

QUR'ĀN). Generally, *jibt* has three possible meanings: it is used to describe any false object of belief or worship (see IDOLS AND IMAGES), an individual who exceeds all bounds of propriety (see MODERATION) or a state of oppression (q.v.) and injustice (*Lisān al-'Arab*, ii, 164; *Tāj al-'arūs*, iii, 32; see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE). It is mentioned in Q 4:51 in the context of condemning those People of the Book (q.v.) who gave credence to the unbelievers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) and attempted to incite them against Muslims.

Some early authorities asserted that the word passed into Arabic from the language of the Ḥabasha (i.e. Ethiopic: that of the former inhabitants of today's Sudan and Ethiopia; see ABYSSINIA; FOREIGN VOCABULARY; cf. Jeffery, *For vocab.*, 99-100; Suyūṭī, *Muḥadḍahab*, 204), where, reportedly, it meant "sorcery" or "a demon" (see MAGIC; DEVIL). Other authorities maintained that the word was derived from the Arabic term *jibsun*, meaning "a person of ill repute and character" (Māwardī, *Nukat*, i, 494-5; 'Abd al-Raḥīm, *Tafsīr*, i, 284). In the Qur'ān and in numerous theological works, *jibt* is most often correlated with the word *ṭāghūt* (*al-jibt wa-l-ṭāghūt*), an expression that means divination (q.v.), sorcery or idol worship (see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS). Some commentators on the Qur'ān (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) claimed that *jibt* and *ṭāghūt* were the names of two idols worshipped by the Quraysh (q.v.) in Mecca (q.v.; Qurṭubī, *Jāmi'*, v, 248-9; Qāsimī, *Tafsīr*, iii, 172). Others claimed that *jibt* referred to a specific person named Ḥuyayy b. Akṭab while *ṭāghūt* referred to Ka'b b. al-Ashraf, two Jewish leaders who, after the battle of Uhūd (see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES), went to Mecca in order to conspire with the Quraysh to destroy the Muslims in Medina (q.v.; Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, viii, esp. 461-5, 469-70 [ad Q 4:51]; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*,

ad loc.; see JEWS AND JUDAISM; OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). Still other authorities maintained that *jibt* means sorcery or divination while *ṭāghūt* means a sorcerer or diviner (Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf*, i, 274; Ibn 'Ādil, *Lubāb*, vi, 420-2). The influential pre-modern jurist and theologian, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210; *Tafsīr*, v, 103-4), asserted that the expression has come to describe any condition of extreme evil (see GOOD AND EVIL) and corruption (q.v.).

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#### Jihād

Struggle, or striving, but often understood both within the Muslim tradition and beyond it as warfare against infidels (see FIGHTING; WAR; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). The term *jihād* derives from the root *j-h-d*, denoting effort, exhaustion, exertion, strain. Derivatives of this root occur in forty-one qur'ānic verses. Five of these contain the phrase *jahd aymānikim*, meaning "[to swear] the strongest oath," which is irrelevant to the present discussion (see OATHS), and not all the remaining verses refer to warfare.

Since the concept of *jihād* is related to warfare, discussions of the subject often contain explicit or implicit value-judgments and apologetics. In fact, the subjects of *jihād* and warfare in Islam are always treated as one. There are, however, two reasons to discuss them separately. First, *jihād* is a concept much broader than warfare. Secondly, the doctrine of warfare can be derived from the Qur'ān without resorting to the term *jihād* at all. Therefore, in this article the derivatives of the root *j-h-d* in the Qur'ān will be discussed first, followed by a survey of the doctrine of warfare as expressed in the Qur'ān.

*The root j-h-d and its derivatives in the Qur'ān*

The root *j-h-d* does not have bellicose connotations in pre-Islamic usage (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN). Judging by linguistic criteria alone (see LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QUR'ĀN), without having recourse to qur'ānic exegesis (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL), only ten out of the thirty-six relevant qur'ānic references can be unequivocally interpreted as signifying warfare. The rest are unspecified, some of them clearly denoting efforts or struggles other than fighting. The following guidelines help determine whether or not the term *j-h-d* in a given verse refers to warfare:

(a) when the term is juxtaposed with a military idiom, such as “shirkers” (*mukhal-lafūn, qā'idūn*, Q 4:95; 9:81, 86) or “go on raids” (*infirū*, Q 9:41; see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES). Verses in which *j-h-d* is connected to “asking leave/finding excuses” (*isti'dhān*) also seem to be dealing with warfare (Q 9:44; cf. 9:86, which combines both “ask leave” and “shirkers”);

(b) when the content of the verse discloses its military significance (Q 5:54, where there is a linkage between harshness

towards unbelievers, fearlessness and *j-h-d*: Q 60:1, where “enemies” [q.v.] and departing for *jihād* are mentioned);

(c) when the context of the verse indicates a military significance. Textual context is difficult to use because of the methods of assembling the text to which the history of the collection of the Qur'ān (q.v.) attests. As indicated in this history, verses that were revealed on different occasions (see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION; CHRONOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN) were placed in sequence. Sometimes, fully contradictory verses were placed together, apparently because they deal with the same topic (e.g. Q 2:190-3; 8:72-5). Occasionally, however, the continuity between sequential verses is clear and the textual context may be used to clarify the warlike intention of a verse (Q 9:41, the context being 9:38-41; Q 9:44, the context being 9:44-6; these two verses also fall under category (a) above; Q 9:88, the context being 9:87-92);

(d) when *j-h-d* in the third form is followed by a direct object. It denotes, literally, two parties, each trying to exhaust the other, hence the notion of combat (Q 9:73 = 66:9; but cf. Q 25:52, *wa-jāhidhum bihi jihādan kabīran*, where the Prophet is instructed to combat by peaceful means, namely, by the Qur'ān; see DEBATE AND DISPUTATION).

In sum, there are only ten places in the Qur'ān where *j-h-d* definitely denotes warfare. To these may be added four verses that establish the status of “those who believed, emigrated (see EMIGRATION) and exerted themselves” (*inna lladhīna āmanū wa-hājarū wa-jāhadū*, Q 8:72, 74; 9:20; cf. 8:75). Since warfare is strongly advocated in the Qur'ān, it stands to reason that references to the high status of the “strugglers” (*mujāhidūn*) are, in fact, references to warriors. It is clear, however, that in these verses the reference is to the Emigrants

(*muhājirūn*, see EMIGRANTS AND HELPERS). It may be pointed out that sometimes *j-h-d* occurs as the counterpart of *hijra*, “emigration,” presumably the Muslims’ emigration to Medina (q.v.; Q 2:218; 8:72-5; 9:20; 16:110, cf. 9:24). Strangely, there is no qur’ānic reference to the military contribution or warlike attributes of the Helpers (*anṣār*, i.e. those Medinans who helped the émigrés; such references do, however, abound in the historical and ḥadīth literature; see ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR’ĀN).

There is one case where *j-h-d* is applied to an impious struggle, namely, the struggle of disbelieving parents (q.v.) to prevent their offspring (see CHILDREN; FAMILY) from adhering to the true religion (q.v.; Q 29:8).

But in many verses it is not possible to determine the kind of effort indicated by *j-h-d*. There are many commentators who leave the terms unspecified in these instances, whereas others interpret also these ambiguous cases as warfare against infidels (see commentaries to Q 2:218; 3:142; 5:35; 9:16, 19, 20, 24; 16:110; 29:6, 69; 47:31; 61:11). Still others understand the doubtful cases in one or more of the following ways: (a) combat against one’s own desires and weaknesses (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR), (b) perseverance in observing the religious law (see LAW AND THE QUR’ĀN), (c) seeking religious knowledge (*ṭalab al-‘ilm*, see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING), (d) observance of the sunna (q.v.), (e) obedience (q.v.) to God and summoning people to worship him, and so on (see e.g. Khāzin, *Lubāb*, v, 200; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Tafsīr*, ix, 3084). All these meanings, however, are never explicit in the Qur’ān. Also, the phrases denoting the “greater” jihād (i.e. one’s personal struggle to be a better Muslim) that are common in later literature, namely, “struggle of the self” (*jihād al-nafs*) or “struggle with the devil” (*jihād al-shayṭān*, see DEVIL), do not occur in the

Qur’ān (see THEOLOGY AND THE QUR’ĀN; ETHICS AND THE QUR’ĀN; GOOD AND EVIL).

The qur’ānic concept of jihād was not originally connected with antagonism between the believers and other people. The semantic field of the root *j-h-d* as well as its use in the Qur’ān suggest another provenance. It may be an expression of the ancient and ubiquitous notion that the believers must prove to the deity their worthiness for divine reward (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; MARTYRS). This proof is achieved by enduring various kinds of hardships and self-mortification. Fasting and pilgrimage belong to this category as do celibacy and poverty. Conversely, hardships that befall the believers are understood as divine tests designed to provide the believers with opportunities to prove themselves worthy (see TRIAL). These ancient religious ideas found expression in the Qur’ān. God announces many times that he subjects the believers to tests and he reprimands those who are not able, or not willing, to endure (e.g. Q 2:155-6, 214; 3:142; 4:48; 47:4; see TRUST AND PATIENCE; JOY AND MISERY; PUNISHMENT STORIES). In Islam, in addition to giving the believers the opportunity to prove themselves, the tests also help establish the distinction between the true believers on the one hand, and the pretenders and the unbelievers on the other (see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY). The tests also help determine the relative status of the members of the community (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QUR’ĀN). One of the means of testing is jihād. In this capacity jihād may mean participation in warfare, but also any other effort made in connection with adherence to the true religion (see Q 3:142; 9:16; 47:31; cf. Q 9:24, 44, 88. Only Q 9:44 and 9:88 certainly refer to warfare, judging by the context. See also Q 4:76-7, 95-6; 9:90-4; 29:10-1; 47:20; 49:14-5; 57:10, 25.).

Sometimes not jihād but death (see DEATH AND THE DEAD) or battle (*qitāl*) “in the way of God” are explicitly mentioned as a test (Q 3:166-7; 47:4; cf. 3:154-5; 4:66; 33:11, 23-4).

Very little of the peaceful sense of *j-h-d* remained in Muslim culture and the understanding of jihād as war became predominant. Nevertheless, there are verses in the Qur’ān that attest to other significations. The best example is Q 22:78. By linguistic and contextual criteria, the phrase “exert yourself in the way of God as is his right” (*wa-jāhidū fī llāhi haqqa jihādihi*) clearly does not refer to warfare, but to other forms of effort made by way of obedience to God. The verse is part of the doctrine of the “religion of Abraham” (*millat Ibrāhīm*), which regards the patriarch as the first, original Muslim (see Q 2:125-36; see ABRAHAM; ḤANĪF). Q 22:78 instructs Muslims to perform the religious duties originally prescribed to Abraham. While asking the believers to exert themselves and to do their utmost to this end (*jāhidū*), the verse points out that the requirement should not be deemed too much to ask, since God “has laid no hardship on you in your religion.” The theme of war is not touched upon at all in this verse. In the same vein, Q 49:15 deals with definitions of belief and the phrase “those who strive” (*alladhīna... jāhadū*) apparently refers not to warriors but to those who perform all the divine ordinances (cf. Bayḍāwī, *Anwār*, ii, 277). Yet many commentators (including al-Ṭabarī, d. 310/923) insist that in these two cases the term refers to participation in warfare.

The warlike meaning of jihād thus predominates, to the extent that *q-t-l*, “kill,” was sometimes glossed by *j-h-d* (e.g. Bayḍāwī, *Anwār*, i, 105, ad Q 2:190). This predominance is perhaps to be explained by the fact that in this sense of “war,” jihād was given a legal definition, legal catego-

ries and regulations, aspects which were discussed at length by the jurists (who often, however, used the term *siyar* instead of jihād). Also the parallelism between the qur’ānic phrases jihād “in the way of God” (*fī sabīli llāh*) and *qitāl* “in the way of God” may have contributed to the equation of *j-h-d* with terms of warfare. In fact the phrase “in the way of God” itself came to mean “warfare against infidels,” although it is not necessarily so in the Qur’ān (see e.g. “emigration in the way of God” in Q 4:100; 16:41; 22:58; 24:23).

#### *The doctrine of warfare in the Qur’ān*

Islam is a system of beliefs, ritual and law (see FAITH; RITUAL AND THE QUR’ĀN) and its legal system covers all spheres of life, including warfare. Many rulings and attitudes relating to warfare are scattered throughout the Qur’ān, mainly in the Medinan sūras. Yet, derivatives of the root *j-h-d* are absent from the majority of these verses. Forms of the root *q-t-l* are used forty-four times in relation to warfare (although derivatives of this root are also used in other contexts). In addition, there are many verses relating to this subject in which neither *j-h-d* nor *q-t-l* occur.

The qur’ānic rulings and attitudes regarding warfare are often ambiguous and contradictory so that there is no one coherent doctrine of warfare in the Qur’ān, especially when the text is read without reference to its exegetical tradition. These contradictions and ambiguities resulted from historical developments and were later amplified by differences of opinion among exegetes. The Prophet led a dynamic career, having been at war for years with various enemies and under changing circumstances. Such variations and developments are doubtlessly reflected in qur’ānic verses and account for some of the contradictions. The course of these developments, however, is not clear, for

the same reasons that obstruct a decisive reconstruction of the Prophet's biography (see *SĪRA AND THE QUR'ĀN*; MUḤAMMAD). In addition, differences of opinion eventually arose due to the various possibilities of interpretations. The language of the Qur'ān is often obscure and, even when not so, many terms, phrases and sentences have more than one possible meaning or implication. For example, the sentence "we have our endeavors (*a'māl*), you have yours" (Q 2:139; 42:15; cf. 10:41; 109:6) may be interpreted in several ways: (a) it enjoins tolerance towards other religions (see *RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE QUR'ĀN*), (b) it merely states a fact, (c) it constitutes a threat, or (d) it employs "endeavors" but means "reward for the endeavors," in which case it is also merely a statement of a fact, not an implied imperative. The first of these interpretations contradicts the qur'ānic order to initiate war against the infidels (Q 2:191, 193, 244; 8:39; 9:5, 29, 36 etc.; see e.g. Ibn al-Jawzī, *Nawāsiḥ*, 175-6, 440; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xi, 118-9). Another example is Q 2:190 (cf. 2:194). It contains the seemingly clear phrase "fight in the way of God those who fight you and do not trespass" (see *BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS*). This may be taken either as prescribing defensive war or as an instruction to refrain from harming non-combatants (see e.g. Jaṣṣāṣ, *Aḥkām*, i, 257). The former contradicts the above-mentioned qur'ānic order to initiate war. These are only two of a multitude of examples.

Commentators developed special techniques to deal with qur'ānic contradictions, chief among them abrogation (q.v.; *naskh*) and specification (*'āmm wa-khāṣṣ*, literally "general versus specific"). Abrogation seeks to replace the rulings of certain verses by others, on the grounds that the latter were revealed to the Prophet later than the former. Specification is designed to restrict or ban certain injunctions and prohibitions.

This is done by establishing that the verse in question only applies to a definite group or to a specific event in the past. In contrast to abrogation, specification often occurs without the use of the technical terms *'āmm* and *khāṣṣ*.

A rarely applied, but very significant device, is the assignation of differing qur'ānic rules to different situations. Whereas the techniques of abrogation and specification aim at distilling one absolutely binding rule out of a number of possibilities, the technique of assignation leaves open a number of options and allows the authorities the power to decide which of the mutually-exclusive qur'ānic rules applies in a given situation. There are other exegetical devices used in order to resolve contradictions, such as denying linguistically possible implications (e.g. for Q 2:62), "supplementing" verses (*taqdīr*, e.g. for Q 10:41) and assigning appropriate contents to qur'ānic words (e.g. equating the term *ṣilm/salm*, "peace," with Islam, for Q 2:208 and 8:61, see Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, ii, 322-5; x, 34).

The verses relating to warfare may be classified under the following headings: (a) the order to fight, (b) exhortations (q.v.), (c) the purpose of warfare, (d) conscription, (e) permission to retreat, (f) the treatment of prisoners (q.v.; see also *HOSTAGES; CAPTIVES*), and (g) booty (q.v.). There are also miscellaneous practical and tactical instructions. The first topic is covered by a large number of verses, whereas the rest are confined to a few verses each.

The order to fight involves the issue of attitudes towards the other. Muslim scholars considered more than one hundred verses as relevant to this topic. Even an address to the Prophet such as "you are merely a warner" (q.v.; Q 11:12) was sometimes understood as an implicit instruction to leave the infidels alone. Thus the verses expressing attitudes towards the infidels include explicit or implicit instructions to

the Prophet, or to the Muslims, which may be defined as follows: (a) to be patient and to stay aloof from the infidels (Q 2:139; 3:20, 111; 4:80-1; 5:99, 105; 6:66, 69, 70, 104; 7:180, 199; 10:99, 108-9; 11:121-2; 13:40; 15:3, 94-5; 16:82; 17:54; 19:84; 20:130; 22:68; 23:54; 24:54; 25:43; 27:92; 29:50; 30:60; 31:23; 32:30; 33:48; 34:25; 35:23; 37:174; 38:70; 39:15; 40:55, 77; 42:6, 48; 43:83; 44:59; 46:35; 50:45; 51:54; 52:31, 45, 48; 53:29; 54:6; 68:44, 48; 70:5, 42; 73:10-1; 74:11; 76:24; 88:22), (b) to forgive them or treat them kindly (Q 2:109; 5:13; 15:85; 43:89; 45:14; 60:8-9; 64:14; see FORGIVENESS; MERCY), (c) to tolerate them (Q 2:62, 256; 5:69, but cf. 3:19; 5:82; see TOLERANCE AND COMPULSION), (d) to preach or argue with them peaceably (Q 3:64; 4:63; 16:64, 125; 29:46; 41:34; see INVITATION), and (e) to fight them under certain restrictions (Q 2:190, 191-4, 217; 4:91; 9:36, 123; 16:126; 22:39-40). There are also qur'ānic references to treaties with infidels and to peace (Q 2:208; 4:90; 8:61; cf. Q 3:28; 47:35; see CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES). All these are in conflict with the clear orders to fight, expressed in Q 9:5 and 9:29 (cf. Q 2:244). Q 9:5 instructs the Muslims to fight the idolaters (*mushrikūn*) until they are converted to Islam and is known as "the sword verse" (*āyat al-sayf*; see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM). Q 9:29 orders Muslims to fight the People of the Book (q.v.) until they consent to pay tribute (*jizya*, see POLL TAX), thereby recognizing the superiority of Islam. It is known as "the *jizya* verse" (*āyat al-jizya*, occasionally also as "the sword verse"). The Qur'ān does not lay down rules for cases of Muslim defeat, although there is a long passage discussing such an occurrence (Q 3:139-75, see also 4:104; see VICTORY).

A broad consensus among medieval exegetes and jurists exists on the issue of waging war. The simplest and earliest solution

of the problem of contradictions in the Qur'ān was to consider Q 9:5 and 9:29 as abrogating all the other statements. Scholars seem sometimes to have deliberately expanded the list of the abrogated verses, including in it material that is irrelevant to the issue of waging war (e.g. Q 2:83, see Ibn al-Bārī, *Nāsikh*, 23; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muṣaffā*, 14; id., *Nawāsikh*, 156-8; Baydāwī, *Anwār*, i, 70; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, i, 311; other examples: Q 3:111; 4:63; 16:126; 23:96; 25:63; 28:55; 38:88; 39:3). The number of verses abrogated by Q 9:5 and 9:29 is sometimes said to exceed 120 (Ibn al-Bārī, *Nāsikh*, 22-3 and passim; also Powers, Exegetical genre, 138). Several verses are considered as both abrogating and abrogated, in turn, by others. The Muslim tradition, followed by modern scholars (see POST-ENLIGHTENMENT ACADEMIC STUDY OF THE QUR'ĀN), associated various verses with developments in the career of the Prophet. It is related that, in the beginning, God instructed the Prophet to avoid the infidels and to forgive them. The Prophet was actually forbidden to wage war while in Mecca (q.v.). After the emigration to Medina (*hijra*) the Muslims were first permitted to fight in retaliation for the injustice (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE) done them by the Meccans (Q 22:39-40). Then came the order to fight the infidels generally, yet certain restrictions were prescribed. Eventually all restrictions were removed and all treaties with infidels were repudiated by Q 9:1-14, and the ultimate divine orders were expressed in Q 9:5 and 9:29. (There are many versions of this scheme, see 'Abdallāh b. Wahb, *Jāmi'*, fol. 15b; Abū 'Ubayd, *Nāsikh*, 190-7; Baydāwī, *Anwār*, i, 634; Khāzin, *Lubāb*, i, 168; Shāfi'ī, *Tafsīr*, 166-73; Jaṣṣāṣ, *Aḥkām*, i, 256-63; cf. Ibn al-Jawzī, *Nawāsikh*, 230.) This evolutionary explanation relies on the technique of abrogation to account for the contradic-

tory statements in the Qur'ān. Although details are disputed, this explanation is not a post-qur'ānic development constructed retrospectively (see Firestone, *Jihād*, esp. chaps. 3-4). In addition to its obvious rationality, this evolution is attested in the Qur'ān itself (Q 4:77). Many exegetes, however, avoided the technique of abrogation for theological and methodological reasons, but achieved the same result by other means (e.g. Ibn al-Jawzī, *Nawāsikh*). Thus, in spite of differences of opinions regarding the interpretation of the verses and the relations between them, the broad consensus on the main issue remained: whether by abrogation, specification or other techniques, the order to fight unconditionally (Q 9:5 and 9:29) prevailed. Some commentators, however, argued that the verses allowing peace (Q 4:90; 8:61) were neither abrogated nor specified, but remained in force. By the assignation technique, peace is allowed when it is in the best interest of the Muslims (e.g. in times of Muslim weakness, see e.g. Jaṣṣāṣ, *Aḥkām*, ii, 220; iii, 69-70). In fact this was the position adopted by the four major schools of law (see Peters, *Jihād*, 32-7).

Exhortations to battle occur many times in the Qur'ān and the Prophet is told to urge his followers to fight (Q 4:84; 8:65). In addition to the verses that contain various instructions, there are those that promise reward to warriors and reprimand shirkers, threatening them with God's wrath (Q 2:154; 3:195; 4:74, 104; 9:38-9, 88-9, 111; 22:58-9; 33:23-4; 61:10-3; see also Q 3:139-75, which encourages the Muslims after a defeat). The verses that establish the distinction between true believers and hypocrites (see above) may also serve the same end.

In a few verses, the cause or purpose of Muslim warfare is mentioned as self-defense, and retaliation for aggression, for

the expulsion from Mecca and for the violation of treaties (Q 2:217; 4:84, 91; 5:33; 9:12-3; 22:39-40; 60:9, cf. 4:89). In one case, defense of weak brethren is adduced (Q 4:75; see BROTHER AND BROTHERHOOD). On the basis of the "sword verse" (Q 9:5) and the "*jūzʿa* verse" (Q 9:29) it is clear that the purpose of fighting the idolaters is to convert them to Islam, whereas the purpose of fighting the People of the Book is to dominate them. Many commentators interpret Q 2:193 and 8:39 ("fight them until there is no *fitna*") as an instruction to convert all the polytheists to Islam by force if need be (e.g. Khāzin, *Lubāḥ*, ii, 183; Jaṣṣāṣ, *Aḥkām*, i, 260). It appears, however, that *fitna* (see DISSENSION; PARTIES AND FACTIONS) originally did not mean polytheism, but referred to attempts by infidels to entice Muslims away from Islam. Such attempts are mentioned in many qur'ānic verses (e.g. Q 3:149; 14:30; 17:73-4; for Q 2:193 see e.g. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, ii, 254; see APOSTASY). Thus the purpose of war in Q 2:193 and 8:39 would be not conversion of infidels, but the preservation of the Muslim community. Conversion as the purpose of Muslim warfare is also implied by some interpretations of Q 2:192 and 48:16. In later literature the formulation of the purpose of war is "that God's word reign supreme" (*li-takūna kalimatu llāhi hiya l-ʿulyā*), but in the Qur'ān this phrase is not associated with warfare (Q 9:40; cf. 9:33 = 61:9; 48:28).

The verses relevant to conscription are Q 2:216; 4:71; 9:39-41, 90-3, 120, 122; cf. Q 48:17. The verses implying that only a part of the community is required to participate in warfare prevail over those that stipulate or imply general conscription (see 'Abdallāh b. Wahb, *Jāmi'*, fol. 16a-b; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Nawāsikh*, 438; Bayḍawī, *Anwār*, i, 405; Shāfi'ī, *Tafsīr*, 140-1, 145, 148; Zuhri, *Nāsikh*, 28-9; see also Paret, *Kommentar*,

215-6; id., Sure 9, 122). In post-qur'ānic legal idiom it is stated that warfare (*jihād*) is a collective duty (*fard 'alā l-kifāya*).

Permission to retreat occurs three times. In Q 8:15-6 retreat is forbidden unless it is intended to be temporary and is done for tactical reasons. These verses are considered by some scholars to have been abrogated by Q 8:65, which permits retreat only if the enemies outnumber the Muslims by more than ten times. This rule was, in turn, replaced by Q 8:66, which reduces the proportion to two to one (Baydāwī, *Anwār*, i, 361; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, ix, 200-3; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Nawāsikh*, 415-8; Abū 'Ubayd, *Nāsikh*, 192-3). This issue is sometimes discussed in relation to Q 2:195 as well.

The taking of prisoners is forbidden in Q 8:67 (see also Q 8:70-1). This verse is considered as abrogated by Q 47:4, which allows the Muslims to take prisoners, to free them for no compensation at all or to do so in exchange for ransom (Qurtubī, *Aḥkām*, iv, 2884-7; vii, 6047-9; Jaṣṣāṣ, *Aḥkām*, iii, 71-4; Abū 'Ubayd, *Nāsikh*, 209-16; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, x, 42-4). Nowhere in the Qur'ān is there a reference to the permissibility (or otherwise) of executing prisoners. There is, however, disagreement among commentators regarding the apparent contradiction between Q 47:4 and the categorical order to kill the idolaters in Q 9:5 (Ibn al-Jawzī, *Nawāsikh*, 425-7; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, x, 80-1; xxvi, 40-3; Qurtubī, *Aḥkām*, vii, 6047-8; Jaṣṣāṣ, *Aḥkām*, iii, 390-2). Booty is discussed in Q 4:94; 8:1, 41, 68-9; 59:6-8 and other practical matters relating to war occur in Q 2:239; 4:101-3; 8:56-8, 60; 61:4.

In the legal literature qur'ānic verses are sometimes cited which appear to be irrelevant to the discussions. Thus Q 48:24-5 were adduced in the discussion of non-discriminating weapons (*ballista*, *manjanīq*, e.g. Ibn Abī Zayd, *Kutāb al-Jihād*, 70-1). Q 59:5 was used in the discussion of the permissibility to destroy the enemy's prop-

erty (e.g. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xxviii, 32). Q 6:137 was adduced as proof that no enemy-children should be killed (e.g. Shāfi'ī, *Tafsīr*, 121).

Finally, the origins of the notion of the sacredness of Islamic warfare should be mentioned. Although *jihād* and warfare are disparate concepts, only partly overlapping, both are endowed with sanctity. The sanctity of *jihād* was discussed above. The sacredness of warfare derives, first, from the causative link between warfare on the one hand, and divine command and divine decree on the other. Another source is the association of warfare with divine reward and punishment. The roles of warring as a divine test and as a pledge that the believers give to God (Q 33:15, 23) add another dimension to the sacredness of warfare. Finally, God's direct intervention in the military exploits of his community sanctifies these exploits (Q 3:13, 123-7; 8:7-12, 17-19, 26; 9:14, 25-6, 40; 33:9-10, 25-7; 48:20-4; see BADR).

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## Jinn

A category of created beings believed to possess powers for evil and good. Although their existence is never doubted, the jinn (Eng. "genie") are presented in the Qurʾān as figures whose effective role has been considerably curtailed in comparison to that accorded to them by various forms of pre-Islamic religion.

Unlike their rivals, the *rabb* and the *rabba*, the "lords" and "ladies," supernatural protectors and "allies" (*awliyāʾ*) of the tribes

(see TRIBES AND CLANS) that God, in the fullness of his lordship, succeeds in making disappear (Q 53:23, "They are but names which you have named"), the jinn survive at the heart of the new religion. The Qurʾān limits itself to denying them the greater part of their powers — those, at any rate, that they could have claimed from the lord of the Qurʾān. In particular, they are shorn of their primordial function relative to humankind, that of uncovering the secrets (q.v.) of destiny (*ghayb*), thereby possessing knowledge of the future and of the world of the invisible (see HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN; DESTINY; FATE). In the account of the death of Solomon (q.v.; Q 34:14), the jinn, having failed to grasp that the king is dead, continue to serve him in humility and abasement — thus demonstrating their ignorance of the *ghayb*. But the very fact that the Qurʾān dispossesses them, allows, at the same time, for recognition of their former role as mediators between the invisible world and humankind. The Qurʾān finds itself in the surprising position of having to come to terms with the jinn, i.e. subjecting them to its God, so powerful is the image they conjure up in popular imagination and local beliefs. In doing this, the text of the Qurʾān permits us to confirm part of what has been suggested concerning the way in which the desert Arabs (see ARABS; BEDOUIN; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN) of the sixth century C.E. viewed their relationship to the jinn.

Regarded as having lost their faculty of familiarity with the invisible, the jinn were also seen as having lost their "power" or "faculty of action" (*sulṭān*, e.g. Q 55:33). *Sulṭān* is the exclusive preserve of the God of the Qurʾān, who dispenses it to whomsoever he wishes (Q 14:11; 59:6; etc.; see POWER AND IMPOTENCE). He never delegates complete mastery to anyone, however, since omnipotence remains one of