) The reason for the anger of the Șī'ī ʾimāms is indicated by a tradition recorded by Ibn Bābawayh al-Qummī. People say that Hawwa\(^\text{a}\) was created from the left rib of Ādām, remarks one of the followers of the ʾimām. The ʾimām (Abū ʾAbdallāh) says in rage: "Did God lack the power to create a wife for Ādām from something other than his rib? This is a slander which makes it possible to say that Ādām had sexual intercourse with himself as Hawwa\(^\text{a}\) was (created) from his rib. What is the matter with these people? May God judge between us and them. Even some of the beasts are in the habit of killing themselves when they notice that they have had intercourse with one of their sisters," the ʾimām observed. Further the ʾimām gives a short report on the independent creation of Hawwa\(^\text{a}\) (ibtada'allahu l-jalqān).\(^\text{158}\) A harmonizing version is recorded by Niʿmatullāh al-Mūsawī; Hawwa\(^\text{a}\) was created from the clay prepared for Ādām; every part of the body of Ādām was made separately in order to put the parts together during creation. In this way Hawwa\(^\text{a}\) was created from the clay of Ādām's rib.\(^\text{159}\) But it was not only Hawwa\(^\text{a}\) who was created from the remainder of Ādām's clay; some other useful creatures originated from this left-over. God created from this remainder the palm tree and the Prophet bade the believers to honour this tree, which is the aunt of the believers.\(^\text{160}\) Prophets and ʾimāms used to put green

\(^{156}\) Al-Maǧlisī, op. cit., XI, 115, no. 42.


branches of palm trees in the graves during the burial; there is indeed an utterance of the Prophet recommending it (ḥadīṭirū...); but this custom was later branded by the opponents of the Šī'a as a Šī'ī bidʿa.\(^{161}\) From this remainder God also created, according to a tradition recorded by Ibn ʿAsākir, the pomegranate and the vine.\(^{162}\) Some Muslim scholars report that pigeons\(^{163}\) and locusts were also created from this remainder.\(^{164}\)

The same criteria used for criticizing the traditions about ʿHawwāʾ were applied to the traditions about the children of ʿĀdam and ʿHawwāʾ as well. According to the current tradition ʿHawwāʾ gave birth to a great number of sets of twins. The sons of ʿĀdam were permitted to marry their sisters on condition that they would not marry their own twins.

There was indeed an eminent descendant of ʿAlī, ʿAḥbāb al-Ḥusayn, who justified these marriages and adopted the story of the creation of ʿHawwāʾ from ʿĀdam's rib. When he was asked about that, his attention being drawn to the fact that this was a Mağūṣī practice, he replied that the deeds of ʿĀdam and his children had been carried out before the prohibition of these deeds was issued. Their actions were in harmony with their law (ṣarḥ).\(^{165}\) The tradition that the sons of ʿĀdam married their sisters, says a Šīʿī imām, only strengthens the arguments of the Mağūṣī. The Šīʿī story about the progeny of ʿĀdam is as follows: ʿHawwāʾ gave birth to seventy sets of twins. After Qābīl murdered his brother Hābīl, ʿĀdam was overcome by grief and abstained from intercourse with ʿHawwāʾ for five hundred years. Then he had intercourse with her and she bore two children: ʿṢīt and ʿYaḥṣīt, who did not have twin siblings. When they became mature for marriage God sent down two ḥūrī girls: Baraka for ʿṢīt, Munzala for ʿYaḥṣīt. The progeny of ʿṢīt and ʿYaḥṣīt are the prophets and messengers of mankind.\(^{166}\) This account contains no information about the marriages of the other sons of ʿĀdam.


\(^{163}\) See Niʿmatullāh al-Mūsawi, *op. cit.*, I, 232.


\(^{165}\) Al-Maġlisī, *op. cit.*, XI, 226.

In another version it is again the imām Abū 'Abdallāh who is asked about the marriage of the sons of Ādam with their sisters and who flatly denies the account, arguing that Ādam's belief was identical with that of the Prophet; had Ādam done it, the Prophet would have followed his example. Further the imām gives a short résumé of the marriages of Ādam's children. Ādam's monstrous daughter Ānāq was killed by ravaging beasts. The son Qābīl (born after Ānāq) grew up and married a ǧinnī girl Ǧihāna sent for him by God. Later Hābīl was born and when he grew up God sent down a hūrī girl called Turk (sic!): Hābīl married her. After a time God bade Ādam transmit to Hābīl the greatest name of God, the legacy of prophethood and the lists of names which God taught him. Ādam carried out God's order. However Qābīl envied Hābīl; a test of a sacrifice proved that Hābīl had the right to the prophetic legacy. Qābīl disregarded the test of fire (which consumed the sacrificial ram of Hābīl) and killed his brother, guided in his plan by Iblīs. Qābīl was advised by Iblīs to build a temple for the worship of Fire on the spot where the fire consumed the sacrifice of Hābīl; he was the first worshipper of Fire. Ādam came to the place where Qābīl killed Hābīl and wept for forty days, cursing the earth which accepted the blood of his son; this place is the qibla of the congregational mosque of al-Bāṣra. On the day when Hābīl was killed, his wife the hūrī Turk bore a child; Ādam named it Hābīl; the child was thus Hābīl b. Hābīl. Afterward God granted Ādam a child; Ādam named him Șīt or Hibatullāh. Șīt grew up and married a hūrī girl named Nā'ima, sent for him by God; she bore him a girl and Ādam named her Ḥūriyya; when she grew up she married Hābīl b. Hābīl. All the creatures are in fact the progeny of Șīt. Before his death Ādam conveyed the prophetic legacy to Șīt, bidding him hide it from Qābīl and enjoin his descendants to transmit it to Nūḥ. 167

What was the tree which Ādam and Ḥāwā' were ordered to stay away from (wa-lā taqrabā hādíhi l-ṣāğarata) and refrain eating the fruit of? The answer to this provides a great variety of possibilities; a fig tree; a camphor tree; a grape vine; a wheat; a palm date; or a citron tree. 168

167 Al-Mašrīlī, op. cit., Xl, 226–229; about the worship of fire of Qābīl, see al-’Iṣāmī, op. cit., I, 86.
168 See e.g., al-Suyūṭī, al-Durr, I, 53 sup.; al-Naysābūrī, op. cit., I, 276 ult.—277 sup.; al-Qurtūbī, op. cit., I, 305; al-Ṭabarī, Tafsīr, I, 516–521: Ishāq b. Bišr, op. cit., fol. 44a; Ibn Gungul, op. cit., fol. 24b; Abū Ḥayyān, op. cit., I, 158; al-Samarqandī, Tafsīr, MS, fol. 14b; ‘Abd al-Gabbār, Tanzīl al-qurān an al-maṣāḥif, p. 23 sup.; Anonymous, Siyar al-anbiyya, MS Br. Mus. Or. 1510, fol. 14b; al-Ṣawkānī, Faṣāḥ al-qadīr, I, 68, 70; Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn, op. cit., MS, fol. 141b. And see the Christian tradition saying that the tree was a fig tree; it was the tree cursed by Jesus; on the trunk of this tree Jesus was crucified: Ibn Ḥazm, al-_FINE 11, 75.
According to a report transmitted by Šu‘ayb al-Ġabā’ī the wheat-like tree was called *da‘a*.170 Some transmitters said that it was a tree which, when its fruit is eaten, causes bowel movement. This was the reason why Ḥawwā‘ and Ādām were forbidden to eat it.171 The tree is sometimes called *ṣağarat al-‘i1m* or *ṣağarat al-huld*, pointing clearly to the hopes of Ādām and the deceitful ways of Iblis. There are also discussions whether the *ganna* (the “Garden”) was in heaven or on earth.172

Theologians and scholars of religious lawanalyse in great detail the character of the sin committed by Ādām and Ḥawwā‘, whether it is congruent with the prophetic mission, and what is the form of the punishment given to them and the repentance they practised.173

III

There is a clear tendency among Muslim scholars to belittle Ādām’s sin. Ādām and Ḥawwā‘ ate from the fruit of a tree which was of the same kind as that which God forbade them to eat; they were not aware of the meaning of God’s prohibition, assuming that God forbade them to eat the fruits of a specific tree (*al-ṣağara bi-‘aynihā*). The disobedience (*ma‘āṣi*) of the prophets is no more than small transgressions (*li-anna ma‘āṣī l-anbiya‘ī lā takūnu illā ṣağā‘ira*). Had Ādām and Ḥawwā‘ known that the prohibition of God referred to the whole species of that tree they would not have committed the sin. Consequently the removal of Ādām and Ḥawwā‘ from Paradise was not by way of punishment (*wa-lam yuḥriqualification uqūbat*). Further, God forgave Ādām’s sin and the effect of that transgression was removed (*wa-zilā ta‘iru tilka l-ma‘āṣiya*).174 The

174 ‘Abd al-Ḡabbār, *Tanzīh al-qur‘ān ‘an al-maṭāf in*, p. 23; and see ib., p. 145: the comment on ṣalamā anfusanā: they brought harm upon themselves by losing their reward and by being scared by the minor sin committed.
story of Adam's sin is formulated in a similar way by Ibn al-'Arabi: Iblīs lured Ādam and incited him to eat the fruit from a tree of a species forbidden by God, arguing that God's prohibition referred only to one specific tree of this species (garrahu bi-l-aḥqī bī-l-ẓāhirī, lit. "he tempted him to follow the outward sense" [of God's command]). Further Ibn al-'Arabi records other explanations of the circumstances of Ādam's sin: Some stories tell that he committed the sin while he was drunk. Ibn al-'Arabi denies this tradition vigorously since drunkenness does not free one from punishment for a sin. Prophets are impeccable after they have been granted prophethood and kept aloof from every deed (munazzahān) which may impair the proper fulfilment of their religious obligations ('ammā yuḥillu bī-l-fārā'īd) or cause involvement in sins.175

In some reports the burden of the sin is imposed on Ḥawwā'. She is said to have handed Ādam the intoxicating drink,176 or to have led him to the forbidden tree,177 or to have persuaded Ādam to eat the forbidden fruit.178 Ḥawwā's evil role is reflected in Ādam's answer when asked by God whether he ate of the forbidden fruit: "The woman whom Thou hast placed with me has led me astray" (yā rabbī, ḥādhihi llatī ga'a/ta ma't agwani).179 When Ādam once met Ḥawwā' weeping he reproached her by saying: "This happened by your deed".180 Ādam settled down on earth and worked hard with an ox; while he wiped the sweat from his forehead with his hand,181 he rebuked Ḥawwā' saying: "You did it with me" (anti 'amili bīḥāḍa). Everyone who works with an ox says even today "ḥuww" (which is reminiscent of Ḥawwā's evil deed — K.).182 According to a tradition traced back to Ibn 'Abbās it was Ḥawwā' who hastened to the tree and overtook Ādam, because Satan promised them that whoever came first would gain the upper hand over the other. Ḥawwā' came first, ate the fruit of the forbidden tree and gave it to Ādam. But God thwarted the plan and granted the upper hand to Ādam.183 Ḥawwā' was severely punished.184

175 Ibn al-'Arabi, Tafsīr, I, 18-19.
176 See e.g., al-Ṭabarānī, Tafsīr, I, 530, no. 749; al-Ṭā'labī, Tafsīr, MS Sprenger, p. 86 inf.
177 See e.g., Yahyā b. Salām, Tafsīr, MS, p. 7.
178 See e.g., al-Ṭabarānī, Tafsīr, I, 525-529; al-Ṣawākānī, Fath al-qadīr, I, 70.
179 Al-Bagawī, Matālim al-tanzīl, I, 42 inf.; al-Ḥāzin, Tafsīr, I, 42 inf. — 43 sup.; al-Suyūṭī, Al-Durr, III, 74; see Genesis 3, 12.
180 Al-Maṣʿūdī, Abḥār al-samān, p.50.
181 See e.g., al-Bagawī, Tafsīr, IV, 228; al-Ḥāzin, Tafsīr, IV, 228; al-Nasafi, Tafsīr, III, 68 sup.; al-Ǧawī, Marādī, II, 30; al-Ṭabarānī, Tafsīr, XVI, 150.
182 Ibn 'Asikīr, Taḍīth (taḥdīth) II, 353; and cf. al-Suyūṭī, Al-Durr IV, 310 (and see ib., another version: God rebuked Ḥawwā' stating that she had deceived Ādam); Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn, op. cit., MS, fol. 146b; and see Anonymous, Qīṣas al-anbiyāʾ, MS Leiden Or. 14,027, fol. 13a.
183 Ishāq b. Bīrī, op. cit., MS, folas. 44b, 71b.
184 See e.g., Anonymous, Siyār al-anbiyāʾ, MS Br. Mus. Or. 1510, fol. 15b; Anonymous,
But it was Adam who was warned by God to beware of Iblis and was threatened that he would be removed from Paradise and would be miserable, fa-taşqā. The change of number from the dual fa-lā yuhrīţannakūmā to the singular fa-taşqā is explained by the fact that Ādam was held responsible for the sustenance and maintenance of Hawwā'. Since then men are obliged by law to provide adequate support for their wives, the "daughters of Hawwā'." It is evident that Hawwā' deserved the punishment she got; but she could not bear her hardship, her bad plight and ignominy, and complained to God of her misery. God promised her as well as the women of her progeny that those women who are decent, honourable, and righteous in their marital life will be duly rewarded on the Day of Resurrection.

Hawwā’’s transgressions, however, had no bearing on how the causes and effects of Ādam’s sin are evaluated. The Quran refers to his sin as forgetfulness, as mentioned in Sūrat Tā-Hā 115: “And we made covenant with Ādam before, but he forgot and We found in him no constancy,” wa-laqaḍ ʿahidnā ilā ādama min qablū fa-nasiya wa-lam naqīd lahu ʿażman. Some commentators render the verb fa-nasiya, “he forgot” by fa-taraka, “he left, forsook, relinquished, abandoned.” It is obvious that taraka has graver connotations than nasiya. This is seen in an interpretation quoted on the authority of al-Ḥasān al-BAṣrī: were it mere forgetfulness no punishment would have been imposed on Ādam, because God acquitted the believers from a sin of error or forgetfulness. But Ādam relinquished (taraka) that which he had been enjoined to do, namely to avoid eating from the fruit. Al-Rāzī (= Muḥammad b. Abī-Bakr b. ʿAbd al-Qādir) argues that one cannot render nasiya by “he forgot”, because the severity of Ādam’s punishment, his being expelled from Paradise, and the harsh terms āṣā and ṣawā applied to Ādam are incompatible with the idea of forgetfulness. Besides, he could not have forgotten the injunction because he often argued with Iblis. Consequently the conclusion to be drawn is that fa-nasiya has to be rendered by fa-taraka: Ādam repudiated the covenant and the injunction given to him. In spite of this deed Ādam

Qiṣāṣ al-anbiyyā’, MS Leiden Or. 14,027, fol 10b, 14b; and see al-Maṣṭūfī, Aḥbār al-zamān, p. 51 (the ten kinds of suffering of women).

183 See al-Qurtubī, Tafsīr, XI, 253; al-Rāzī, Masā’il, p. 223.

184 Anonymous, Qiṣāṣ al-anbiyyā’, MS Leiden Or. 14,027, fol. 14b.

185 See e.g., Ibn Qurayba, Tafsīr ṣaḥīḥ al-qur’ān, ed. Aḥmad Ṣaqr, Cairo 1378/1958, p. 283, no. 115 (fa-nasiya, ay taraka l’-ahda); al-Qurtubī, Tafsīr, XI, 251; Ibn Kaṭīr, Tafsīr, IV, 541; al-Fahr al-Rāzī, Tafsīr, XXII, 124; al-Suyūṭī, al-Durr, IV, 309.

186 Al-Suyūṭī, al-Durr, IV, 310.

187 Al-Rāzī, Masā’il, p. 222–223. The editor, Ibrāhīm ʿAṭwa ʿAwād, rejects the rendering of nasiya by taraka stating that it is an importunate expression used in relation to a prophet.
can not be marked as 'āṣin (disobedient or rebellious) or gāwin (a seducer, a person who leads others astray), which may indicate that he was a constant sinner.190 There is, however, also a suggestion that fa-nasiya possesses its original meaning "to forget", as in Ādam's time forgetfulness was considered a sin and was subject to punishment.191

The tendency to take the burden of guilt off Ādam's shoulders can be noticed in another interpretation: fa-nasiya is read by some scholars of the Quran as a passive: fa-nussiya, "he was made to forget", which means that Satan made him forget God's injunction.192 The following clause: wa-lam naqīd lahu 'azman, "and we found in him no firm resolution," is interpreted by the commentators as denoting that God did not find in him a firm resolution to refrain from the erroneous decision to eat of the fruit of the forbidden tree. Some scholars explicate it, however, by saying that he was not resolute in committing the sin; this is, of course, almost a praise.193

Following the same line some commentators interpreted the following clause (Ṭā-Hā 121) wa-'aṣā ādamu rabbahu fa-ğawā, "and Ādam disobeyed his Lord, so went astray" (translation of M. M. Pickthall) by making 'aṣā to mean "a fault, an unintentional deed of offence" (ḥafi'a or ḫaṭa').194 Abū Ḥanīfa admits that some of the prophets committed certain slips (zallat wa-ḥaṭi'at) after having been granted prophethood and 'Alī al-Qārī, the commentator, proves this by scrutinizing the slips of Ādam.195

This theory is corroborated by the tradition saying that there has never been a prophet who did not err (occasionally) or who at least did not have the intention to commit an error, except Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyā.196


191 See, e.g., al-Qurṭubi, Ṭafsīr, XI, 251.

192 Al-Sawkāni, Fath al-qadīr, III, 389; al-Ǧawārī, Marāb, II, 30, l. 1; al-Fāhr al-Rāzī, Ṭafsīr, XXII, 124.


194 See e.g., Ibn Ḥuzayma, op. cit., p. 354: "wa-qawluhu 'azza wa-galla "wa-'aṣā ādamu rabbahu fa-ğawā" mā yubayyinu wa-yuqīhū anna sma l-ğawī qad yaqū'u 'alā murākubi l-ḥaṭi'atī qad zağara llāhu 'an iiyāniha, wa-in lam takun ilka l-ḥaṭi'atu kufran wa-lā ẓirkan wa-lā mā yuqārūbihū l-ğawī..." 


Concerning 'asā and ḥāba al-Qurtubi quotes the attenuating opinion of some scholars who consider the slips of the prophets as insignificant; in comparison with the deeds done by other persons they may be considered good. Another interpretation of 'asā in the same vein says that the verb may denote a failure to carry out a recommended action. Thus 'asā was interpreted as possessing two meanings, committing a sin intentionally as well as committing a slip unintentionally. Following the same line of thought, the verb gowā, "he went astray," was rendered in this clause by ḥāba, "he became disappointed," because "he did not achieve his aim," "he did not receive the reward he might have received," or "he carried out a deed which he should not have done." The expression zalamnā anfusanā (Sūrat al-a‘rāf, verse 24), "we have wronged ourselves," was likewise explained: the harm done to themselves was "their deed which it would have been better not to do" or that Ādam and Ḥawwā’ considered their deed as zulm "iniquity" because of their high moral position and freedom from guilt.

197 Al-Qurtubi, Tafsīr, XI, 255: ...wa-innāmā tilka l-umūrū llati waqṣat minhum ‘alā ghātī l-nudāri wa-‘alā ghātī l-ḥaṣa‘i wa-l-nīsāni, aw ta‘wīlin do‘ā ilā dālīka, fa-hīra bi-l-nīsāti ilā ǧāyrihim ḥasānātun wa-fi ḥaqiqihim savyīṭātun bi-l-nīsāti ilā manāṣībihim...

198 Al-Ṭaḥr al-Rāżī, Tafsīr, XXII, 127, gives some examples of this usage in Arabic: asārī ‘alayhi fi ‘amrī walaḍdī fi kāḍā fa-‘asānī. The concept of ‘isānī can thus be applied to Ādam’s deed: he might have missed to carry out a recommended deed (tārikun li-l-mandiibī) and not missing to carry out an obligatory deed (tārikun li-l-wājīb); and see Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, Šarḥ nāḥī al-balāga, I, 157: ...wa-qawwulūhum: maw‘ā ǧāṣa annahu ‘adala‘a‘ an l-awlā, li-annā l-amra bi-tarkī akli l-ṣaḡārātī kāna amiran ‘alā sabīti l-nadībī, fa-lamāmā tarakāhū udāmū kāna tārikūn li-landībīlī wa-l-awlā, fa-summīyā ‘āṣiyan bi-tṣibīrī mūhāfātī l-awlā...; and see the discussion of this topic ib., VII, 12-18 (see e.g., p. 12: wa-ḥuktiya‘ an ‘ābī isḥaqa l-nażzāmī wa-ǧa‘fārī bni mubaṣṣīr anna ḥanūkhām lā tukūnū ilā ‘alā sabīti l-sahwī wa-l-nīsānī, wa-annāhūn mu‘āḥādūna bi-dālīka wa-in kāna mawdū‘ān ‘an ummatīhim... wa-qalatī l-imāmīyatūt; lā tōġūzū ‘alavīhīm l-kabā‘īrī wā-l-lā ṣaḡārīrū;... and see ib., p. 14 sup.: wa-‘asā udāmū rabbāhū, fa-inn ā-māṣyātī mūhāfātūn li-l-amrī, wa-l-amrī mina l-ḥakīmī ta‘alā qad yakūnū bi-l-wājībī wa-bi-l- nadībī ma‘an; fa-lā yūmānu‘u alā ḥāḏā an yakūnū udāmū mandūbān ilā tarkī l-tanīwūlī mina l-ṣaḡārī... wa-layṣa yūmānu‘u an yusammā l-ṣayki l-nasīlī ʿāṣiyan kanā yusammā bi-dīlīka tārikū l-wājībī...).

199 See al-Nasafī, Tafsīr, III, 68; and cf. al-Ǧawī, Marāḥ, I, 30; al-Ṭaḥarsī, Maḏmū‘ al-bayān, XV, 151 infra., I, 158.

200 See e.g., Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, Šarḥ nāḥī, VII, 15: qa‘ā l-murtaḍā: ma‘nā ḡawā ḥāmūna, ḥāba, li-nānǎhu nātāmū anna l-waṣītū wa-l-niṣāni, wa-annāhūn mu‘āḥādūna bi-dīlīka wa-in kāna mawdū‘an ‘an ummatīhim... wa-qalatī l-imāmīyatūt; lā toğūzu ‘alayhim l-kabā‘īrū wa-l-lā ṣaḡārīrū...; and see ib., p. 229: wa-‘asā udāmū rabbāhū, fa-inn ā-māṣyātī mūhāfātūn li-l-amrī, wa-l-amrī mina l-ḥakīmī ta‘alā qad yakūnū bi-l-wājībū wa-bi-l- nadībī ma‘an; fa-lā yūmānu‘u alā ḥāḏā an yakūnū udāmū mandūbān ilā tarkī l-tanīwūlī mina l-ṣaḡārī... wa-layṣa yūmānu‘u an yusammā l-ṣayki l-nasīlī ʿāṣiyan kanā yusammā bi-dīlīka tārikū l-wājībī...).

201 See al-Ḥawī, Tafsīr, IV, 12, 6: wa-man lam yuqawwīḏ dīlīka ‘alā l-anbiyā‘i ḥamāla l-zulma‘u alā anna l-ṭa‘lī ma‘nā kāna l-awlā an la yaf‘ālāhu.

202 Al-Ḥawī, Tafsīr, II, 110: wa-‘fala ma‘ nāma lā yaksan lahu ḥabībī...
According to some scholars Ādam perpetrated the sin before he was
granted prophethood. Some scholars, Sunnī and Shī‘ī alike, assumed
that the expulsion of Ādam and Hawwā’ was not caused by Ādam’s sin
and was not made as a punishment for that sin. They were merely
expelled because the standard of what is good and right (maslaha) changed
after they had eaten the fruit, and it was according to God’s wisdom and
prior plan that they were expelled.

As mentioned above, God forgave the sin of Ādam when he implored
Him by the merit of Muhammad (bi-haqqi muhammadin). That Ādam’s
sin was forgiven is said to be indicated in the Quran. This is found in some
commentaries of the Quran. Sūra XLVIII, 1–2 says the following: “Surely
we have given thee a manifest victory, that God may forgive thee thy
former and thy latter sins, and complete His blessing upon thee and guide
thee on a straight path” [Arberry’s translation] (innā fataḥnā laka faṭḥan
mubīnan* li-yaḡfira laka llāhu mā taqaddama min ḍānibika wa-mā
ta’āḥšara, wa-yutimma niḥmatahu ‘alayka wa-yahdiyaka širāṭan
mustaqiṭman). Scholars were not unanimous about the meaning of the
phrase “thy former and thy latter sins.” Some explained “thy former” as
referring to sins perpetrated before the call to prophethood, and “thy
latter” after that call. Others assumed that “the former” referred to sins
committed in the period of the Gāhiliyya, “the latter” to all (i.e., sins — K.)
not committed by the Prophet.

Another interpretation says that “the former” denoted the sin of the
Day of Badr, “the latter” the sin of Ḥunayn. Some scholars interpreted
“the former” as relating to the sin of Abraham, “the latter” to the sins of
other prophets. In some interpretations “the former” was explained as

nazāḥatihim wa-imārati bawātinihim bi-l-wahiyi l-samāwiyyi wa-l-dikri l-qudsiyyi wa-
imārati zawāhirihim bi-l-malālī ẓālīhi aw l-ḥaṣiyyatī li-l-lāhī ʾazza wa-ṣallā qunūban, wa-hiya
ḥasanātun bi-l-misbati ilā gaḍirihim...

204 Al-Šawkānī, Fatḥ, III, 390; al-Ṣaḥḥār al-Raṣī, Tafsīr, XIV, 50, XXII, 128; al-Ḥāzin,
Tafsīr, 1, 42, 179–180, 1V, 230; al-Katākānī, al-Burḥān, III, 46 (in another report al-Katākānī
records ib., that Ādam perpetrated the sin in Paradise. After his expulsion, when he
established his abode on earth, he was granted prophethood and infallibility).

205 See above, note 174, and see al-Ṭabarṣī, Maḡmaʿ al-bayān, I, 191: wa-lam yakun
iḥrāḡuhumā mina l-γanāti wa-ihḥāṣuhumā ilā l-arḍī ala waṣāhi l-ṣuqūbi...
“the case of Mariya,” “the latter” as “the case of Zaynab.” Some scholars assumed that the phrase simply denotes all the sins perpetrated by the Prophet.  

Tabarsi refutes these interpretations, records however two peculiar explications: (1) ḍanbaka should be interpreted as “sin committed (scil. by the unbelievers) against thee,” and ḡafara should be rendered “He removed, abolished”; the meaning is: God cast aside the decisions of the enemies of the Prophet; this is evidently linked with the prediction about the conquest of Mecca in the future. The other explanation is that the suffix in ḍanbaka refers not to the Prophet, but to the Ṣ̣ī‘a community: God forgave the former and the latter sins of the Ṣ̣ī‘a community. A Ṣ̣ī‘i imām explains: The Prophet neither committed, nor did he intend to commit, a sin; God merely put on him the burden of the sins of his Ṣ̣ī‘a, which He later removed from him.

According to another explanation the “former sin” of the Prophet forgiven by God is that of his ancestors Ādam and Ḥawwā, the “latter sin” is that of his community. This interpretation is rejected by most scholars; al-Ṣawkānī comments with some severity: how far removed it is from the meaning of the Quran! But it was al-Ṣāfī who put it forward: mā taqaddama min ḍanbika is mā taqaddama min ḍanbi abika ādama; wa-mā ta‘ahhara explained: mā ta‘ahhara min ḍunūbi ummataika; a phrase attached says: udḥīhūm l-ğannata bi-ṣafā’atika (“I shall make them enter Paradise by thy intercession”).

This interpretation recurs in an interesting compilation of al-Samarqandi, Mağma‘ al-hikam. The Prophet did not commit a sin, nor did he perpetrate a minor transgression (zalla) in his youth. Some said the sin committed refers to the sin of Ādam, when he plucked the forbidden fruit from the tree. Samarqandi gives a description of the tree and says that it seized Ādam by the hair. Ādam implored God by the merit (bi-ḥaqiqi) of Abraham, Moses, and Jesus, but that was of no avail. However, when

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210 Al-Ṭabarṣī, Mağma‘, XXVI, 52–53; and see al-Katakānī, al-Burhān, IV, 195–196.
211 Al-Qurtubi, Taṣfīr, XVI, 263; al-Naysābūrī, Garā‘ib, XXVI, 41; al-Ṭabarṣī, Mağma‘, XXVI, 52.
212 Al-Ṣawkānī, Fath, V, 45.
214 See e.g., Yaḥyā b. Ṣalām, Taṣfīr, MS, p. 105; and comp. al-Saqṣīnī, op. cit., MS, p. 91: when Ādam was expelled from Paradise trees refused to hide him. He finally found shelter under the aloe tree. Asked by God why it gave shelter to Ādam the tree explained that it did it out of pity. God promised the aloe tree that, as a reward, He will cause people to esteem the tree and its wood will be expensive. But as the tree sheltered Ādam without asking permission its wood will have to be burnt in order to obtain the expensive scent.
Adam invoked by the merit of Muhammad, the tree let him loose. Then he heard a voice, crying out: “Had you implored Me by the merit of all the prophets I would not have freed you.” That was the offence committed, “the former sin” (mā taqaddama); “the latter sins” (mā ta‘āhīra) refer to the sins of his community. God forgave them their sins and gave (i.e., the people of his community — K.) as gift to the Prophet (fa-inna Ilāha gafara lahum wa-wahabahum li-muḥammadin ‘alayhi l-salātu wa-l-salām). Samarqandī raises the question: why are both kinds of sin, the one committed by (one of — K.) the people of the past (al-umam al-maḍiya) and the one committed by us both attributed to the Prophet? The answer is: Because the Prophet is the Lord (sawiyd) of mankind from beginning to end; he will intercede for them, all being in his care like his flock, and the sin committed by the people is by right attributed to the man who stands at their head.

This early tradition carries a new concept of the Prophet, according to which he carried on himself the burden of the sins of Ādam and Ḥawwā' (or the sins of the other prophets — K.) as well as the sins of his community. It was God’s grace that He forgave the Prophet (and his community) all these sins.

IV

A characteristic feature of the early qiṣaṣ stories is a clear tendency of rigid predestination. Things had been decided and decreed thousands of years before the creation of mankind. No change can be made in the decisions, inscribed for ever on the Preserved Tablet (al-lawh al-mahfūz). All the events which happened to Ādam and Ḥawwā' are predetermined and inevitable. God forbade them to eat from the fruit of the tree but Hāmid al-Fiqt, Cairo 1369/1950,
knew in His prior knowledge that they would not obey.\textsuperscript{217} Adam, standing in God's presence and beseeching Him to grant him forgiveness, asks God whether his deed was not determined for him before he was created. God confirms that it was so.\textsuperscript{218} Ibn 'Abbās formulated this in a concise utterance: "God drove out Ādam from Paradise before He created him."\textsuperscript{219} Creatures, says a tradition, are born in happiness (sa'īd) or misery (ṣaqī). Iblīs was born miserable, therefore he refused to bow to Ādam.\textsuperscript{220} God created Yalūṯa b. Zakariyyā in his mother's womb as believer and He created Fir'awn in his mother's womb as unbeliever (kāfir).\textsuperscript{221}

After the creation of Ādam God established the lots of all human beings who would be born until the Day of Resurrection. This is indicated in Sūra VII (al-aʿrāf) 172: "And when Thy Lord took from the Children of Ādam, from their loins, their seed and made them testify touching themselves: 'Am I not your Lord?', they said: 'Yes, we testify, lest you should say on the Day of Resurrection: As for us, we were heedless for this.'" (Arberry's translation).
Al-Ṭabarî recorded in 28 pages of his *Tafsîr* (XIII, 222–250) the traditions according to which the progeny of Ādam were asked to take upon themselves the obligation stemming from faith in God; God divided the progeny of Ādam into the good, who would enter Paradise, and the wicked, who would enter Hell. Sometimes this obligation is referred to as the First Covenant (*al-miṣāq al-awwal*).²²² God brought out all the souls from the back of Ādam; they were like ants. The white ones, pulled out from the right side of Ādam’s back, were predestined for Paradise; the black ones, pulled out from the left side of Ādam’s back, were predestined for Hell. They declared that God was their Lord: some of them did this unwillingly.²²³ There are divergent traditions as to the place in which the Covenant took place: in Paradise or on earth. Some say it took place at Na’mân²²⁴ or at al-Daḥnā²²⁵; others say al-Daḥnā in India.²²⁶ An early tradition says that the Day of Covenant took place in Paradise a short time before the expulsion of Ādam and Ḥawwâ.²²⁷ According to some traditions the event took place on the Day of ʿArafa.²²⁸ Some reports establish the time when the Covenant was concluded: it happened when Ādam came from India (on his pilgrimage — K.) and met Ḥawwâ.²²⁹ Some questions of doctrine in connection with the explanation of this verse in the Quran and the ḥadîths about the Covenant associated to it were raised by scholars: is the predestination of the souls deliberate, final and

²²² Al-Ṭabarî, *Tafsîr*, XIII, 230, no 15352; there is a tradition that God introduced to Abraham the human creatures as He presented them to Ādam (al-Saqsînî, *op. cit.*, MS, p. 244: *wa-yuqâlu inna llâhu ‘azza wa-galla ‘arafat l-ḥalâ‘iq a‘alâ ibrahîma kamâ ‘arâdahum a‘alâ ādâma*).


²²⁵ Al-Ṭabarî, *Tafsîr*, XIII, 228, no. 15347 (see the comment of the editors, *ib.*, XIII, 225, note 1).


²²⁹ Anonymous, *Qîṣaṣ al-anbiyâ‘*, MS Leiden Or. 14,027, fol. 16b (and see other reports about the Covenant: *ib.*, fol. 16b–17a).
Adam

unchangeable?\textsuperscript{230} Do small children enter Paradise, as their souls took part at the conclusion of the Covenant?\textsuperscript{231}


\textsuperscript{231} See e.g., al-Qurtubi, Tafsir, VII, 317: \textit{...wa-qad istadallā bi-ḥādihi l-ḥayātī man qāla: inna man māta ṣağīrān dahala l-ḥannata li-iquūrīhī fī l-mīṭāqī l-a’awwālī wa-mān balāqa l-ṭa’alā lam yuğnihi l-mīṭāqī l-a’awwālī...} and see Abū Ḥanīfa, al-Fiqh al-akbar (sarh ‘āli al-qārī), p. 42: zohara min hādīhi l-mas’alātī wa-mā yatā’allāqu bihā mina l-adillā anna l-qawla bi-anna asfāl al-muṣrikīnā fī l-nār mattrūkum; and see Yāḥyā b. Salām, Tafsīr, MS, p. 263 (discussing the story of the Covenant) \textit{...wa-man kāna fī l-kitābī l-a’awwālī sā’dān ‘umūra ḥāṣā yāgīriya ‘alayhi l-qalāmā fa-yasīrū sā’dān; wa-man māta ṣağīrān min awlādī l-mu’mīnīn qabla an yāgīriya ‘alayhi l-qalāmā fa-yakūnūna mā’a abā’īhīm fī ahlī l-ḥannātī; wa-man kāna min awlādī l-muṣrikīn fī màṣī qabla an yāgīriya ‘alayhi l-qalāmā, fa-layyās yakūnūna mā’a abā’īhīm fī l-nāri li-annahum mātū ‘alā l-mīṭāqī l-la’āfī qālī ya’līyīn fa-subī ādāma wa-lam yānūdū l-mīṭāqī...}

\textsuperscript{232} ‘Abd al-Ḡabbār, Tanzīh al-qur’ān ‘an al-masā’in, p. 153: \textit{...wa-ğawābunā anna l-qawma muḥtīfūnā fī l-riwāyatī fī, miṣnā min l-muḥādi min yahūdī ‘alayhim al-mawṣūfa wa-hum ka-l-dār lā hayāta lahum wa-lā ‘aql... wa-zāhiru l-ḥayātī bi-ḥulāfī qawlihim, li-annahu ta’lā ādāma min zuhūrī bānī ādāma, lā min ādāma; wa-l-murādū annahu aḥraĝa min zuhūrīhim dūrīyītatan akmāla ‘uqūlahum fa-aḥaḍa l-mīṭāqī ‘alayhim...}
Muḥammad — K.) and ordered them to swear their allegiance to him and their belief in his prophetic mission; God joined them by attesting that Muḥammad is His messenger. Then the progeny of Ādam were ordered to affirm the lordship of God and to declare themselves God's servants (fa-aqarrū bi-l-rubūbiyya wa-l-'ubūdiyya); God enjoined them to stroke the Black Stone and to prostrate themselves and they carried out His order; only the unbelievers and the hypocrites (al-kuffār wa-l-munāsīquṭ) were unable to do so, because they felt that there was something as stiff as bull's horns in their back bones. Then God showed Ādam his progeny, those predestined for Paradise as well as those predestined for Hell. In another report, traced back to Ibn ʿAbbas, Ādam saw among the lights of his progeny the shining lights of Dāwūd and Muḥammad. Ādam committed himself to grant Dāwūd sixty years of his life, because the life-span allotted to Dāwūd was very short. Ādam, however, was faithless with regard to his obligation (ḡahāda), but he was compelled to admit the truth when the signatures of the angels attending the Day of the Covenant were presented to him. Since then people have been enjoined to get witnesses for their pacts. Further, God explained to Ādam who was the Great Light he had seen: it was the prophet Muḥammad, whom God defined as the last as well as the first of the prophets; he is indeed the last of the prophets, but the first to enter Paradise. Ādam expressed his satisfaction at the idea that Muḥammad should precede him in entering Paradise.

Ādam's personality emerges from a tradition in which it is said that the earth and the sky refused to undertake a certain responsibility, and only Ādam agreed to bear it: to be rewarded for good deeds and to be punished for evil actions. Paradise is for the good, Hell for the bad.

The idea of the lot predestined to all the creatures is reflected in a ḥadīth transmitted by Suḥyān al-Ṭawrī and recorded by Ḥishāq b. Bišr. The Prophet ascended the minbar carrying in his hands two books. He started to read from the book in his right hand: In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate. A book written by the Merciful, the Compassionate; it contains the names of the people of Paradise and the names of their fathers and their tribal divisions and their progeny, their total number is

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233 Ḥishāq b. Bišr, op. cit., MS, fol. 65a, inf. — 67a sup.; and see this tradition: al-Saqṣīnī, op. cit., MS, pp. 16-17.

234 On the cession of the years see: Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-ʿAṣīlī, al-ʿUwāhir al-saniyya fi l-ḥāḍīth al-qudsiyya, Baghdad 1384/1964, pp. 10–11; Ibn Ḥuzayma, K. al-tawḥīd, pp. 67–68 (60 years); Ibn al-Gawzī, al-Tabḥīra, p. 17 (40 years); Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb, Taʿrīḥ, MS, p. 27 (30 years); and see the various versions about the cession (30 years, 40 years, 60 years) Ibn Nāṣīr al-Dīn, op. cit., fol. 138a–139b.


236 Ḥishāq b. Bišr, op. cit., fol. 65a–b.
inalterable (muğmal 'alayhim), so that nothing can be added to or detracted from it until the Day of Resurrection; then the Prophet unfolded the book which was in his left hand and told the believers what was written there about the people of Hell and their unchanging number. Twice the Prophet uttered the words: “Your Lord has accomplished” [scil. “His decree”] (farago rabbukum).

This tradition goes well together with the traditions about the Covenant and about the people destined for Paradise as against those destined for Hell.

The document of the Covenant, as it had to be deposited in a proper place, was placed in the Black Stone. Ibn 'Abbas stated that the Black Stone is God’s right hand on earth; with it He greets those whom He likes from among His creatures. Stroking the Black Stone means, in fact, a renewal of the Covenant; while stroking the stone people say: “With belief in Thee and out of faithfulness toward the Covenant.”

The Black Stone is closely connected with the vicissitudes of Adam. When he was expelled from Paradise the Stone was sent down with him; he wiped the tears of his eyes with it. When he performed the pilgrimage to Mecca he put the Black Stone on the mountain of Abū Qubays and it was as luminous in the eyes of the people of Mecca as the moon. The Prophet is said to have carried a sliver of the Black Stone on his body. The story, as told by al-Samarqandi, runs as follows: When Ibrāhīm built the Ka’ba he lifted the Black Stone in order to put it in the proper place; the Stone, however, fell down and a piece of it broke away. God then ordered Gibrīl to put the broken piece in the cave of the mountain in which the Prophet would seek refuge during the hīgra. When the Prophet and Abū Bakr entered the cave while on their way to Medina during the hīgra, Gibrīl arrived, handed over the broken piece of the Black Stone to the Prophet and bade him fasten it on his body: the Prophet carried out the order and obtained the miraculous power to see forwards and backwards. The traditions saying that the Prophet fastened a stone on his belly because of his hunger are therefore erroneous.

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238 Ibn Qutayba, Ta’wil muhālif al-hadīṣ, pp. 271–272 (imānān bika wa-wafā‘an bi-‘ahdika is explicated by Ibn Qutayba: ay: qad wafayn bi-‘ahdika, innaka anta rabbunā); and see Ibn Bābūya al-Qummi, 'īlal as-ṣara‘f, pp. 423 inf. — 424, bāb 161, nos. 1–3, 5; Ibn Fūrak, op. cit., pp. 32–33.
239 See e.g., Ibn Bābūya al-Qummi, 'īlal as-ṣara‘f, p. 426.
240 Al-Suyūṭī, al-Durr, I, 57, l. 16; al-Saqsānī, op. cit., MS, p. 18; al-Ṭa‘lābī, Tafsīr, MS Sprenger, p. 168.
241 Al-Suyūṭī, al-Durr, I, 57, l. 9 from bottom.
242 Al-Samarqandi, Mağmū‘ al-hikam, MS, fol. 89a; and see on the two stones fastened on
The very origin of the Black Stone is connected with Ādam and his sin: when God introduced Ādam to Paradise and forbade him to eat from the wheat, He placed an angel over him to guard him. This angel was absent when Ādam ate the forbidden fruit. When God looked sternly at the angel he became a jewel. Ādam wept at the sight of the jewel, but God endowed it with the power of speech and it said: O Ādam, I am the angel whom God placed over you to keep you; then the jewel was moved to the Ka'ba. That is the Black Stone, which God deposited in Abū Qubays: Abū Qubays was a mountain in Khurasan and was moved to Mecca. When Ibrāhīm built the Ka'ba he took the Black Stone. Abū Qubays asked Ibrāhīm to intercede with God, that it would not be returned to Khurasan, and so it remained in Mecca.\(^{243}\) A tradition of the Prophet says that one should ask the Black Stone to be a witness on the Day of Resurrection; the Stone will appear on that Day as intercessor and its intercession will be accepted. It will have a tongue and lips and it will give favourable evidence for people who stroked it.\(^{244}\) Several traditions state that the Black Stone was from Paradise.\(^ {245}\) The tradition about the Day of the Covenant and the role of the Black Stone is echoed in the utterance of the Prophet stating that the Black Stone is God's right hand and that he who strokes the Black Stone gives the oath of allegiance to God.\(^ {246}\) A vivid description of the role of the Black Stone during the ceremony of the Covenant is reported on the authority of the imām al-Baqir. When God took the oath of allegiance from mankind He let flow a river sweeter than honey and softer than foam. Then He ordered the Pen to draw (ink — K.; istamadda) from this

the belly of the Prophet because of hunger: al-Qurṭubī, al-Fā`ālm himā fi dīn al-naṣārā min al-fasād wa-l-āwhām, ed. Ahmad Ḫiǧāzī al-Saqqā, Cairo 1398/1978, p. 305; about the hunger of the Prophet and his Companions see: al-Zurqānī, Sarḥ al-mawāhib al-laduniyya, V, 332–333; and al-Qalīyūbī, Nawādir, p. 33. Another report says that the Prophet was given the choice between the privilege of intercession for his people on the Day of Resurrection and riches like those of Abū Gahl; the Prophet chose the intercession. When the Prophet ascended to heaven on his mīrāq he asked God to give him the document (al-ṣakk) of the privilege of intercession. God ordered it to be on paper (kāgid) and put it into a stone. The Prophet carried this stone on his belly. Before his death he ordered Abū Bakr to bury it with him in his grave (al-Saqṣīnī, op. cit., MS, p. 104).

\(^ {243}\) Al-Ṣaffūrī, op. cit., p. 226 inf.; a shorter version: al-Saqqā, op. cit., MS, p. 18; divergent versions about the angel who was turned into the Black Stone and about the document of the Covenant: Ibn Bābūya, 'Ilal al-ṣarārī, pp. 429–431, bāb 164.


\(^ {245}\) See e.g., al-Munāwī, op. cit., III, 408–409, nos. 3799, 3804.

\(^ {246}\) See e.g., al-Munāwī, op. cit., III, 410, no. 3805; and see above ad note 238; and see Ibn Bābūya, 'Ilal, p. 424, bāb 161, no. 3.
river, to put down their acknowledgement (of the Covenant — K.) and to write what will happen until the Day of Resurrection. Then He put it (i.e., the written document — K.) in the mouth of the Stone. The stroking of the Stone during the circumambulation of the Ka'ba amounts to reiterating the oath of allegiance (bay'a) as an acknowledgement of the Covenant.  

Some scholars identify the Black Stone with the stone which used to greet the Prophet before he received the revelation. Al-'Adawi, who records the tradition, records also the discussion of the scholars as to whether the greeting of the Black Stone was a real one, i.e., consisting of actual speech, or merely a sound. Consequently the scholars raised the question whether the Black Stone was a living creature or a lifeless being. Al-'Adawi concludes that in any case the Black Stone is a token of prophethood.

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The Shi'i story of the Covenant discloses divergent aspects of the event; it mentions different causes for the sin perpetrated by Ādam and makes much of the prominent role played by Ḥāmid and his family in this event. When Ādam and Ḥawwā' were introduced into Paradise and God caused the angels to bow to Ādam, he entertained the thought that God had created none more distinguished than he. God knew what he was thinking and He summoned him to lift his head; he saw the Throne and on its side he saw the inscription of the sahāda followed by the statement that 'Alī is the amīr of the faithful. Fāṭima his wife is the Lady of all the women in the world and Ḥasan and Ḥusayn are the lords (sayyidū) of the youths of Paradise. God explained to Ādam that these persons were his progeny and that they were the best creatures in the world; but for them God would have created neither Ādam, nor any of Hell, Paradise, Earth and Sky. God warned Ādam not to look at them with envy or desire their rank. But Ādam did look at them with envy, and thus Satan succeeded in subduing him by tempting him to eat the fruit of the forbidden tree. Ḥawwā' looked with envy at Fāṭima; thus Satan put her under his control and she, too, ate the forbidden fruit. Another setting for the story is recorded by al-

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247 Ibn Ṣahrāsūb, Manāqib ʿāli ʿabī ṣāḥib, Najaf 1375/1956, III, 333; (and cf. the utterance of al-Baqir stroking the Black Stone: allāhumma, āmanati addayyuhā, wa-miṣqī ti'āhadihuhi li-yāzhada itī 'indaka bi-l-wafā').  

248 See Abū al-Baqā' Muhammad al-'Umarī al-'Adawi, Aḥwāl makkata wa-l-madīna, MS Br. Mus. Or. 11865, fol. 136b, sup.  

249 Abū al-Baqā' al-'Adawi, Aḥwāl, fol. 136b — 137a.  

'Ayyāṣī: When God showed Ādam his progeny during the act of the Covenant, the Prophet passed by leaning upon 'Ālī followed by Fāṭima, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. God warned Ādam not to envy them lest he would be expelled from the proximity of God. Then God reiterated his warning when Ādam entered Paradise; Muḥammad, 'Ālī, Fāṭima, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn were again shown to Ādam and he looked at them with envy. He was asked to give the oath of allegiance (al-wilāya), but refrained. He was later expelled from Paradise. When he repented he invoked God “by the merit of the Five (mentioned above — K.), vowed allegiance (scil. to the Sī'īmāms — K.)” and God forgave him his sins.251 A very clear exposition of the story is given by Ni'matullah al-Mūsawī: When God created Paradise He planted that tree for 'Ālī b. Abī Ṭālib and his Family (āl) stipulating that nobody should eat from its fruit before him. It is for this reason that God ordered them not to draw near the tree.252 The tree is called in the Sī'ī tradition the Tree of Envy (ṣaḡarat al-ḥasad). In a tradition traced back to the imām al-'Askarī, the forbidden tree is called ṣaḡarat al-'ilm, the Tree of Knowledge of Muḥammad and his Family, those whom God preferred (ājararahum) above other people. God forbade to draw near the tree, as it belongs exclusively to Muḥammad and his Family and nobody should take from its fruits except them. It was a peculiar tree; it bore fruits of various kinds. He who took of the fruit by God's permission would be given the knowledge of “the first things and of the last things” without having to learn. He who took them without permission would fail and be considered a disobedient rebel. God ordered Ādam and Ḥawwā' not to draw near to the tree in their attempt to gain the position of Muḥammad and his Family and to attain to their excellence.253

According to some Sī'ī sources the Prophet stated that 'Ālī was the first of his community to announce on the Day of the Covenant his belief in the

to show them the place of the wicked (al-ẓālimūn), i.e., “those who strive undeservedly to achieve the rank awarded to 'Ālī and the imāms by God”. (This is God's definition of ẓālimūn — K.). They saw the wicked in the pit of Hell and witnessed their excruciating suffering. God again warned them not to envy 'Ālī and the imāms who are God's lights on Earth lest they should be expelled from Paradise and debased; see further ibid., I, 83 inf.; al-Mağlīṣ, op. cit., XI, 173.

251 Al-'Ayyāṣī, op. cit., I, 41, no. 27 (and see ib., no. 28; and see ib., II, 9, no. 8. The phrase wa-lam naḡid lahu 'azman is explained: “he was not resolute enough in abstaining from envy towards those whom God had elevated above him”; see al-Katakānī, op. cit., IV, 131, l. 11; III, 45, l. 15 and penult.). Abū al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ṭāṯūnī al-Nabāṭī al-Āmīlī al-Ḥāfīzī al-Ḡarawī, Muqaddimāt tafsīr mirāt al-anwar, Qumm 1391, p. 80 has the following text: ... bal fi aḥbārīn 'adidatin anna ṣādira l-ṣādir wa-lā yāzīm 'alā qabūlī l-wilāyatī 'azman tāmma mā šāra min ʿīlī l-ʿazmi wa-biṭīliya bi-hikāyi la-ṣaḡarati wa-l-iḫrāği mina l-ğanna...

252 Ni'matullāh al-Mūsawī, op. cit., I, 244.

253 Al-Katakānī, op. cit., I, 79.