ON THE ARABIAN ORIGINS OF THE QUR'ĀN: THE CASE OF *AL-FURQĀN*

URI RUBIN

TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY

Abstract

This article draws attention to hitherto unnoticed Arabic texts in which the word furgan features as a genuine Arabic term denoting 'dawn' or 'morning'. It suggests that this genuine Arabic word is reflected in the Qur'an, especially in those passages in which the term furgan stands for revealed scriptures. The Qur'an calls these scriptures furgan in the sense that they are a guiding light that leads one out of darkness. The Syriac/Aramaic connotations of the term as encountered in other Quranic passages -mainly those referring to Moses are also discussed, and their origin in the Syriac and Aramaic translations of the Book of Exodus is further clarified. The article shows that in these translations the Syriac / Aramaic purgān stands for redemption through separation, and this seems also to be the meaning of the Quranic furgan of Moses. The conflation of the Arabic and the Aramaic furgāns in the Qur'ān is also demonstrated, and finally the evidence of the tafsīr is analysed. It is shown that the exegetes are aware of the targumic sense of furgan (redemption through separation), but they tend to prefer the sense of the local Arabian furgan (light of dawn), so much so that they have derived from the sense of light as opposed to darkness a series of secondary meanings revolving around the idea of separation of truth from falsehood.

Introduction

In a recent study of the Quranic term furqān, F.M. Donner proposes a new etymology for this term. In some cases he accepts its derivation from the Aramaic / Syriac word purqānā ('salvation'), as long assumed by many modern scholars, but argues that in other cases this derivation does not fit the Quranic context and suggests the Syriac puqdānā as a possible origin for those cases.¹

This means that according to Donner, the origin of the Quranic furgān is exclusively Aramaic/Syriac (either purgānā or pugdānā),

¹ Fred M. Donner, 'Quranic Furqān', Journal of Semitic Studies 52 (2007), 279–300.

ON THE ARABIAN ORIGINS OF THE QUR'ĀN

and indeed from the very outset he gives up any attempt at finding Arabian origins for the term, asserting that, 'furqān is not, to my knowledge, attested in early Arabic texts in contexts clearly independent of the Qur'ān'. A similar argument against the Arabian origin of the word was already presented by A. Jeffery who said that '...there seems to be no evidence of the use of the word in Arabic earlier than the Qur'ān'.

But some scholars have not been so sure of the exclusively non-Arabian origin of the Quranic *furqān*. For example, A.J. Wensinck spoke of two distinct words in the Qur'ān. One is the Syriac *purqānā*, meaning 'salvation' or 'deliverance', and the other is a genuine Arabic word meaning 'distinction', which the Qur'ān uses for 'revelation'. But Wensinck's view was altogether rejected by Jeffery who said that 'Wensinck seems to have been unduly influenced by the theories of the native commentators'. 5

Wensinck, however, seems to have been correct in his basic assumption, although he was unable to provide sufficient evidence for the Arabian origins of the Quranic *furqān*. In what follows, such evidence is provided, which enables us to better understand the etymological history of the Quranic *furqān*.

The Genuine Arabian furgān

To begin with, the word furqān occurs in the available Arabic sources in contexts that are clearly independent of the Qur'ān. The lexicographer al-Azharī (d. 370/980) adduces an utterance attributed to an unidentified 'Bedouin' (a'rābī), who reportedly said: 'I went on having sex with her (adfīzu bihā) until the furqān was shining (ilā an saṭa'a 'l-furqān)'. The word furqān is glossed by the words: ay al-saḥar, 'that is to say, dawn'. The same utterance is recorded also in the Lisān al-ʿarab by Ibn Manzūr (d. 711/1311), and in the Tāj al-ʿarūs by al-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1790).

² Donner 'Quranic Furgān', 280.

³ Arthur Jeffery, The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'an (Baroda 1938), 228.

⁴ A.J. Wensinck, s.v. 'Furkan', EI (old edition), II, 120.

⁵ Jeffery, Foreign Vocabulary, 228, Note 4.

⁶ Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Azharī, *Tahdhīb al-lugha* (ed. 'Abd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, Muḥammad Abū 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī, 16 vols. Cairo 1964–76), s.v. 'd.f.z.' [XI, 488].

⁷ Ibn Manzūr, Lisān al-'arab (6 vols. Cairo n.d.), s.v. 'd.f.z.' [IV, 2595 col. 1–2].

⁸ Muḥammad Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, Tāj al-ʿarūs (10 vols. Benghazi 1966), s.v. 'd.f.z.' [IV, 46].

ON THE ARABIAN ORIGINS OF THE QUR'AN

Needless to say, nothing is Quranic here. The recourse to the 'Bedouin' is a typical method used by the lexicographers in order to illustrate the significance and context of a given indigenous Arabic word or term. In this particular case, al-Azharī adduces the quotation from the Bedouin in order to illustrate the meaning of the verb dafaza ('to have sexual intercourse with'), and furqān occurs here as a normal, though not necessarily widely-current, word for the light of dawn.

A modified variation of the same utterance appears in al-Marzūqī's (d. 421/1030) al-Azmina wa 'l-amkina, in a chapter dealing with Arabic terms describing the blackness of night. Since the sexual context is now irrelevant, the utterance of the Bedouin can be rephrased in a less offending manner. This time the Bedouin says: 'I went on acting wildly (ata'ssafu) in the darkness of night (al-hawalwal), till the furqān shone (saṭa'a)'. When asked what al-hawalwal was, the Bedouin said: 'The darkness of night'. When asked what the furqān was, he said: al-ṣubḥ ('morning').9

Furqān in the sense of 'dawn' recurs in a poetic verse recorded by al-Azharī as part of a report of Abū 'Ubayda (d. 210/826). Its first hemistich runs as follows: Fa-ṣabbaḥat qabla adhāni 'l-furqān: 'They [i.e. the camels?] rose up early in the morning, before the call (adhān) to the furqān prayer'. Abū 'Ubayda explains that furqān is ṣubḥ, 'morning'. ¹⁰ The passage from Abū 'Ubayda recurs in Lisān al-'arab, ¹¹ and in Tāj al-'Arūs. ¹²

Here too the context — although clearly Islamic — is entirely non-Quranic. *Furqān* appears again in the sense of 'dawn', this time signalling the time of a well-known morning prayer, its legal time lasting from the crack of dawn till just before sunrise.

More insight into the significance of the word *furqān* in the sense of 'dawn' is provided by al-Zabīdī. Among the various meanings of the word, he records the report of the renowned Baṣran philologist Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' (d. 154/771), who says that *furqān* means 'morning' (*subḥ*) or 'dawn' (*saḥar*), and notes that from this stems the expression: 'The *furqān* is shining (*saṭaʿa*)', as well as the saying: 'This is brighter (*abyaḍ*) than the *furqān*'.¹³

⁹ Abū ʿAlī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Marzūqī, al-Azmina wa-'l-amkina (ed. Khalīl al-Manṣūr, Beirut 1996), 433.

¹⁰ Al-Azhari, Tahdhib al-lugha, s.v. 'b.d.' [XIV, 206].

Lisān, s.v. 'b.d.'.' [I, 224, col. 3].
Tāj al-'arūs, s.v. 'b.d.'.' [I, 43].

¹³ Ibid., s.v. 'f.r.q.' [VII, 45-6]. See also E.W. Lane, An Arabic-English Lexicon (2 vols., repr. Cambridge 1984), s.v. 'f.r.q.' [2385 col. 3]; Suliman Bashear, 'The Title Fārūq and its Association with 'Umar I', Studia Islamica 72 (1990), 50.

ON THE ARABIAN ORIGINS OF THE QUR'AN

Elsewhere al-Zabīdī says that when signifying 'dawn', *furqān* is a metaphor (*wa-huwa majāz*),¹⁴ probably meaning that the word does not stand for dawn itself, only describes its function. Since the root *f.r.q.* signifies 'division', it seems that *furqān* is taken here as a verbal noun denoting splitting of darkness as light breaks through it.

Another form derived from the root f.r.q., and which is likewise associated with dawn, is faraq. The expression faraqu 'l-ṣubḥ is explained by the lexicographers as signifying 'the crack of dawn'. They say that it was called faraq because it has become separated (faraqa) from the darkness of night. In some Arab dialects, the form faraq was interchangeable with falaq. Quṭrub (Muḥammad b. al-Mustanīr [d. 206/821]) says that the Arabs of the Tamīm used to say faraqu 'l-ṣubḥ, while all others said falaqu 'l-ṣubḥ. In some Arab dialects, the form faraqu 'l-ṣubḥ, while all others said falaqu 'l-ṣubḥ.

The affinity between faraq and falaq is also noted by al-Zamakh-sharī (d. 538/1143) in his comments on Q 113:1. In this verse the 'Lord of the falaq' is invoked for protection. Al-Zamakhsharī explains that falaq and faraq denote 'morning' (subh), because night is split and separated from it (yuflaqu 'anhu wa-yufraqu). He goes on to note that from here stems the saying: 'The furqān is shining (saṭaʿa l-furqān)', i.e. 'the dawn has risen' (talaʿa 'l-fairu).¹⁷

In sum, the above texts assert the existence of the word *furqān* in the local, or indigenous, Arabic of early, and possibly, pre-Islamic times. It functioned as a metaphor of 'dawn', in the sense of splitting of, or separation from, darkness, much like the forms *faraq* and *falaq*.

The Quranic furgan

At this point the question arises whether the Quranic furqān might reflect this local Arabian furqān, rather than the Syriac/Aramaic one. It seems that the sense of 'dawn' or 'separation from darkness' fits particularly well into those passages in which the term furqān stands for, or describes, a revealed scripture. That these passages may reflect a local Arabian furqān was already suggested by Wensinck (see above), and in view of the above data we are able to see more clearly the relationship between this genuine Arabic word and the Quranic notion of revelation. The idea behind the term furqān as a revealed scripture seems to be that the scripture is a source of guiding light

¹⁴ Tāj al-arūs, s.v. 'd.f.z.' [IV, 46].

¹⁵ Lisān, s.v. 'f.r.q.' [V, 3400 col. 1]. See also Lane, Lexicon, 2385 col. 1.

¹⁶ Al-Marzūqī, Azmina, 243.

¹⁷ Al-Zamakhsharī, al-Kashshāf 'an ḥaqā iq al-tanzīl (4 vols. Cairo 1966), IV, 300.

that leads one out of the darkness of ignorance. This seems to be the case in Q 25:1 in which *furqān* stands for the Qur'ān that has been revealed to Muḥammad: 'Blessed is he who sent down the *furqān* upon his servant that he may be a warner to all beings'. This verse seems to say that God sent down to the Prophet an illuminating message which enables him to warn people and show them the light of guidance. This verse is contained in a *sūra* which, according to the traditional Islamic chronology of the Qur'ān, was revealed in Mecca. The same recurs in *sūras* defined as Medinan. Thus in Q 2:185 the month of Ramaḍān is mentioned as the time when the Qur'ān was sent down, in order to bring 'guidance to men and clear signs of the guidance and of the *furqān*'. The explicit combination in this verse between *furqān* and guidance as two complementary aspects of the 'clear signs' is best understood when the *furqān* is perceived as light.

The word *furqān* appears side by side with guidance also in Q 3:3–4 [Medinan]: 'He has revealed to you the book with truth, verifying that which is before it, and he revealed the Torah and the Gospels (*Injīl*) aforetime, a guidance for the people, and he sent down the *furqān* ...'

Guidance goes hand in hand not merely with the term furqān but also with a more explicit word for light, i.e. nūr. This is the case in Q 42:52 [Meccan] in which the book revealed to Muḥammad is said to have come as 'light, guiding thereby whom we please of our servants'. The word 'light' (nūr) as standing for the guiding message sent down to Muḥammad appears in further passages, Meccan (Q 7:157) as well as Medinan (Q 4:174; 5:15–16; 64:8). The guiding book itself is described as kitāb munīr, 'luminous book' (Q 22:8), which is also how books revealed to previous prophets are described (Q 35:25 [Meccan]; 3:184 [Medinan]). The book, or the Torah, that was revealed to Moses is also described as 'light and guidance' (Q 6:91 [Meccan]; 5:44 [Medinan]), and so is the Injīl revealed to Jesus (Q 5:46 [Medinan]).

The term *furqān*, then, as a name for, or description of, revealed scriptures, fits perfectly well into the Quranic symbolism of light. In fact, the association between *furqān*, as standing for the Qur'ān, and light continued into post Quranic times. This is indicated by the phrase *munīr al-furqān* ('the luminous *furqān*') by which the Qur'ān was sometimes referred to by Muslims in the first Islamic era. ¹⁸

But in the Qur'an the word furqan is not just a guiding light. When made part of God's address to Muḥammad this local Arabian

¹⁸ Al-Balādhurī, *Jumal min ansāb al-ashrāf* (ed. Suhayl Zakkār and Riyād Ziriklī, 13 vols. Beirut 1996), XIII, 87.

ON THE ARABIAN ORIGINS OF THE QUR'ĀN

word seems to have acquired further meanings which had come into the Qur'an from the Syriac/Aramaic. Western scholars already noted the Syriac/Aramaic parallel of the Quranic *furqān*, ¹⁹ but have not yet provided the exact relationship between the two.

The Syriac/Aramaic connotations of the word *furqān* reached the Qur'ān together with the image of Moses. The latter brought in a *furqān* of his own, which consisted of a combination of two ideas: redemption and division.

The history of this combination begins in biblical Hebrew, with the word pdut (מדות). This word means 'redemption', as for example in Ps. 111:9: 'He [i.e. God] sent redemption (pdut) unto his people'. However, the same word occurs also in Exod. 8:19 [23] where it is something which God sets between his own people and the people of Pharaoh. God says to Pharaoh: 'I will set pdut between my people and your people'. The context is the redemption of the Israelites from the swarms of flies which will not reach the Israelites in the Land of Goshen, because, as stated in the previous verse, God has set apart the Land of Goshen from the rest of Egypt. This context has lent the word pdut the sense of 'division', as if implying that the Israelites are redeemed when set apart from their foes.

This is indeed how the Hebrew pdut of Exod. 8/18 [23] was perceived in the Syriac/Aramaic translations. In the Peshitta (Syriac Bible) pdut is rendered purshānā ('distinction'), which God will make between the Israelites and the Egyptians. In the Aramaic translation known as Targum Neophyti, pdut is translated purqān ('redemption'). God says to Pharaoh: 'And I will set purqān between my people and your people'. Since purqān is set here between the two parties, it signifies redemption that comes from division or separation. In the Targum Onkelos, pdut is again purqān, but here an extended paraphrase is provided. God says to Pharaoh: 'I will make purqān for my people, and on your people I shall bring a plague [of flies]'. The same paraphrase appears in the Pseudo-Jonathan. The provided is the Pseudo-Jonathan.

¹⁹ E.g. Jeffery, Foreign Vocabulary, 225–9; EI², s.v. 'Furkan' (R. Paret); Arne A. Ambros, A Concise Dictionary of Koranic Arabic (Wiesbaden 2004), 212; EQ s.v. 'Names of the Qur'an' (Mustansir Mir); Donner, 286–8.

²⁰ See also Ps. 130:7.

²¹ Ch. Heller, Peshitta in Hebrew Characters with Elucidatory Notes, Part II: Exodus (Berlin 1929), 78.

²² Alejandro Díez Macho, Neophyti 1. Tomo II. Éxodo (Madrid 1970), 47.

²³ Israel Drazin, Targum Onkelos to Exodus (New York 1990), 97.

²⁴ E.G. Clarke, Targum Pseudo-Jonathan of the Pentateuch: Text and Concordance (Hoboken 1984), 74.

ON THE ARABIAN ORIGINS OF THE QUR'AN

This targumic purqān by which God discriminates between the Israelites and the Egyptians, seems to be the origin of the Quranic furqān of Moses. It occurs in Q 21:48 [Meccan], which reads: 'We gave to Moses and Aaron the furqān and a light and a reminder for the God-fearing'. The close association between furqān and light (diyā') in this verse retains the basic sense of the local Arabian furqān ('dawn'), but the fact that here it is given to Moses and Aaron in particular seems to allude to the targumic significance of the term as used for Exod. 8/19 [23]. The Qur'ān, however, does not use it in any specific context of the life of Moses, so that it retains a general meaning of deliverance through separation. Hence the Quranic verse demonstrates a conflation between the local Arabian significance of furqān and the targumic one.

The same conflation is demonstrated in Q 2:53 [Medinan] where the *furqān* is only given to Moses: 'We gave Moses the book and the *furqān* that you might be guided'. The *furqān* of Moses has been associated here with the guiding book that was revealed to him, a link which again combines the targumic *furqān* of Moses with the local

Arabian one.

In Q 8:41 (Medinan) the word furgan seems to retain its pure targumic sense ('redemption by separation') although now it is something that is given to the Muslims instead of to Moses. This verse alludes to 'that which we sent down to our servant, on the day of the furgan, the day on which the two parties met...' The day of the furgan seems to stand for an Islamic military victory over the unbelievers [at Badr], and the *furgān* is evidently the 'distinction' which God made between the 'two parties', i.e. believers and unbelievers, which resulted in the redemption of the party of the latter. This is exactly the sense of the targumic furgan of Moses. The Qur'an itself seems to be aware of the relationship between the Islamic victory and the Israelites' exodus from Egypt, because the locution 'the two parties' (al-jam'an) recurs in Q 26:61 where it stands for the Israelites and the Egyptians who chase them.²⁵ It is noteworthy that the following passage (Q 26:62-3) describes the parting of the sea, for which the roots f.l.q. and f.r.q. are being used: The sea is 'split asunder' (infalaga), and each 'part' (firg) of it stands like a huge mountain. This implies a new connotation of the idea behind the Quranic furgān of Moses: it is not merely division between Israelites and Egyptians as in the targumic furgan, but also the parting of the sea which assured the deliverance of the Israelites. In the Aramaic Bible

²⁵ This has already been noted by Donner, p. 289.

purqān already features in connection with the redemption of the Israelites from Pharaoh's army,²⁶ and this may well be the origin of the implied relationship between the Quranic *furqān* of Moses and the

parting of the sea.

Another Medinan verse referring to furqān is Q 8:29 which defines the reward for piety: 'O believers, if you fear God, he will give you furqān and do away with your evil deeds and forgive you...'. A solid basis for assessing the furqān here is provided in a parallel Medinan verse, Q 65:2, in which God says: '...and whoever fears God, he will give him a way out (makhraj)'. The reward for piety is here makhraj which replaces furqān. The idea is repeated in Q 65:4, and this time the reward for piety is 'alleviation' (yusr): '...and whoever fears God he will give him alleviation in his affair'. If makhraj and yusr be taken as synonymous with furqān, then the latter seems to denote a way out from hardships, much like the targumic furqān.

In sum, the Quranic *furqān* reflects two basic etymological clusters, a local Arabian one which revolves around morning light as signifying splitting of, or separation from, darkness, and a targumic one which revolves around redemption achieved through division or separation. The local Arabian *furqān* can be discerned in passages in which this term conveys the sense of guidance, and is equated with a revealed book. The targumic *furqān* is discerned where this term is related to Moses, as well as to a victory of the Muslims over their foes.

The Tafsīr

In Islamic tafsīr the two etymological channels are reflected very clearly, but as is already the case in the Qur'ān, the two are not al-

ways kept apart.

As for the targumic *furqān* (redemption through separation), it is preserved in some interpretations of Q 8:29 in which, as seen above, the term *furqān* is a reward for piety, and is probably synonymous with *makhraj* and *yusr*, and denotes alleviation of worldly hardships. The exegetes are aware of the relationship between *furqān* and *makhraj*,²⁷ as they explain it as 'redemption' (*al-najāt*) and 'victory' (*al-naṣr*).²⁸ Or as 'Ikrima (d. 105/723) and al-Suddī (d. 128/746) reportedly said: 'He gave you *furqān*, i.e. redemption, which means

²⁶ Ibid., 289.

 ²⁷ See the traditions in al-Ṭabarī, Jāmi al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur ān (30 vols. Būlāq 1323/1905, repr. Beirut 1972) on Q 8:29 [IX, 148].
²⁸ E.g. Ibn al-Jawzī, Zād al-masīr fī ilm al-tafsīr (9 vols. Beirut 1984), III, 346.

that God separates you from whom you fear, and so you are redeemed'.²⁹

The targumic *furqān* is especially conspicuous in the exegesis of passages alluding to events in the life of Moses. Al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058) provides in his comments on Q 2:53 several interpretations for the *furqān* given to Moses, one of which is 'victory (*naṣr*), by which God has distinguished between Moses and Pharaoh, till he saved (*anjā*) Moses and his people and drowned Pharaoh and his people'.³⁰ Another interpretation on al-Māwardī's list takes *furqān* to stand for the splitting of the sea before the Israelites.³¹ This is inspired by the Quranic usage of the root *f.r.q.* for the parting of the sea (see above).

The targumic *furqān* is reflected also in the interpretations of Q 21:48 in which the *furqān* is given to Moses and Aaron. Al-Māwardī has recorded the interpretation of al-Kalbī (d. 146/763), to the effect that this *furqān* stands for victory and redemption (*al-naṣr wa 'l-najāt*); God has given victory to Moses and his supporters and destroyed Pharaoh and his followers.³²

But in spite of the survival of the targumic *furqān* in the *tafsīr*, the exegetes tend quite naturally to prefer the local Arabian sense of *furqān* ('light of dawn'), and they endeavour to apply it to all the Quranic occurrences of the term, including those in which the term retains the targumic sense of redemption through division or separation.

This is most conspicuous in some further interpretations of Q 8:29, in which *furqān* is promised as a reward for piety. The exegetes reinterpret the term as 'light', and take its synonymous *makhraj* to denote separation from some kind of mental darkness. For example, al-Ghazālī (d. 504/1111) writes in his *Iḥyā* 'ulūm al-dīn, that the *furqān* promised to the believers in Q 8:29 was explained as denoting 'light (nūr) by which truth (al-ḥaqq) is distinguished from falsehood (al-bāṭil), and by which one gets out from doubts (wa-yukhraju bihi min al-shubuhāt)'.³³

²⁹ Al-Wāḥidī, 'Alī b. Aḥmad, *al-Wasīṭ fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-majīd* (ed. 'Ādil Aḥmad 'Abd al-Mawjūd *et al.*, 4 vols. Beirut 1994), II, 454.

³⁰ Al-Māwardī, *al-Nukat wa 'l-'uyūn fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān* (ed. 'Abd al-Maqṣūd b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm, 6 vols. Beirut 1992), I, 121. See also al-Bayḍāwī, *Anwār al-tanzīl wa'l-asrār al-ta' wīl* (2 vols. Beirut 1988), I, 62.

³¹ Al-Māwardī, *Nukat*, I, 122. See also Ibn al-Jawzī, *Zād al-masīr*, on Q 2:53 [I, 81]; al-Bayḍāwī, on Q 21:48 [II, 72].

³² Al-Māwardī, Nukat, III, 450. See also Ibn al-Jawzī, Zād al-masīr, V, 355.

³³ Al-Ghazālī, Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn (5 vols. Cairo 1967), III, 31.

Ghazālī's words evince a reformulation of the idea of *furqān* and *makhraj*, which now are no longer redemption from worldly hardships, but rather 'a way out from doubts'. This shift from the worldly to the spiritual meaning is evidently inspired by the local Arabian sense of *furqān* as light of dawn; it is encountered already in the comments of Muqātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150/767) on Q 8:29. Muqātil defines the term *furqān* as a *makhraj* ('way out') which leads one out of *shubuhāt* ('doubts').³⁴ Muqātil has applied the same meaning to other Quranic occurrences of *furqān* in which it stands for a revealed scripture. This is seen in his comments on Q 2:185,³⁵ 3:4,³⁶ and 25:1.³⁷

Ghazālī's words also show how the exegetes have elaborated on *furqān* as 'light', adding to it a further secondary meaning derived from the root *f.r.q.*, i.e. 'distinction between truth and falsehood'. This derivation, too, is encountered already in earlier sources. In his comments on Q 8:29, al-Ālūsī (d. 1270/1853) says that by giving *furqān* to the believers God puts into their hearts 'guidance and light' (*hidāyatan wa-nūran*) by which 'you shall distinguish between truth and falsehood'. He traces this interpretation, which obviously draws on the local Arabian sense of *furqān*, back to Ibn Jurayj (d. 150/767) and Ibn Zayd (d. 182/798).³⁸

A similar interpretation appears in some earlier *tafsīr* compilations. Al-Tha'labī (d. 427/1035) quotes Ibn Zayd who reportedly said that *furqān* in Q 8:29 is the distinction within the hearts of the believers between truth and falsehood.³⁹

The earliest appearance of this interpretation can be traced back to 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr (d. 94/713). This can be done thanks to Ibn Abī Ḥātim (d. 327/938) who has recorded in his Tafsīr a tradition of Ibn Isḥāq (d. 150/768) which the latter quotes from 'Urwa, through the latter's nephew, Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr. Urwa is said to have explained the term furqān of Q 8:29 as denoting 'distinction (faṣl) between truth and falsehood, by which God brings into light (yuzhiru) your truth (haqqakum) and extinguishes (yutfi'u) the falsehood (bāṭil) of those who disagree with you (man khālafakum)'. This interpretation appears already in the Sīra of Ibn

³⁴ Muqātil b. Sulaymān, Tafsīr al-Qur'ān (ed. 'Abdallāh Maḥmūd Shiḥāta, 5 vols. Cairo 1979), II, 110.

³⁵ Muqatil, I, 161.

³⁶ Ibid., I, 262.

³⁷ Ibid., III, 225.

³⁸ Al-Ālūsī, Rūḥ al-ma'ānī (30 vols. Beirut n.d.), IX, 196.

³⁹ Al-Tha'labī, *al-Kashf wa'l-bayān 'an tafsīr al-Qur'ān* (ed. Abū Muḥammad b. 'Āshūr and Nazīr al-Sā'idī, 10 vols. Beirut, 2002), IV, 348.

⁴⁰ Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'azīm (ed. As'ad Muḥammad al-Ṭayyib,

Isḥāq, but without an *isnād*.⁴¹ Its terminology of light shows how the basic meaning of the local Arabian *furqān* ('light of dawn') was extended to denote the light of truth as distinct from the darkness of falsehood.

The sense of distinction between truth and falsehood was the one which the exegetes liked most, and they applied it even to cases in the Qur'ān in which furqān is explicitly related to Moses, i.e. reflecting the targumic purqān. They could do it quite easily because the Quranic furqān of Moses already combined the ideas of redemption and separation. For example, al-Māwardī records in his comments on Q 21:48 an interpretation of Ibn Zayd to the effect that the furqān of Moses and Aaron stands for the 'proof' (burhān) which distinguished between the truth (ḥaqq) of Moses and the falsehood (bāṭil) of Pharaoh. This is also how Muqātil already interprets the furqān given to Moses in Q 2:53. He says that it stands for 'victory (naṣr), when God separated between truth and falsehood. He gave victory to Moses and destroyed Pharaoh'.

Furthermore, in some interpretations the *furqān* of Moses and Aaron (Q 21:48) was entirely detached from the conflict with Pharaoh, and was equated with the Torah; as such it was explained as marking separation of the lawful from the unlawful. This interpretation was reported on the authority of Mujāhid (d. 104/722) and Qatāda (d. 117/735).⁴⁴ It changes the meaning of the *furqān* of Moses from redemption to guidance, thus transforming it from targumic into local Arabian. Similarly, the *furqān* given to Moses in Q 2:53 was interpreted as the Torah which distinguishes between truth and falsehood. This view was reported on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās.⁴⁵

The sense of distinction between truth and falsehood also permeated the expression yawm al-furgān of Q 8:41. Muqātil explains it as

10 vols. Riyad 1997), V, 1686 (no. 8990). See also Tha'labī, al-Kashf wa-'l-bayān, IV, 348. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, Tafsīr, on Q 8:29 [IX, 148]: Printed yukhfī instead of the correct yuṭfi'u.

⁴¹ Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya* (ed. Muṣṭafā al-Saqqā, Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī, and 'Abd al-Ḥāfiz Shalabī, 4 vols. Beirut 1971), II, 325. The interpretation is included in a chapter assembling the Quranic verses revealed in connection with the battle of Badr.

⁴² Al-Māwardī, Nukat, III, 450. See also Ibn al-Jawzī, Zād al-masīr, V, 355.

43 Muqatil, I, 107-8.

⁴⁴ Al-Māwardī, *Nukat*, III, 450. See also Ibn al-Jawzī, *Zād al-masīr*, V, 355. And see the traditions in al-Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, on Q 21:48 [XVII, 26].

⁴⁵ Al-Māwardī, *Nukat*, I, 121. See also Ibn al-Jawzī, *Zād al-masīr*, I, 81. And see the traditions in al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, on Q 2:53 [I, 225–6].

standing for 'the day of victory, on which God has separated truth from falsehood, and gave victory to the Prophet and defeated the polytheists at Badr'. 46

Likewise, the *furqān* promised to the believers in Q 8:29 was interpreted as victory which separates the follower of truth (*al-muḥiqq*) from the follower of falsehood (*al-muḥil*).⁴⁷

The sense of 'division between truth and falsehood' was especially appropriate for all those Quranic passages in which the term *furqān* stands for, or describes, a revealed scripture, and such an interpretation appears indeed in the various commentaries on these verses. 48

Finally, another kind of elaboration on the basic meaning of light as inherent in the local Arabian furgān is seen in the interpretation of al-Zamakhsharī of O 8:29. Among the various optional explanations, al-Zamakhsharī adduces the interpretation of furgān in the sense that 'God will give you fame and will spread your reputation and achievements all over the earth' (... yushhiru amrakum wayabuththu sītakum wa-āthārakum fī agtār al-ard). Al-Zamakhsharī adds that this is derived from the saying: 'I did so and so till the furgān shone (sata'a)', i.e. the dawn rose (ay tala'a 'l-fajru).49 Apart from a censured allusion to the above saying of the Bedouin, this interpretation shows another direction in which the sense of light was elaborated on. Here it symbolizes fame and reputation. Such derivation seems to be inspired by the saying (mathal): ashhar min faraq al-subh, 'more famous than the crack of dawn'. 50 The same interpretation has been repeated by al-Baydawi (d. c. 685/1286) on Q 8:29,51 as well as by al-Ālūsī.52

Summary and Conclusion

The above study has demonstrated that the word *furqān* is not an exclusively non-Arabic loanword, as held by many, but has also pure

47 Al-Baydāwī, I, 381.

49 Al-Zamakhsharī, Kashshāf, II, 154.

⁴⁶ Muqātil, II, 116. See also al-Māwardī, *Nukat*, II, 321; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Zād almasīr*, III, 361. And see the traditions in al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, on Q 8:41 [X, 7–8].

⁴⁸ See the traditions to that effect in al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, on Q 2:185 [II, 85]; 3:4 [III, 111]; 25:1 [XVIII, 136].

⁵⁰ Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī, Jamharat al-amthāl (ed. Aḥmad 'Abd al-Salām and Muḥammad b. Basyūnī Zaghlūl, 2 vols. Beirut 1988), I, 459 (no. 1047). Var.: ashhar min falaq al-subh. See ibid., no. 1046.

Al-Baydāwī, I, 381.
Al-Ālūsī, IX, 196.

ON THE ARABIAN ORIGINS OF THE QUR'ĀN

Arabian roots, discerned in non-Quranic texts in which it stands for the light of dawn. The Qur'an employs it mainly to describe revealed scriptures in their capacity as origin of guiding light. But the targumic (Syriac/Aramaic) connotations of the Quranic furqān are also present in passages in which furqān is related to Moses, and denotes 'redemption by division or separation'.

The exegetes of the Qur'ān are aware of the significance of *furqān* as 'redemption', but they prefer to interpret the Quranic *furqān* in the sense of 'distinction between truth and falsehood'. This is not merely a sterile manipulation designed to provide false Arabian origins to a non-Arabic loanword, as held by many,⁵³ but is rather an honest exegetical effort revolving around the genuine sense of light as inherent in the purely local Arabian *furqān*.

This means that even when faced with cases of loanwords, one must never give up the quest for the Arabian origins of the Qur'ān.

They are certainly out there, waiting to be unveiled.

⁵³ See e.g. Donner, 299 n. 45, who suggests that 'furqān as a verbal noun of faraqa "to separate, discriminate", which we find in dictionaries, is itself a product of the exegetical work of early Qur'ān scholars grappling with these Qur'ānic verses'.