A Guide to Early Jewish Texts and Traditions in Christian Transmission

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The present chapter explores the likelihood that Second Temple–era Jewish apocryphal and pseudepigraphical texts have an important role to play in the history of classical Islamic literature. Despite an explosion of interest generated in these sources by the famous manuscript discoveries of the past century or so, and the resultant seemingly comprehensive treatments of both the previously known and the newly discovered non-canonical biblical works by several generations of scholars, the academic study of the ways in which these texts emerge in distinct genres like the Qur'ān, *tafsīr*, universal histories, and the so-called "tales of the prophets" (*qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*) collections remains in its infancy. It is not difficult to understand why this is the case. Most serious students of Jewish apocrypha and pseudepigrapha come to such a study out of an overarching interest in Bible or early Judaism, disciplinary focii which at the pedagogic level in most universities rarely (if ever) intersect with the world of Islam and its literary products. Similarly, a large majority of scholars in Islamic studies have spent very little time (if any) in familiarizing themselves with the social history of the production of Jewish and Christian scriptures, and they display only a superficial awareness of the variety and the complexity of the issues surrounding the appearance,

promulgation, and canonization of written scriptures among the textual communities that preceded the rise of Islam. It is therefore not surprising to observe that, with one or two exceptions, some of the most recently published reference works devoted to biblical literature, or to the literature of early Judaism, or the Qur'ān, have practically nothing to say about the possible role that Jewish apocrypha and pseudepigrapha play in creating intersections among their contents.[1]

Constraints of space and time will not permit an exhaustive review of the topic in the present essay, a task which given the enormity of the corpus to be surveyed would require a multivolume monographic study to do it justice, but we can perhaps make a preliminary start toward identifying and outlining some of the ways in which Jewish noncanonical lore might shed light on certain terms or expressions, some narrative features, and particular ideological trajectories resident within distinctively Muslim literary formulations. We will apportion our examination here among three subheadings: (1) Qur'ān and *tafsīr*; (2) relatively early universal histories (primarily Ya'qūbī and Ṭabarī); and (3) the "tales of the prophets" (Tha'labī, Kisā'ī), ignoring for the present potentially rewarding materials that doubtlessly could be extracted from the canonical *ḥadīth* collections, philosophical and theological works, biographical encyclopedias, travel narratives, and scientific treatises.

Simply a cursory perusal of the Qur'ān is enough to confirm that its contents intersect with a biblical world of discourse. Prominent characters who figure within the stories found in most versions of both Jewish and Christian Bibles—for example, Noah, Abraham, Moses, and Jesus—are also featured in the Qur'ān, as are a number of the tale-cycles associated with them. It does not seem too far a stretch to conclude that Bible and Qur'ān share a common substrate of ancestral and epic traditions whose roots stretch back to Second Temple Palestine, and that moreover, the particular packaging of these shared traditions in their qur'ānic form did not materialize out of thin air, but instead relies upon the transmittal efforts of generations of Jewish, Christian, and religiously allied tradents, both learned and lay, who were engaged in the recounting, reformulating, and promulgating of biblical lore in both oral and written registers to their religious communities in the Near East during the first millennium of the Common Era.

One, however, needs to remember that modern uncritical assumptions about "the Bible" as a universally distributed canon of scriptures whose contents and wording were fixed by the end of the first or second centuries CE do not survive a critical scrutiny, nor should credence be given to the popularized but wrongheaded notion that demonstrably late versions of "the Bible," such as its medieval Masoretic editions, should always be chronologically privileged over temporally prior so-called interpretations or alleged "derivatives." The Christian communities who were in the closest geographical proximity

1. E.g., K. D. Sakenfeld, ed., *The New Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* (5 vols.; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2006–2009), J. J. Collins and D. C. Harlow, eds., *The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2010); and J. D. McAuliffe, ed., *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān* (6 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 2001–2006). A welcome exception to such myopia is M. A. Amir-Moezzi, ed., *Dictionnaire du Coran* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 2007), some of whose entries will be discussed in greater detail below.

to seventh-century Arabia—the several Syriac-language churches that flourished in Syria, Mesopotamia, the Sasanian East, and the Persian Gulf, and the Ethiopic-language church of the Axumite kingdom across the Red Sea—possessed and distributed collections of scriptures whose contents embraced (when viewed from a later perspective) both "canonical" and "noncanonical" works. Jewish communities who had migrated to the Arabian Peninsula during the preceding millennium or who flourished in neighboring locales like Egypt, Syria, and Babylonia exhibit a knowledge of traditional tales and lore that goes well beyond the boundaries of what will eventually become the scriptural canon. We must also not forget the possible role that other religious movements like Manichaeism and Mandaeism may have played in the wider dissemination of Bible and its affiliated traditions, given both religions' affections for teachings and writings allegedly stemming from antediluvian biblical ancestors like Adam, Seth, Enosh, and Enoch. If, as one recent scholar has phrased it, the Qur'ān has a "biblical subtext,"[2] the search for that subtext should not be restricted to the twenty-four books of the Jewish Tanakh or the sixty-six books of the Protestant Christian canon or even the more expansive rosters of scriptural works found among the Roman Catholic or the various linguistically diverse Orthodox expressions of Christianity. It necessarily extends across a broad swath of religious literature that are often classified as apocryphal, expositional, and/or amplificatory.[3]

If any doubt about this basic operating principle remains, it should be noticed that the Qur'ān itself appears to bear witness to both the physical existence and the divine authority of pseudepigraphical writings. For example, Q 87:18–19 (cf. 53:36–37) appeals to "the earlier scriptures (*ṣuḥuf*), the scriptures of Abraham and Moses" as providing support for its pronouncements about the eternal bliss awaiting the pious and the everlasting fiery punishment of the wicked in the World to Come: "[A]ll this," it says, "is in [them]." While it is certainly possible that an otherwise unqualified reference to a set of "earlier scriptures" attributed to Moses signifies no more than the familiar Mosaic Torah or Pentateuch, it should be recalled that the Qur'ān often refers to that latter collection by its proper name—that is, the *Tawrāt*, a designation that appears to be etymologically associated with Hebrew Torah and arguably serves as a blanket term for the entire corpus of Jewish revelatory lore in the same way that the label *Injīl* is used to demarcate the broad spectrum of Christian scriptures. Nevertheless the Qur'ān also names what is unmistakably the Mosaic Torah "the book (*kitāb*) which We gave to Moses" (Q 2:53 and 87, 11:110, 17:2, 23:49, 25:35, 28:43, and 41:45; cf. 6:91), or simply "the book of Moses (*kitāb Mūsā*)" (Q 11:17 and 46:12), showing that it can use different locutions to express the same referent. Yet this passage's unusual bracketing of Mosaic writings—in the plural— with another set of writings attributed to the patriarch Abraham suggests that a different group of books may

2. G. S. Reynolds, *The Qur'ān and Its Biblical Subtext* (London and New York: Routledge, 2010).
3. This assertion has recently been reinforced, albeit less stridently, by S. H. Griffith, *The Bible in Arabic: The Scriptures of the "People of the Book" in the Language of Islam* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013), 91–95.

in fact be intended by this arresting phrase. Is the Qur'ān speaking in these two passages (Q 87:18–19 and 53:36–37) of para-scriptural works like the *Book of Jubilees*, the Qumran Temple Scroll, the *Testament of Moses*, or in the case of "the scriptures of Abraham," the *Testament of Abraham*, and the *Apocalypse of Abraham* (to mention only the most obvious examples)? Or does it share with the *Book of Jubilees* the idea that Moses received on Sinai a more expansive collection of revelatory lore than what is typically connoted by the phrase "written Torah" (*torah shebiktav*) in classical Jewish sources?[4] And does it, like *Jubilees*, presume that Abraham was a student, copyist, and conduit for the ancient Hebrew writings allegedly produced by his ancestors?[5]

The larger contexts wherein these qur'ānic appeals to "the scriptures of Abraham and Moses" occur are particularly suggestive for their possible correlation with passages from Jewish pseudepigraphic sources. Immediately prior to its scriptural invocation, Q 87:16–17 states: "Yet you prefer the life of This World, whereas that of the World to Come is better and long-lasting." In this connection, Geneviève Gobillot has recently called attention to one theme that connects several apocryphal characterizations of the careers of Abraham and Moses, namely, their shared reluctance to depart from mortal life on the day when the Angel of Death came to collect them. Their ultimately unsuccessful attempts to elude this fate form the structural scaffolding for works like the *Testament of Abraham* and the medieval *Peṭirat Mosheh* cycle of midrashim, the latter of which has some pre-Islamic precursors in such works as the *Testament of Moses* and the *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum* of Pseudo-Philo. Similarly Q 53:33–41 stresses the message that every individual bears sole responsibility for the kind of reward or punishment they might expect in the hereafter, a message that is consonant with the one conveyed by Abraham's vision of the heavenly judgments meted out to both saints and sinners in the *Testament of Abraham*.[6] Now these are certainly intriguing correspondences worthy of careful consideration, but one is left wondering whether this is enough to pronounce positively that these passages are dependent specifically on the *Testament of Abraham*; there is, after all, an abundance of exhortatory literature within both the Jewish and the Christian traditions warning individuals about their daily conduct of life and promising an afterlife reward or punishment that is keyed to certain behavioral patterns practiced in the here and now, much of which has no exclusive connection with the names of Abraham or Moses.

More pointedly, one must also ask whether the recoverable textual history of the *Testament of Abraham* viably lends itself to exploitation by scribes or purveyors of biblically affiliated lore in the Arabian Peninsula slightly before or during the seventh century. Despite the eagerness of many to assign a very early date to the composition and

4. B. Z. Wacholder, "The Relationship between 11QTorah (The Temple Scroll) and the Book of Jubilees: One Single or Two Independent Compositions," *SBLSP* (1985): 205–16; and C. Werman, "'The תורה and the תעודה' Engraved on the Tablets," *DSD* 9 (2002): 75–103.

5. *Jub*. 12.27 and 21.10.

6. G. Gobillot, "Apocryphes de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament," in M. A. Amir-Moezzi, ed., *Dictionnaire du Coran* (Paris: R. Laffont, 2007), 58–59.

promulgation of this *Testament*, almost all the textual evidence for its physical existence in any form postdates the advent of Islam.[7] Prior to the seventh century, we have very little data which would indicate that the *Testament of Abraham* was even textually extant. Roughly contemporaneous canon lists such as the *Synopsis Pseudo-Athanasii* and the *Stichometry of Nicephorus* mention a book named Ἀβραάμ. This might be the same one as our *Testament*, but other Abrahamic pseudepigrapha such as the *Apocalypse of Abraham* are also candidates for consideration. The eastern ecclesiastical compilation known as the *Apostolic Constitutions* (6.16.3) professes knowledge of apocryphal books associated with "the three patriarchs" (τῶν τριῶν πατριαρχῶν), presumably the *Testaments* of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, since these tend to be bundled together in some linguistic traditions, but it still does not specify what these works might be. No church fathers explicitly quote from the *Testament of Abraham*, although there are some tantalizing allusions to revelatory or prophetic writings possibly tied to Abraham by Origen (so James, but the evidence is disputable), Priscillian, and Jerome, while Epiphanius claims that the Sethian sect has forged an "apocalypse" under the name of Abraham "filled with every kind of wickedness," as well as other books they claim stem from Moses,[8] and the late eighth-century Church of the East scholastic Theodore bar Konai even quotes three passages from a so-called Apocalypse of Abraham,[9] not one of which, however, overlaps in any way with the contents of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* found in most modern collections of Jewish pseudepigrapha. To sum up, there is almost no concrete textual evidence that we can use to bolster the claim that the Qur'ān was referencing the *Testament of Abraham*, a situation that casts a cloud of uncertainty on the veracity of this proposed correlation. One is even tempted to point to that same disturbingly vague conjunction of written works supposedly emanating from Abraham and Moses that appears in Epiphanius in connection with his Sethians as critical evidence for this pairing's rhetorical, as opposed to historical or material, utility.

Our initial inability to confirm with any confidence that "the scriptures of Abraham and Moses" encode a reference to known apocryphal sources does not mean that we need to abandon attempts to contextualize the Qur'ān in this way. As we emphasized, the literary network within which the Qur'ān and its early interpreters worked was one which was suffused with biblical and biblically allied discourses of variegated sorts, both "canonical" and "noncanonical" from our later perspective, and so it is quite probable that apocryphal Jewish sources undergird certain qur'ānic passages in much the same way that apocryphal Christian sources demonstrably do.[10] We do, however, need to think about and

7. For the sorts of incoherent, mutually exclusive statements this state of affairs can produce, see E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C–A.D. 135)* (3 vols. in 4; rev. G. Vermes et al.; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1973–1987), 3.2.766.

8. Epiph., *Panarion* 39.5.1. Rehearsals of the patristic evidence can be found in M. R. James, *The Testament of Abraham* (TS 2.2; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1892), 7–29; Schürer, *History*, 3.2.766–67; and A.-M. Denis, *Introduction à la littérature religieuse judéo-hellénistique* (2 vols.; Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 1.177–78.

9. A. Scher, ed., *Theodore bar Konai, Liber Scholiorum* (CSCO, scrip. syri series II, 65–66; Paris: Carolus Poussielgue, 1910–1912), 2.319.29–320.6.

10. E.g., compare Q 3:49 and the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas*.

approach the interpretation of likely characters, scenes, motifs, themes, and verbiage in a more carefully nuanced and targeted manner than heretofore has usually been the case. This means that arguments that posit a connection between a qur'ānic locution or depiction and a Jewish apocryphon or pseudepigraphon should exercise precision and go well beyond vague generic affinities that, when all is said and done, add nothing concrete to our understanding of the intellectual background of the qur'ānic text. By contrast, observable intertextual sharing of singular or unusual verbal or narrative features can often signal a likely point of intersection between the Qur'ān (and its interpreters) and noncanonical writings. If such nodal points can be identified, conscientious scholars must then scrutinize the transmission history of the relevant writing(s) and assess the probability of its availability in a linguistically meaningful written or oral venue in Arabia and its immediate environs during the sixth, seventh, and even the eighth centuries.

Returning to our earlier example of the *Testament of Abraham*, it seems on the face of it improbable that a written version of this text could have preceded the seventh century, given that the oldest manuscripts of its Greek recensions—the likely language of composition and presumable basis for other translations—do not predate the eleventh century. But certain distinctive themes or narratological tropes which occur in its written versions could very well already be extant in a detached form as figurative object lessons, schoolroom exercises, oral glosses, or homiletic expositions, which, as a rule, leave a fainter impression in the written record. For example, a very early Shīʿī tradition commenting on the relationship of Muḥammad and ʿAlī to their earlier prophetic forebears points out that once when this pair was walking about in Medina, trees began to address them verbally and compare them to illustrious figures of the past like Moses and Aaron, Noah, and Abraham.[11] The striking appearance here of voluble trees is reminiscent of the portentous scene occurring in the *Testament of Abraham* where Abraham and a heavenly messenger also overhear a talking tree (*T. Abr*. 3.1–3). While this simple parallel in characterization is certainly not enough to cement a genetic nexus between these two sources—there are, after all, other narratological occasions when trees are overheard to burst out with pious acknowledgements and even song[12]—it does serve to caution us about making snap judgments without thinking carefully about the ramifications of all the available evidence and not underestimating the complexity of the verbal matrices that seem to link the various ancestral legends and scriptural traditions lying behind the emergence of distinctive biblically affiliated communities such as classical Judaism, eastern forms of Christianity, and early Islam.

The "scriptures of Abraham and Moses" is not the only qur'ānic locution that explicitly compares earlier writings with the new scripture. Another phrase that may be relevant for our larger purposes is "tales about the ancients" (*asāṭīr al-awwalīn*), a seemingly derogatory label used by the opponents of the Prophet to dismiss the contemporary application

11. U. Rubin, "Prophets and Progenitors in the Early Shīʿā Tradition," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 1 (1979): 53.
12. E.g., *b. Ḥag.* 14b.

of his teachings.[13] Q 20:133 moreover mentions "earlier" or even "primal scriptures (*ṣuḥuf*)" whose essential veracity (it is argued) the revelation of the Qur'ān confirms. There are also multiple places where the Qur'ān asserts that whenever God in the past dispatched prophets to instruct or to warn humanity, He sent down "scripture" (*kitāb*) with them (cf. Q 2:213, 3:81, 35:25, 40:70, and 57:25). The coupling of past prophetic messengers with authenticating scriptural texts which are mutually reinforcing is a very suggestive move which appears to signal knowledge about a larger corpus of books and revelatory writings associated with figures like Adam, Enoch (= Idrīs), Noah, and Abraham. The Qur'ān thus seems to endorse the idea that the Jewish and Christian scriptures comprise a more extensive library of titles than is anachronistically projected onto seventh-century Arabia by modern scholars.

A textual illustration may help solidify this point. Toward the end of one of the Qur'ān's renditions of the biblical Garden of Eden story, Q 2:37 cryptically states: "then Adam received words from his Lord, and He forgave him: lo, He is the Forgiving One, the Merciful One." Now just what were the "words" (*kalimāt*) Adam supposedly received from God shortly after the time he and his wife were expelled from Paradise? Traditional commentators tend to explain this passage by linking it to the slightly longer version of the same story recounted in 7:19–25, in which Adam and his wife explicitly verbalize their sincere remorse for their transgression and their utter reliance on the guidance of God: the "words" which Adam received—according to this interpretation—amount to divine instructions for repentance.[14] Nevertheless, the sequential positioning of Adam's reception of "words" from God in 2:35–39 is particularly arresting in light of the various legends found in a few Jewish but especially in eastern Christian sources about one or more writings supposedly revealed to Adam and which were then entrusted by him at his death to his son Seth. This verbal legacy, or to use the title it is usually called in Christian circles, this *Testament of Adam*, is an astonishingly popular text that is extant in several recensions and multiple languages including Greek, Armenian, Georgian, Coptic, Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic, and it is often simply embedded within Arabic language versions of the extremely influential *Cave of Treasures* cycle of biblical legends. Analogous legends featuring supererogatory rituals of penitence, an apocryphal prayer of Adam, and even a chart of angelic *mishmarot* keyed to the twelve months of the year (cf. both the *horarium* and the so-called angelic "hierarchy" present in many versions of the *Testament of Adam*) also seem to have played a role in some Jewish tales about the post-Garden lives of Adam and Eve, particularly in the cluster of stories associated with the revelation of a "holy book" to Adam by the angel Raziel. In almost every instance, Adam's remorse for his transgression is duly acknowledged by the deity or His angelic representative, and Adam receives a consolation prize. In the Jewish version of the legend, he is given a heavenly book that outlines the

13. Q 6:25, 8:31, 16:24, 23:83, 25:5, 27:68, 46:17, 68:15, and 83:13. See especially F. Rosenthal, "Asāṭīr al-awwalīn," in H. A. R. Gibb et al., eds., *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed. (13 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1960–2009), 12:90.
14. Note also Q 20:122, where in addition to procuring God's forgiveness Adam also receives divine "guidance."

course of future history and which has certain divinatory properties.[15] In the Christian versions of the legend, he learns about the coming of the Flood, the future advent of Jesus, and the repercussions this event will have for his own and his descendants' fates. Therein his son Seth dutifully records his "words" in writing, from which point it then becomes a part of the Protoplast's legacy to the future generations of the human race. It thus seems possible that the Qur'ān may be cognizant of this peculiar aspect of Adam's vita and subtly signaling via 2:37 its own endorsement of this popular motif.[16]

Associating one or more books with Adam and other early pious forefathers becomes an extremely common theme in post-qur'ānic commentaries, historiographical compilations, and so-called "tales of the prophets" anthologies, and it is probably worth our while to briefly rehearse some of these traditions at this stage of our survey. These take a number of forms over the course of the first few centuries of Islamic discussion. According to Ibn Hishām, the language used in passages like Q 2:37 and 20:122 suggests that God indeed provided Adam with a book (*kitāb*) via the agency of the angel Gabriel.[17] Wahb b. Munabbih, an infamous early tradent of "biblical" lore among Muslim scholars, relates that Adam actually received two writings, one while he still resided in Paradise and the other after his expulsion.[18] Another prominent early tradent—Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī—assigns ten books to Adam.[19] But perhaps one of the most popular and widely distributed traditions maintains that Adam was the recipient of twenty-one divinely revealed scriptures, a sum total that may reflect at least some acquaintance with the massive quantity of alleged *Adamschriften* circulating among eastern Christian churches of the late first millennium CE.[20] These and other traditions also speak about the wide range of written scriptures to which the aforementioned Wahb supposedly had access, with sum total numbers ranging from 73 to 90, 92, 93, or 104 revealed scriptures, some of which were familiar to Jewish or Christian "congregations," but others of which were relatively obscure.[21] The differentiation between the scriptures that were public and those that were not, as well as the grand total of revelatory books, is reminiscent of the similar story featuring his Jewish

15. This may be the *Sefer Adam* mentioned by certain Karaite critics of Rabbanite literature. See the sources cited in J. C. Reeves, *Heralds of That Good Realm: Syro-Mesopotamian Gnosis and Jewish Traditions* (NHMS 41; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 34–35; and B. Rebiger and P. Schäfer, eds., *Sefer ha-Razim I und II: Das Buch der Geheimnisse I und II, Band 2: Einleitung, Übersetzung und Kommentar* (TSAJ 132; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 90–93; and note also A. Fodor, "An Arabic Version of *Sefer ha-Razim*," *JSQ* 13 (2006): 412–27 at 423–25.

16. Note the tradition ascribed to Ibn Ḥumayd which is certainly based on Christian recensions of the *Testament of Adam* that is related *apud* Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh ar-rasul wa-l-mulūk* (15 vols.; ed. M. J. de Goeje et al.; Leiden: Brill, 1879–1901), 1.1.153.6–13.

17. C. Schöck, *Adam im Islam: Ein Beitrag zur Ideengeschichte der Sunna* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1993), 176.

18. M. Lidzbarski, *De propheticis, quae dicuntur, legendis arabicis: Prolegomena* (Leipzig: Guilelmi Drugulini, 1893), 48.

19. Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1.1.350.4–5.

20. See the references to this tradition provided by Schöck found in Ṭabarī, Mas'ūdī, Maqdisī, Ibn al-Athīr, and Ibn al-Nadīm. Essential guides for navigating these *Adamschriften* are M. E. Stone, *A History of the Literature of Adam and Eve* (SBLEJL 3; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1993); and Denis, *Introduction*, 1.3–58.

21. R. G. Khoury, *Wahb b. Munabbih* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1972), 214–18; and A.-L. de Prémare, "Wahb b. Munabbih, une figure singulière du premier islam," *Annales HHS* 60 (2005): 531–49, esp. 539–42.

predecessor Ezra and the latter's miraculous production of ninety-four divine scriptures that is recounted in *4 Ezra* 14:38–50.[22]

Knowledge of the apocryphal book of *4 Ezra*, or at least traditions closely tied to it, among Muslim bibliophiles is hardly a problematic issue. Viviane Comerro has elegantly demonstrated how two passages from the vast corpus of prophetic legends ascribed to Wahb are almost certainly based on *4 Ezra* 3:1–36 and 5:23–30 respectively,[23] and Adriana Drint has published an early Arabic manuscript of *4 Ezra* that seems to have been made from a Syriac text (as opposed to the Greek texts from which other known Arabic versions seem to stem) that is closely related to the one contained in the sixth- or seventh-century Peshitta (Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, B.21 Inf.).[24] The text of *4 Ezra* in this same Arabic manuscript is preceded by an Arabic version of the *Apocalypse of Baruch* (*2 Baruch*), one again which exhibits a close affinity with the sole surviving Syriac version that is also preserved in the Ambrosian codex.[25] The two translations seem however to come from different translators. While the deposit of this manuscript within a Christian monastery almost guarantees its Christian provenance, certain peculiarities of style found in these translations—such as a familiarity with qur'ānic locutions and orthography as opposed to those found in Bible—has led to some speculation about their possible Muslim origin.[26] Moreover, a version of *4 Ezra* 14:38–50 that is closely related to the one contained in the Mount Sinai manuscript is also present in an unpublished chronicle of indubitably Muslim origin, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Sprenger 30 [Ahlwardt 9434]. It is thus worth considering whether Islamic assumptions about the scribal loquacity of earlier prophets and teachers was fueled by a direct knowledge of the apocryphal legend about Ezra and his miraculous restoration of Israel's Torah.

One might for example consider the case of Ka'b al-Aḥbār, an enigmatic figure from the initial decades of Islam who enjoyed some interreligious notoriety among Jews, Christians, and Muslims as a purveyor of scriptural lore and legendry. In the autobiographical story of his conversion to Islam that was published from a manuscript in the British Library, Ka'b says:

> Before I knew about Islam, I had read eighty-eight bound volumes of the wisdom of the ancients without finding anything that had been erased or changed. Then

22. A.-L. de Prémare, "'Comme il est écrit': L'histoire d'un texte," *Studia Islamica* 70 (1989): 49–51; and V. Comerro, "Le *quatrième Esdras* et la littérature islamique," *RHPR* 80 (2000): 137–51. Note especially where the *Kitāb al-Tījān* of Ibn Hishām quotes Wahb as stating: "I have read 93 books among those which God revealed to the prophets, and I have discovered that the number of books which God revealed to all the prophets totaled 163" (Ibn Hishām, *Kitāb al-tijān fī mulūk Ḥimyar 'an Wahb ibn Munabbih* . . . . [Hyderabad: Maṭba'at Majlis Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-'Uthmānīyah, 1928], 2.4–6). It is surely not accidental that according to both *4 Ezra* 14:38–50 and Wahb, the number of "hidden" scriptures totals seventy.

23. See the preceding note.

24. A. Drint, *The Mount Sinai Arabic Version of IV Ezra* (CSCO 563–564, scrip. arabici 48–49; Leuven: Peeters, 1997).

25. F. Leemhuis et al., *The Arabic Text of the Apocalypse of Baruch* (Leiden: Brill, 1986).

26. F. Leemhuis, "The Arabic Version of the Apocalypse of Baruch: A Christian Text?" *JSP* 4 (1989): 19–26.

> I read the Torah and I found ten statements within it that had been erased, moved from their places, or changed. I asked the Jews of Khaybar and Najrān about this, but I could find no one who could explain this to me. Then I compared the Gospel, and I found that what had been erased from the Torah was also erased from the Gospel. I asked the Christians about this, and they said to me: "The only one who can explicate this for you is a man from Mt. Lukām (*i.e.*, Amanus) who calls himself the monk Bulukhyā."[27]

After consulting this monk, Ka'b learns that the altered passages from the Jewish Torah and the Christian Gospel are present in their pristine form in the Qur'ān, a circumstance which induces him to embrace the "new" scriptural revelation mediated through the Prophet Muḥammad. But it is the very specificity of the "eighty-eight bound volumes of the wisdom of the ancients" that gives one pause. Is it possible that these eighty-eight "earlier scriptures" are an echo of the ninety-four books that were miraculously revealed to Ezra (*4 Ezra* 14:44–48)? Adding the five books of the Torah plus the Gospel to these eighty-eight would yield the sum of ninety-four. On the other hand, dividing the *Tawrāt* into five separate books does not happen often in Muslim literature. Regardless of how we might explain this example, it certainly looks as if knowledge of the apocryphal Ezra legend was widespread in the early Islamicate world.

Yet the depth of this knowledge can prove deceptive. The single direct mention of Ezra in the Qur'ān is a case in point. Q 9:30 advances the claim "the Jews say 'Uzayr (i.e., Ezra) is the son of God, and the Christians say Christ is the son of God" in order to criticize how these two religious groups have compromised their supposedly monotheistic roots. While the assertion placed in Christian mouths is one that is well attested in Christian literature, the parallel ascription of a divine filiation to Ezra is not present in Jewish sources. It seems possible, as some have suggested, that Ezra's status as a "son of God" could be due to an assimilation of the biblical characters Ezra and Enoch generated from the tradition about Ezra's alleged ascension to heaven as narrated in the Syriac and Arabic renditions of the final verses of *4 Ezra* 14:38–50 combined with Enoch's postbiblical reputation as an angelified mortal (hence "son of God") and "divine scribe."[28] According to Hermann Gunkel, the title accorded Ezra in these Semitic language versions of *4 Ezra* 14:50—"eternal scribe of the knowledge of the Lord"—seems to fit Enoch better than Ezra.[29] Another attractive interpretive option for resolving the problem of Q 9:30 involves accepting the old hypothesis that the final consonant of the proper name 'Uzayr̲ should

27. M. Perlmann, "A Legendary Story of Ka'b al-Aḥbār's Conversion to Islam," in *The Joshua Starr Memorial Volume: Studies in History and Philology* (New York: Conference on Jewish Relations, 1953), 94.11–17 (text). This passage occurs within the *Qiṣṣat islām Ka'b al-Aḥbār* found in London, British Library, Or. 9737, fols.132v–138r. I leave aside for the present a consideration of the possible correlation of the "monk Bulukhyā" whom Ka'b here consults with the Jewish prince Bulūqiyya of the *1001 Nights*.

28. E.g., M. Bar-Asher, "'Uzayr," in Amir-Moezzi, *Dictionnaire du Coran*, 892–93.

29. H. Gunkel, "Das vierte Buch Esra," in E. Kautzsch, ed., *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments* (2 vols.; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1900), 2.401 note *n*.

be emended to ʻUzayl, thus yielding a plausible orthographic rendering of the name of the rogue angel ʻAzael, an indisputable "son of God" who is one of the principal villains in the Enochic Book of Watchers (*1 Enoch* 6–36).[30] An erroneous conflation with another, similarly named biblical character, such as the ʻAzariah of Daniel 3 and that narrative's situation of one whose appearance was "like that of a son of God (*bar elahin*)" together with Daniel's three friends in the fiery furnace (3:25), has also been suggested.[31] A truly satisfactory solution to this particular qur'ānic conundrum remains a desideratum.

Ezra legends however are a double-edged sword in the contentious verbal battles among scripturally based communities for textual supremacy. Already in the ninth century, the early Muslim historian Yaʻqūbī alters the grand narrative furnishing the narratological skeleton for the "biblical" portion of his *Ta'rīkh*, namely, the Syriac *Cave of Treasures*, by replacing Ezra with the considerably more obscure Zerubbabel and erasing any hint that the latter's successful recovery of Israelite scriptures at the beginning of the Second Temple period could have involved a fresh prophetic revelation.[32] Yaʻqūbī is careful to note that Zerubbabel *physically* retrieved "the Torah and the books of the prophets" from the fire pit wherein the wicked Bukht-Naṣṣer had tossed them in a futile attempt to eradicate these sacred tomes. His sole authorial activity consists in making new transcriptions of their presumably charred remnants. By the tenth and the eleventh centuries, the story about Ezra's successful regeneration of the Mosaic Torah as related in *4 Ezra* has become a common polemical trope among Samaritan, Karaite, and Muslim critics who argue that the scriptures revered by contemporary Jewish groups are in fact deviant ones that have little or no relationship with what Moses once received on Sinai, and that the primary blame for fostering such textual corruption and unsanctioned novelty can be laid on Ezra and his scholastic heirs.[33]

It thus seems that we may require a more nuanced approach to Islamic attitudes toward revelatory writings supposedly authored or at least transmitted by early ancestral characters like Adam or Abraham. The prophetology of Islam is heavily invested in the faultless transmission of revelatory texts by divinely authorized spokespeople, a perspective whose primary lineaments can be traced back through Manichaeism and certain Jewish-Christian groups into the Second Temple period of Jewish literary production. While these distinct religious communities sometimes differ among themselves regarding the identities of those heroes and sages who merit the title "prophet" or "apostle," they are nevertheless united

30. P. Casanova, "Idrîs et ʻOuzaïr," *Journal asiatique* 205 (1924): 356–60; S. M. Wasserstrom, *Between Muslim and Jew: The Problem of Symbiosis under Early Islam* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), 183; and P. Crone, "The *Book of Watchers* in the Qur'ān," in H. Ben-Shammai, Sh. Shaked, and S. Stroumsa, eds., *Exchange and Transmission across Cultural Boundaries: Philosophy, Mysticism, and Science in the Mediterranean World* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of the Sciences and Humanities, 2013), 16–51, esp. 36–50.

31. V. Comerro, "Esdras est-il le fils de Dieu?" *Arabica* 62 (2005): 165–81.

32. Yaʻqūbī, *Ta'rīkh* (2 vols.; Beirut: Dār Ṣadir, 1960), 1.66.4–6; cf. Masʻūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab wa-maʻādin al-jawhar: Les prairies d'or*, ed. C. Barbier de Meynard and P. de Courteille (9 vols.; Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1861–1877), 1.118–19.

33. For a recent study of this motif, see M. Whittingham, "Ezra as the Corruptor of the Torah? Re-assessing Ibn Ḥazm's Role in the Long History of an Idea," *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 1 (2013): 253–71.

in their insistence that these authentic teachers produced and/or transmitted scriptures, many of which continued to circulate or "emerge" among a variety of biblically affiliated groups during late antiquity and the medieval era. In the Islamic arena, we hear about one or more books revealed to, bequeathed by, or attributed to famous figures like Adam, Seth, Enosh, Enoch/Idrīs, Noah, Shem, Abraham, David, Solomon, and Daniel. As has been emphasized in studies by Uri Rubin and Etan Kohlberg, the production and transmission of revelatory writings by biblical ancestors and forefathers was an especially popular theme in early Shīʿī thought, and the affinities of this theme with possibly kindred chains of transmission visible in earlier writings such as the *Cave of Treasures* cycle, Josephus, and the *Book of Jubilees* have been registered.[34] Even the non-Ḥarrānian Ṣābians—probably not nativist pagans but Mandaeans who in this instance are addressing themselves to Muslims—can boast of their fidelity to "the religion (*dīn*) of Seth" and aver that they still possess his (i.e., Seth's) book (*kitāb*) thanks to the archival efforts of Noah at the time of the Flood.[35] One of the unusual features of the Muslim rosters (visible in such varied locales as *tafsīr, ta'rīkh*, and *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*) is their assignment of exact numerical totals to each prophet or tradent: as we have seen, 1 or 2 or 10 or 21 for Adam, 29 or 50 for Seth, 30 for Enoch/Idrīs, and so on. While the actual individual identities of these separate works remain largely opaque, the numbers are surely suggestive of Islam's acquaintance with—if not its tolerance of—a massive library of biblically affiliated apocryphal and pseudepigraphic sources.

Occasionally, such sources can be readily identified, even though the precise means whereby a particular text entered the new linguistic tradition cannot be reconstructed with certainty. Near the close of his summary of the life and rule of David, the late ninth-century historian Yaʿqūbī exemplifies the Israelite king's poetic gifts by supplying Arabic language translations (in this order) of Psalms 18, 1, 148, 149, 150, and finally, with the incipit "then David said in the last psalm," an Arabic version of the apocryphal Psalm 151.[36] A comparison of Yaʿqūbī's text of Psalm 151 with the Greek and Syriac renderings found in some Christian canons reveals some unsurprising affinities, but there is also one motif which Yaʿqūbī's version of this psalm shares with only one chronological predecessor; namely, the Hebrew version of Psalm 151 contained in the lengthy Qumran psalms scroll from Cave 11. This singular linkage complicates any linear explanation which posits only Christian writings or informants as the sources for Yaʿqūbī's "book of psalms."[37]

34. Rubin, "Prophets and Progenitors," 41–65; and E. Kohlberg, "Some Shīʿī Views of the Antediluvian World," *Studia Islamica* 52 (1980): 41–66.

35. ʿAbd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad al-Hamadhānī, *Al-Mughnī fī abwāb al-tawḥīd wa'l-ʿadl*, ed. Ṭ. Ḥusayn et al. (20 vols. in 15; Cairo: Al-Shirkah al-'Arabīyah lil-Ṭibāʾah wa'l-Nashr, 1958–1966), 5.152.15–153.1. See also ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī, *Kitāb uṣūl al-dīn* (Istanbul: Madrasat al-Ilāhīyāt bi-Dār al-Funūn al-Tūrkīyah, 1928), 324–25, as referenced by E. Cottrell, "Adam and Seth in Arabic Medieval Literature," *Aram* 22 (2010): 522.

36. Yaʿqūbī, *Ta'rīkh (Ibn Wadih qui dicitur al-Ja'qubi historiae . . .)*, ed. M. T. Houtsma (2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1883), 1.59.1–7.

37. For an extended discussion, see J. C. Reeves, "Exploring the Afterlife of Jewish Pseudepigrapha in Medieval Near Eastern Religious Traditions: Some Initial Soundings," *JSJ* 30 (1999): 148–77 at 166–70.

But usually the task is much more difficult. There are for example multiple places within Muslim literature where citations from or excerpts of allegedly Enochic literature occur. These normally appear under the aegis of the qur'ānic name Idrīs, an enigmatic appellation whose ultimate identity with the seventh antediluvian biblical forefather is nevertheless widely accepted by both traditional and critical scholars. We hear of "books (*ṣaḥā'if*) of Idrīs" discovered among the holdings of a library in Najaf,[38] or of a so-called *Sunan Idrīs*, supposedly a collection of Enochic tracts that had been translated from Syriac into Arabic by a certain 'Īsā and then deposited in a mosque in Kūfa.[39] The occasional quotations provided in later Muslim literature from these and similar works[40] unfortunately do not correlate very well with the contents of the older Enochic collections extant in *1* or *2 Enoch*. It is nevertheless clear that extrabiblical traditions about Enoch or certain popular traditions tied to his name, such as those featuring rebel angels and their terrestrial interactions with antediluvian society, circulated widely within Muslim circles and even continued to develop in new directions beyond their Jewish and Christian substrates.[41] For example, the notion that Enoch was the first person on earth to cultivate the scribal arts is a cultural datum that can be traced back to *Jubilees* or even authentic Second Temple Enochic works such as the "Book of Watchers" (*1 En.* 6–36), but the recurring correlative idea that Enoch was also the first seamster and inventor of sewn clothing emerges initially from within Arabic language tallies of Enoch's notable civilizing attainments, for there is where one finds the requisite phonemic and morphological ambiguity (*khaṭṭa* "write" and *khāṭa* "sew"), which presumably is ultimately responsible for generating this particular achievement.[42]

Returning however to the Qur'ān, it is remarkable how little lexical evidence is provided therein of an indisputable dependence on Enochic literature such as that contained in the Ethiopic or Slavonic books of Enoch, or even in the pseudo-Enochic Hekhalot work misleadingly dubbed *3 Enoch*. Almost all the examples that have been proposed by scholars to date can just as easily be explained without invoking any direct reliance upon *1, 2*, or *3 Enoch*. The same can also be said for other parascriptural works such as *Jubilees* or the *Apocalypse of Abraham*. Steven M. Wasserstrom has demonstrated the likely impact of traditions found in the latter work upon the later story about the Jewish prince Bulūqiyya,

38. E. Kohlberg, *A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work: Ibn Ṭāwūs and His Library* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 322. See also J. Walbridge, *The Wisdom of the Mystic East: Suhrawardī and Platonic Orientalism* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001), 116 n. 24.

39. Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim*, 336–37. See 'Alī b. Mūsa Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Sa'd al-su'ūd* (Najaf: al-Maṭba'ah al-Ḥaydarīyah, 1950), 39.7–40.16; Muḥammad Baqir b. Muḥammad Taqi Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār* (110 vols.; Tehran: Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmīyah, 1956–1974), 11.283.3–284.5.

40. E.g., Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār* 11.120.16–121.23, 151.12–153.2, 269.3–12, and 277.1–13, and 95.452–72.

41. See J. C. Reeves and A. Y. Reed, *Enoch from Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, vol. 1: *Sources from Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

42. For these references, see Reeves and Reed, *Enoch*. This new theme then re-enters medieval Jewish tradition in the guise of "Enoch the shoemaker," for which see especially M. Idel, "Ḥanokh—Topher min'alayim hayah," *Kabbalah* 5 (2000): 265–86.

one of the tales figuring in some collections of the *1001 Nights*.[43] Serious attempts to uncover knowledge of this same *Apocalypse* within certain qur'ānic suras falter, however, in light of the extant manuscript evidence for the Slavonic *Apocalypse of Abraham*, all of which postdates the Qur'ān by at least two centuries or more. The passage in Q 6:74–79 where Abraham rebukes the idolatry practiced by his father and is led to embrace the true God only after realizing that heavenly bodies such as the stars, the moon, and the sun are inferior to their creator certainly looks like it may be an "evocation" of *Apocalypse of Abraham* 7, as suggested by Gobillot.[44] Yet one must tread carefully: the scholars who have worked most closely with the Slavonic manuscripts of the Apocalypse consider its seventh chapter to be a very late redactional insertion.[45] The dubious religious allegiances of Abraham's immediate family are already embedded within biblical (Josh 24:2) and authentic Second Temple parascriptural sources (*Jubilees* 12), and a pre-Islamic Palestinian midrash famously constructs a confrontation between Abraham and the Babylonian tyrant Nimrod over the question of which natural force or meteorological element deserves human worship.[46] Moreover, the closest analogues to the latter part of this qur'ānic episode wherein Abraham contemplates recognizing the divinity of one or more celestial bodies actually appear in Hebrew language medieval tales about Abraham's forced isolation in a cave, all of which seem to have been translated from earlier Arabic language exemplars.[47] The cumulative weight of the evidence currently at our disposal for analyzing this qur'ānic episode would seem to point toward the irrelevance of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* for reconstructing its background.

There remain nevertheless some intriguing "echoes" of apocryphal and pseudepigraphical lore in Muslim literature that merit closer study. Ṭabari's knowledge of the names of the wives of the antediluvian forefathers, not to mention the authentically Second Temple appellation "Emzara" for the wife of Noah (1QapGen 6.7 and *Jub*. 4.33),[48] is clearly indebted to sources like *Jubilees*.[49] The cryptic notice about the hundred-year sleeper in Q 2:259 is certainly based in part on the destruction of Jerusalem legends, such as the one

43. S. M. Wasserstrom, "Jewish Pseudepigrapha and *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*," in B. H. Hary et al., eds., *Judaism and Islam, Boundaries, Communication and Interaction: Essays in Honor of William M. Brinner* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 237–56.

44. Gobillot, "Apocryphes," 60.

45. R. Rubinkiewicz, "Apocalypse of Abraham," in J. H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. Volume 1: Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments* (New York: Doubleday, 1983), 681–705 at 684, and esp. H. G. Lunt's contribution, "The Transmission of the Apocalypse of Abraham," 686–88.

46. *Gen. Rab*. 38.13 (Theodor-Albeck, 361–64).

47. A. Jellinek, ed., *Bet ha-Midrasch: Sammlung kleiner Midraschim und vermischter Abhandlungen aus der jüdischen Literatur* (6 vols.; Leipzig, 1853–1877; repr., Jerusalem: Bamberger & Wahrmann, 1938), 1.25–34, 2.118–19, and 5.40–41; B. Chapira, "Légendes bibliques attribuées à Ka'b el-Ahbar," *RÉJ* 69 (1919): 86–107 and 70 (1920): 37–44; J. Finkel, "An Arabic Story of Abraham," *HUCA* 12–13 (1937–1938): 387–409; and H. Ben-Shammai, "Sippurey Avraham be-'aravit-yehudit mimeqor muslimi—Qeta'im ḥadashim," in *Hebrew and Arabic Studies in Honour of Joshua Blau* (Tel Aviv/Jerusalem: Chaim Rosenberg School of Jewish Studies/Max Schloessinger Foundation, 1993), 111–33.

48. Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh* (ed. de Goeje et al.), 1.1.177.18–19.

49. Rubin, "Prophets and Progenitors," 58 n.109. Another likely occurrence of a passage lifted from *Jubilees* has recently been identified by A. Silverstein, "From Atraḥasis to Afrīdūn: On the Transmission of an Ancient Near Eastern Motif to Islamic Iran," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 39 (2012): 95–108 at 99.

featuring Abimelech recounted in the fifth chapter of the *Paraleipomena Jeremiou*.[50] The angelic pair incarcerated in Babylon, Hārūt and Mārūt (Q 2:102), are transparent avatars of the erstwhile righteous divine judges whom God had once sent to teach antediluvian humanity proper forms of behavior (*Jub*. 4.15 and 5.6), as the parascriptural resonances of the widely dispersed post-qur'ānic "Tale of Hārūt wa-Mārūt" confirms.[51] The scalding waters of the qur'ānic Flood (see Q 11:40 and 23:27) may be indebted to the Deluge depicted in the Enochic *Animal Apocalypse* (*1 En*. 89.3).[52] The qur'ānic *maqām Ibrāhīm* (Q 2:125 and 3:96–97) is possibly a reflex of the "tower," "castle," or "house" of Abraham which is mentioned multiple times in *Jubilees*.[53] When we combine these and other potential overlaps with those indisputable instances where the Qur'ān and its derivative literatures have drawn upon the rich reservoirs of biblically allied traditions found among Jews, Christians, and other biblically based communities (for example, apocryphal gospels; the Christianized *Alexander Romance*, etc.), it should emerge as no surprise that Islamic literature, and most especially its post-qur'ānic expressions, offers a fertile and still largely unexploited site for the student of older apocryphal and pseudepigraphical lore.

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50. J. Rendel Harris, *The Rest of the Words of Baruch: A Christian Apocalypse of the Year 136 A.D.* (London: C. J. Clay and Sons, 1889), 39–42; J. Herzer, *4 Baruch (Paraleipomena Jeremiou)* (Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2005), 89 n. 37; and Gobillot, "Apocryphes," 61.

51. Crone, "Book of Watchers in the Qur'ān," 16–51; and J. C. Reeves, "Some Parascriptural Dimensions of the 'Tale of Hārūt wa-Mārūt,'" *JAOS* 135 (2015): 817–42.

52. The semantic range of Ethiopic *yeflāḥ* extends beyond "bubbling, foaming" to "boiling"; see A. Dillmann, *Lexicon linguae aethiopicae* (Leipzig: T. O. Weigel, 1865), 1339; and H. Toelle, "Tannûr," in Amir-Moezzi, ed., *Dictionnaire du Coran* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 2007), 853. Unfortunately, neither the Aramaic nor the Greek witnesses survive for determining whether the same range was visible in earlier versions. The notion that the waters of the Flood were "boiling hot" is well attested in rabbinic literature; see *Gen. Rab*. 28.9 (Theodor-Albeck, 267.1–3), *Lev. Rab*. 7.6 (Margulies, 1.161), *y. Sanh*. 10.3, 29b, *b. Rosh Hash*. 12a, *Sanh*. 108b, *Zebaḥ*. 113b, and *Midr. ha-Gadol* Genesis (Margulies, 175.1–5; cf. 167.15–18).

53. *Jub*. 29.16–20, 31.5ff., 33.21 (?), 36.12, and 37.14. Note "Abraham's house" in *Jub*. 22.24; cf. 32.22 (Latin): *in locum* ***barin*** *Abraham* (where Ethiopic reads "house"); Latin *bari(s)* is a transliteration of Greek βάρις "castle." Also the *Aramaic Levi Document* 5:6 (Bodleian a–b ll.10–13): ושרינא בבירת אברהם אבונן "and we made camp at *the fortress of Abraham* our father"; Athos Greek rendering ll. 11–13: ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ Ἀβραὰμ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν. See too the seventh-century *Khuzistan Chronicle* (ed. Guidi), 38.8–19, where "the dome (*qūbtā*) of Abraham" phonemically refers to the Ka'ba. For the possible linkage with *Jubilees*, see esp. U. Rubin, "*Ḥanīfiyya* and Ka'ba: An Inquiry into the Arabian Pre-Islamic Background of *dīn Ibrāhīm*," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 13 (1990): 106–9. A possible linkage with *Jubilees* is dismissed by J. Witztum, "The Foundations of the House (Q 2:127)," *BSOAS* 72 (2009): 25–40, but he does not take into consideration the textual evidence listed earlier in this note.

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