

Islām – Midrashic Perspectives on a Quranic Term

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In memory of my father, M.J. Kister

Introduction

In this article I wish to examine several Quranic passages which contain the verb *aslama* and the noun *islām* in light of Jewish parallels. My aim is not to solve the riddle of the Quranic usage of the term *islām* but rather to point out Jewish parallels which can shed some light on the shades of meaning that this term seems to have accrued.

From my perspective as a student of midrashic literature, the Quran is a mine of midrashic material, both known and lost. The challenge is not only to note similar midrashic and Jewish motifs, but also to read Quranic passages as interpreting – sometimes in a remarkably nuanced manner – passages in the Bible, and to reconstruct the biblical interpretation underlying the Quran.

Two approaches may be discerned in prior studies of the word *islām* in the Quran.¹ One approach treats the word in light of parallel words in Hebrew and Aramaic. The other confines itself to the use of Arabic texts. Among the latter the following suggestions may be mentioned: Meir Max Bravmann's suggestion that the term denotes

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¹ For a general outline of *aslama* in the Quran see A.A. Ambros, *A Concise Dictionary of Koranic Arabic* (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2004), 137-138; E.M. Badawi and M. Abdel Halim, *Dictionary of Quranic Usage* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), s.v. *SLM*. For a survey of the literature (not focused on the aspects dealt with in the present article) see J.I. Smith, *An Historical and Semantic Study of the Term 'Islām' as Seen in a Sequence of Qur'ān Commentaries* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1975), 24–32.

defiance of death and self-sacrifice (for the sake of God and his prophet);² Helmer Ringgren's suggestion that it denotes surrendering to God;³ and the suggestion of David Zvi Baneth that it denotes the worship of one God alone.⁴ My father, Meir Jacob Kister, discussed this word briefly in his article concerning the pre-Islamic *talbiyāt* (ritual invocations). In one of these *talbiyāt* the worship of Allah (as opposed to that of the other gods) is referred to as *islām* in the phrase *تنزها وإسلام tanazzuhan wa-islām*, "self-withdrawal (from shame) and *islām*". He believed that this text supports Baneth's suggestion and indicates that already in pre-Islamic times the term denoted – if not Monotheism exactly – exclusive devotion to the main God, Allah.⁵ Though this evidence is important, it is difficult to base far-reaching conclusions on one word in a tradition transmitted in Islamic times. The main source for the word *islām* in a religious context remains the Quran.

The Quran should be studied against the background of both pre-Quranic Arabic and Jewish and Christian literature. I am not competent to deal with the former, and my contribution will be from the latter perspective. Various scholars have attempted to link the word *islām* to its Hebrew and Aramaic cognates and their usages in Judaism and Christianity. Leopold Zunz thus hinted very briefly that the word *muslim* might be related to the phrase *hishlim nafsho* (השלים נפשו), "he gave his life",⁶ (also: "delivered himself [to

² M. M. Bravmann, *The Spiritual Background of Early Islam: Studies in Ancient Arab Concepts* (Leiden: Brill, 1972), 7–26.

³ H. Ringgren, *Islām, Aslama and Muslim* (Uppsala: C.W.K. Gleerup, 1949; Horae Soederblomianae, 2).

⁴ D. Z. H. Baneth, "What Did Muhammad Mean When He called His Religion 'Islām'? The Original Meanings of Aslama and its Derivatives", *Israel Oriental Studies* 1 (1971): 183–90.

⁵ M.J. Kister, "'Labbayka, Allāhumma, Labbayka...' On a Monotheistic Aspect of a Jāhiliyya Practice", *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 2 (1980): 33–57, at 39–40.

⁶ L. Zunz, *Synagogale Poesie des Mittelalters* (Berlin: J. Springer, 1865), 641–2.: "Die des haggadischen השלים und besonders des השלים נפשו sein Leben preisgeben, opfern" hat zuerst... Matth. Strassun ... nachgewiesen, der auch השלמה Hiob 5, 3 "ist dir übergeben" übersetzt. Daher stammt משלם Jes. 42, 19, arab. Moslem, und מושלמים in Jalkut Numer. #686 Ende." Zunz says that השלים נפש, השלים נשמתו, השלים עצמו are peculiar to later midrashim. Especially, he gathers occurrences of this verb in the *piyyutim*. (Zunz mentions the illuminating contribution to the study of the השלים, שלם, by Mattithyahu Strason in S.Y. Finn [ed.], *Qiryah Ne'emanah* [Wilna: Funk, 1915], xxxviii – xl, n. 7 [in Hebrew]. For more recent discussions of this root see Y. Yadin, להשלים, Tarbiz 40 [1971], 390; E.E. Urbach, השלמות להשלים, Tarbiz 40 (1971), 392 [both in Hebrew]; M. Kister, "Some Observations on Vocabulary and Style in the Dead Sea Scrolls,"

God]).⁷ Moritz Steinschneider, in a footnote, reacted to Zunz's suggestion by considering, alternatively, that the origin of the Arabic usage is the word *tamim* (תמים), “wholly (devoted); perfect” – which is synonymous to Hebrew and Aramaic שלם – and is used in the Bible (Gen 17:1) with regard to Abraham.⁸ Others suggested a link with the word *shalom* (שלום), in the sense of “salvation”,⁹ or “covenant”,¹⁰ or with Syriac usage.¹¹ Josef Horovitz drew attention to usages such as השלים עצמו לקב"ה, literally “delivered himself to God” (referring in a midrash to a proselyte who abandoned idolatry),¹² Shlomo

Diggers at the Well: Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira [ed. T. Muraoka & J.F. Elwolde; Leiden: Brill], 141-142).

⁷ Thus in a Samaritan composition from late Antiquity, Abraham is described by the words שלם נפשה למרה (*Tibat Marqe*, 2.34 [85b], ed. Z. Ben-Hayyim [Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1988], 137 (in Hebrew); cf. *ibid.* 4.8 [177b], 236 [the latter passage seems to belong to a later stratum of this Samaritan compilation]).

⁸ M. Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur in arabischer Sprache zwischen Muslimen, Christen und Juden* (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1877), 266: "Die Gottesreligion ist der Islām, Abraham war weder Jude noch Christ, sondern Muslim. Das arabische Wort [Islām] hat einen Verwandten in dem chald. שלם übergeben (quit Machen), während die Phrase השלים עצמו u. dgl. in Sinne von "sich (Gott) ergeben" nur in jüngere Midraschim vorkommt, wie Zunz ... hervorhebt... Vielleicht ging der Begriff des Islams zuerst von der *Integrität* aus (תמים), namentlich von *Abraham* Gen. 17, 1, wozu im Talmud Nedarim 31b המתמים עצמו... ferner Deut. 18, 13: תמים "seit Du mit Jah deinen Gotte". Ignaz Goldziher followed Zunz and Steinschneider (s.v. Islam, *The Jewish Encyclopedia* [London: Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1904], 6.651) in comparing the word Islam to the Hebrew usage. In his private copy of Steinschneider's book (kept in the National Library of Israel, Judaica Reading Room), Goldziher added some more references from *huma* midrashim (*Tanḥuma Buber*, *Noah* 19 [כשר ומושלם לבוראן]; *Lekh Lekha* 6 [בא והשלים עצמו להקב"ה]; as well as *Wa-ethannan* 6 [כדי שיצטער וישלים עצמו למיתה]), which is less relevant).

⁹ M. Lidzbarski, “Salām und Islām“, *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete* 1 (1922): 85–96, at 85–90.

¹⁰ D. Künstlinger, “‘Islām‘, ‘muslim‘, ‘aslama‘ im Kurân”, *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 11 (1935): 128–37.

¹¹ Thus A. Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary in the Quran* (Baroda: Oriental Institute), 62-63, following Horovitz and D.S. Margoliouth, "On the Origin and Import of the Names Muslim and Ḥanīf," *JRAS* 35 (1903), 467-493, esp. 475-477. I do not refer here to other, rather untenable suggestions in this article, for which see the justified reservations of Charles J. Lyal, "The Words Ḥanīf and Muslim," *JRAS* 35 (1903), 771-784.

¹² J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen* (Berlin, 1926), 54–5.

Dov Goitein took up Horovitz's line, adding a few further references.¹³ The comparative approach common to these studies has not been developed in the last decades.

In this article I wish to carry further this approach, by comparing the Quranic usage to certain uses of its Hebrew cognate—not merely in an isolated, lexical study, but also with reference to the specific midrashic reading of a biblical text to which the Quranic usage can and should be read.

I. The Semantic Range of Hebrew *hishlim*

First let us survey briefly the various meanings the verb *hishlim* has in Hebrew which may be relevant for the study of the Arabic term *islām*.¹⁴

In some instances *hishlim* is a denominative verb derived from *shalom*, “peace”, with the meaning “make peace.” It should, however, be remembered that quite often the peace yearned for is established by the surrender of the enemy. Thus we read concerning the inhabitants of Gibeon: “There was not a town that made peace with (*hishlima el*) the Israelites (לא-היתה עיר אשר השלימה אל-בני ישראל) except the Hivites, the inhabitants of Gibeon; all were taken in battle” (Joshua 11:19). Likewise we read concerning an enemy town: “If it does not submit to you peacefully (*tashlim*; ואם-לא תשלים עמך), but makes war against you, then you shall besiege it” (Deuteronomy 20:12). Similarly we read in Job 5:23 “and the wild animals shall be at peace with you (וחיות השדה השלמה-לך).” In all of these verses (and others) the meaning of “making peace” is the surrender of the enemies. It seems likely that some occurrences of this verb in rabbinic literature should be explained in a similar manner. Such is the case of the brigand who in his old age surrenders to the king, saying אני משלים למלך, “I will make peace with the king”.¹⁵ Likewise, in a liturgical poem composed around the time of Muhammad we read

¹³ S.D. Goitein, האסלאם של מוחמד: כיצד התהוותה דת חדשה בצל היהדות (lectures for students; Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, 1955), 184-85 (in Hebrew).

¹⁴ It is now easy to have the data of the usage of this verb in the best texts of rabbinic literature as well as in the *piyyut* literature with the aid of *ma'agarim*, the database of the Historical Dictionary of the Academy of the Hebrew Language: <http://maagarim.hebrew-academy.org.il/Pages/PMain.aspx>

¹⁵ *Tanḥuma Buber, Haye Sarah* §7 (p. 121). English translation in John T. Townsend, *Midrash Tanḥuma: English* (Hoboken N.J.: Ktav, 1989), 1: 140.

concerning the Messiah that “all will surrender to him that he be king over them” (הכל (ישלימו לו להיות עליהם מלך).¹⁶ In *Shir Ha-shirim Zuta*, a passage commenting on “Return, return, O Shulammitte!” (Song of Songs 7:1) asserts that all human beings will surrender to God and He will make a pact with them (שכל באי עולם עתידיים להשלים להקב"ה והוא נותן (להם הימין מלך).¹⁷ The *huph'al* stem is used to describe legions which surrender to a king (מרדו בו) (בשר ודם כל זמן שלגיונותיו מושלמין לו) as opposed to those which rebel against him (כפרו בו).¹⁸ In *Pesikta Rabbati* § 26 we are told that Jeremiah was accused of planning to surrender (*le-hashlim*) to the Chaldeans (אל הכשדים).¹⁹ As we shall see, this secular usage is significant for construing the background of the Quranic account of the story of Solomon and the queen of Sheba. This usage is also found in the Quran in a religious context. Compare:

Q 13:15 وَ لِلّٰهِ يَسْجُدُ مَنْ فِي السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ طَوْعًا وَكَرْهًا

Q 3:83 وَلَهُ أَسْلَمَ مَنْ فِي السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ طَوْعًا وَكَرْهًا

Q 13:15, “To God bow (*yasjudū*) all who are in the heavens and the earth, willingly or unwillingly [...],”²⁰

Q 3:83, “[...] and to Him has surrendered (*aslama*) whoso is in the heavens and the earth, willingly or unwillingly [...]”

In these verses *sajada* and *aslama* are parallel. Note, however, that in the context of Q 3:83 *islām* is specifically a religion opposed to Judaism and Christianity (i.e., Islam), as is made clear in the following verses:

¹⁶ See E. Fleischer, “Haduta-Hadutahu-Chedweta: Solving an Old Riddle”, *Tarbiz* 53 (1983):71 – 96, at 79 (in Hebrew).

¹⁷ *Shir Ha-shirim Zuta* 7.1 (ed. Buber, [Vilna: 1925] 34) = Schechter, *Aggadath Shir ha-Shirim* [Cambridge: Bell, 1896], 42). For the expression נותן ימין see S. Lieberman, *Studies in Palestinian Talmudic Literature* (Jerusalem, 1991), 472-475 (in Hebrew).

¹⁸ *Tanḥuma, Ki Tissa* 15 = *Exodus Rabbah* 41.4.

¹⁹ *Pesiqta Rabbati*, ed. Friedman, 130a. English translation in William G. Braude, *Pesikta Rabbati* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), 2:530 – 1.

²⁰ “All the nations that You have made shall come and bow down before You, O Lord’ (Ps 86:9) Willingly or unwillingly” (Midrash Psalms 86:4, ed. Buber 373; see S. Lieberman, *Deuteronomy Rabbah* [Jerusalem: Wharmann Books: 1974], 133 [in Hebrew]).

قُلْ آمَنَّا بِاللَّهِ وَمَا أُنزِلَ عَلَيْنَا وَمَا أُنزِلَ عَلَىٰ إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَإِسْمَاعِيلَ وَإِسْحَاقَ وَيَعْقُوبَ وَالْأَسْبَاطِ وَمَا أُوتِيَ مُوسَىٰ وَعِيسَىٰ وَالنَّبِيُّونَ مِنْ رَبِّهِمْ لَا نُفَرِّقُ بَيْنَ أَحَدٍ مِنْهُمْ وَنَحْنُ لَهُ مُسْلِمُونَ (84) وَمَنْ يَبْتَغِ غَيْرَ الْإِسْلَامِ دِينًا فَلَنْ يُقْبَلَ مِنْهُ... (85)

(84) Say: 'We believe in God, and that which has been sent down on us, and sent down on Abraham and Ishmael, Isaac and Jacob, and the Tribes [that is, Jacob's twelve sons], and in that which was given to Moses and Jesus, and the Prophets, from their Lord; we make no division between any of them, and to Him we are *muslimūna*.' (85) Whoso desires another religion than *Islām*, it shall not be accepted of him [...]

According to another meaning of the verb *hishlim* – attested from the Second Temple times and till late Antiquity²¹ –denotes “handing over, delivering”. Thus *hishlim nafsho* (השלים נפשו) means “he gave his life” and *hishlim 'asmo* (השלים עצמו) means “he handed himself (or: his life) over”.²² The poet Yannai (fifth century?) refers to Jacob as ממשלימי (those who have surrendered themselves to you”) and adds: עצמו השלים לך (“he surrendered himself to you”).²³

In the late *Tanḥuma* midrashim the phrase השלים עצמו להקב"ה occurs occasionally as a term for piety. Thus it is said that a proselyte is favored in God's eyes more than those who attended the giving of the Torah at Mount Sinai since he “delivers himself (*mashlim*) to the Holy One, blessed be He” (בא ומשלים עצמו לקב"ה), without seeing the wonders which accompanied that event.²⁴ It is not always possible to distinguish between the two meanings: “to surrender” and “to deliver oneself;” both are, in fact, closely linked semantic variations of one meaning. A classical midrashic collection, *Genesis Rabbah*,

²¹ The dates of the paytanim can be given only very roughly.

²² For השלים נפש as a term of martyrdom as well as of death in general see the thorough discussion of Sh. Elizur in her introduction to *Rabbi El'azar berabbi Qillir, Liturgical Poems for Rosh ha-Shana: Critical Edition, Introduction and Commentaries* (ed. Sh. Elizur and M. Rand; Jerusalem, 2014), 106-108.

²³ <דוש> ממשלימי לך... <דוש> גם אויביו הישלמתה לו כי עצמו השלים לך Zvi Meir Rabinovitz, *The Liturgical Poems of Rabbi Yannai according to the Triennial Cycle of the Pentateuch and the Holidays* (Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik, 1985), 1:213 (in Hebrew). Such condensed phraseology is found also in *Midrash Tehillim* 76.2 (ed. Buber; Wilna: Rom, 341), where the tribe of Judah is said to have “surrendered (itself) (*hishlim*) to God in being first to enter the Red Sea and thereby to have hallowed His name” (השלים להקב"ה וקידש שמו). This expression, however, is absent in earlier versions of the same tradition.

²⁴ *Tanḥuma Lekh Lekha* §6.

asserts that when Adam was in Eden, before his sin, he was מושלם לבוראו ("obedient, surrendered, to his Maker");²⁵ in later midrashim Shem is described as כשר ומושלם לבוראו (worthy and obedient to his Maker)²⁶ or כשר ושלם לבוראו (worthy and perfect to his Maker).²⁷

The picture is complicated somewhat by another meaning of the root *sh-l-m*, namely "perfect, whole." Accordingly *hishlim* (in the *hiph'il* stem) means "to make whole". When we read in Syriac version of Ben Sira that Josiah *ashlem* his heart to God (ܐܫܠܡ ܠܗܘܐ ܟܘܪܘܢ; Sir 49:3), does this mean "he delivered his heart to God" or "he made his heart wholly devoted"? In Syriac both interpretations are acceptable; the Hebrew original, in which the root *tmm* is used (ויתם אל אל לבו) demonstrates that the latter option is correct: "He made his heart perfect to God" (by abandoning idolatry).²⁸ Should we interpret similarly the phrase ולב לאל תשלים in a *piyyut* of the Qillir (who flourished about the time of Muhammad)?²⁹ When another classical midrashic collection, *Pesikta De-Rab Kahana* explains the name Jerusalem as "the daughter that fears Me and is *marshlemet* / *mushlemet* to Me" (שיראה ומושלמת לי or הבת שיראה ומשלמת לי),³⁰ it is clear that this is a term for piety and devotion to God; what this exactly means is less clear, nor can we be sure from which sense of the root *sh-l-m* this usage is derived.³¹ Lexically, it seems that the Hebrew root consists of a web of entangled meanings. A *piyyut* of the poet El'azar birbi Qillir combines the two meanings: Isaac is characterized there as משלים בחום יחידה ("he [Isaac at the Aqedah] who delivered his soul [i.e. gave his life] wholeheartedly"); the wordplay between the usage of *hishlim* in the meaning of "delivering" and *tom*,

²⁵ *Genesis Rabbah* 16:1 (ed. Theodor-Albeck [Berlin: M. Poppeloyer, 1927], 142).

²⁶ *Tanḥuma Buber*, Noah 19.

²⁷ Mann, *The Bible as Read and Preached in the Old Synagogue* (Cincinnati: J. Mann, 1940), *288: *Yelammedenu* [=Tanḥuma] cited in *Yalqut Talmud Torah* to Gen 9:18.

²⁸ Cf. "he made his heart perfect (or: wholly) for her," referring to wisdom. (4Q525 2-3 ii 8 (E. Puech, *Qumrân Grotte 4.XVIII: Textes Hébreux [4Q521-4Q528, 4Q576-4Q579]*, DJD 25 [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998], 122).

²⁹ Qillir, *Erez Maṭa*, line 535 (Elizur, *Rabbi El'azar birbi Kiliri Hymni Pentacostales* [Jerusalem: Mekize Nirdamim, 2000], 128 [in Hebrew]).

³⁰ *Pesikta de-Rav Kahana* 16.3 (ed. B. Mandelbaum; New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1962), 2:267.

³¹ For examples of the merging of two meanings of a root in Hebrew see M. Kister, "Hawwa, Howwa: A Contribution to Biblical Lexicography," *Leshonenu* 74 (2012), 13-24, esp. 17-18 nn. 33, 34 (in Hebrew).

"wholeheartedly, being perfect" (a synonym of *shalem*) is noteworthy.³² It can be inferred from a survey of all the occurrences of the verb that there is no remarkable difference in usage between Hebrew texts before and after the emergence of Islam.

These observations may help in reading the Quranic texts in their midrashic context.

II. Q 2:124–133

The first passage to be discussed is from *Sūrat al-Baqara* (Q 2), a Medinan Sura replete with polemics against Jews and Christians. In this passage it is stressed that Islam rather than Judaism or Christianity is the religion of Abraham. Thus we read:

وَإِذِ ابْتَلَىٰ إِبْرَاهِيمَ رَبُّهُ بِكَلِمَاتٍ فَأَتَمَّهُنَّ قَالَ إِنِّي جَاعِلُكَ لِلنَّاسِ إِمَامًا قَالَ وَمِنْ ذُرِّيَّتِي قَالَ لَا يَنَالُ عَهْدِي الظَّالِمِينَ (124) ... وَإِذْ يَرْفَعُ إِبْرَاهِيمُ الْقَوَاعِدَ مِنَ الْبَيْتِ وَإِسْمَاعِيلُ رَبَّنَا تَقَبَّلْ مِنَّا إِنَّكَ أَنْتَ السَّمِيعُ الْعَلِيمُ (127) رَبَّنَا وَاجْعَلْنَا مُسْلِمِينَ لَكَ وَمِنْ ذُرِّيَّتِنَا أُمَّةً مُسْلِمَةً لَكَ وَأَرِنَا مَنَاسِكَنَا وَتُبْ عَلَيْنَا إِنَّكَ أَنْتَ التَّوَّابُ الرَّحِيمُ (128) رَبَّنَا وَابْعَثْ فِيهِمْ رَسُولًا مِنْهُمْ يَتْلُو عَلَيْهِمْ آيَاتِكَ وَيُعَلِّمُهُمُ الْكِتَابَ وَالْحِكْمَةَ وَيُزَكِّيهِمْ إِنَّكَ أَنْتَ الْعَزِيزُ الْحَكِيمُ (129) وَمَنْ يَرْغَبْ عَنْ مِلَّةِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ إِلَّا مَنْ سَفِهَ نَفْسَهُ وَلَقَدِ اصْطَفَيْنَا فِي الدُّنْيَا وَإِنَّهُ فِي الْآخِرَةِ لَمِنَ الصَّالِحِينَ (130) إِذْ قَالَ لَهُ رَبُّهُ أَسْلِمْ قَالَ أَسْلَمْتُ لِرَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ (131) وَوَصَّىٰ بِهَا إِبْرَاهِيمُ بَنِيهِ وَيَعْقُوبُ يَا بَنِيَّ إِنَّ اللَّهَ اصْطَفَىٰ لَكُمْ الدِّينَ فَلَا تَمُوتُنَّ إِلَّا وَأَنْتُمْ مُسْلِمُونَ (132)

(124) And when his Lord tested Abraham with (certain) words, and he fulfilled them. He said: “Behold, I make you a leader for the people”. Said he: “And of my progeny?” He said: “My covenant shall not reach the evildoers” [...]

(127) And when Abraham, raised up the foundations of the House, and Ishmael with him: “Our Lord, receive this from us; You are the Hearing, the Knowing; (128) and, our Lord, make us *muslimīna* to You,³³ and of our progeny a nation (*umma*) *muslima* to You; and show us our holy rites, and turn towards us; surely You are the Relenting, the Compassionate; (129) and, our Lord, send among

³² This phrase occurs in a *piyyut* by the Qillir to be published by Sh. Elizur and M. Rand in their forthcoming edition of the Qillir' poems for the Day of Atonement (forthcoming). The text is accessible at the moment in <http://maagarim.hebrew-academy.org.il/Pages/PMain.aspx>. See Elizur and Rand, *Rabbi El'azar berabbi Qillir, Liturgical Poems for Rosh ha-Shana*, 106 n. 27.

³³ Because of the ambiguity of the verb *aslama* I left its various forms untranslated throughout the article.

them a Messenger, one of them, who shall recite to them Your signs, and teach them the Book and the Wisdom, and purify them; You are the Mighty, the Wise". (130) Who therefore shrinks from the religion of Abraham, except he be foolish-minded? Indeed, we chose him in the present world, and in the world to come he shall be among the righteous. (131) When his Lord said to him: "*aslim*", he said: "*aslamtu* to the Lord of all beings". (132) And Abraham charged his sons with this and Jacob likewise: "My sons, God has chosen for you the religion; see that you die not save as *muslimāna*".

I believe that some verses in this passage, especially vv. 124 and 131 allude to Genesis 17.³⁴ In this biblical chapter we read:

(3) and God said to him, (4) "Behold, my covenant is with you, and you shall be the father of a multitude of nations... (6) ...and kings shall come forth from you. (7) And I will establish my covenant between me and you and your descendants after you throughout their generations for an everlasting covenant, to be God to you and to your descendants after you. (8) And I will give to you, and to your progeny after you, the land of your sojournings, all the land of Canaan, for an everlasting possession; and I will be their God." (9) And God said to Abraham, "As for you, you shall keep my covenant, you and your progeny after you throughout their generations.

The command *aslim* given to Abraham in verse 131 alludes to the divine command in the Bible, "walk before me, and be perfect (*tamim*)" (התהלך לפני והיה תמים) (Genesis 17:1). In the Targums this is rendered with *shlem* (הוי שלים). This command is conceived of in Jewish traditions as introducing the commandment of circumcision, which is one of Abraham's trials.³⁵ The words "Behold, I make you a leader for the people" in verse 124

³⁴ According to Joseph Witztum ("The Foundations of the House [Q 2:127]," *BSOAS* 72 [2009], 25-40), the passage is related to Genesis chapter 22. I find the parallels to chapter 17 compelling. This does not exclude the possibility that some elements of Genesis 22 could be intertwined into the Quranic passage.

³⁵ *Avot de-Rabbi Nathan*, Version A, Chapter 33 = *Version B*, chapter 36 (note the wording of version A שלם, ובכולם נמצא, "he was found (by God) as perfect in all His trials." See also Rashi's commentary to Genesis 17:1: "be perfect in all my trials." For Abraham as "perfect with the Lord in everything that he did"

alludes to God's saying "for I have made you the father of a multitude of nations (אב המון (גוים נתתיך... and kings shall come forth from you" in Genesis 17:5-6.³⁶

The question of whether or not the covenant with Abraham is conditional is an old Jewish problem.³⁷ The idea that the covenant is indeed conditional is reflected in Q 2:124: "Said he [=Abraham]: "And of my progeny?" He [=God] said: 'My covenant shall not reach the evildoers'". In *Genesis Rabbah* §46.9, fourth-century rabbis qualify the promise of Genesis 17:8 as depending on Abraham's accepting God as his Lord, observing circumcision, and keeping of the covenant as mentioned in Genesis 17:9. Thus it is said in the name of Rabbi Avin the son of Yose: "And I will give to you, and to your progeny after you,' etc. (Gen 17:8), providing that you fulfill the condition, 'and as for you, you shall keep My covenant' (Gen 17:9)." In other words: the covenant with Abraham is not unconditional according to these utterances.

Moreover, the phrase "And God said to Abraham" at the beginning of Gen 17:9 seems superfluous, since it is God who speaks to Abraham in the preceding verses (Gen 17:3-8). Why—to ask a midrashic question—should the text repeat "and God said to Abraham"? The dialogue in Q 2:124 may preserve an otherwise unattested midrashic answer: by inserting a question by Abraham between verses 8 and 9 in Genesis 17, namely, "Are You granting this to my children *unconditionally*?" Verse 9 could be construed as God's response to this query of Abraham's, namely "you shall keep my covenant, you and your seed after you" – only if they keep my covenant. If this is the case, then the words "And God said to Abraham" in this verse are altogether appropriate: this was what God said to Abraham in response to a query. His response is "you shall keep my covenant, you and your progeny after you." This *reconstructed* midrash, which

see the Book of Jubilees 23:10 (J.C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees: Edition* [Leuven: Peeters, 1989; CSCO 510 = SÆ 87], 127, 278; idem, *The Book of Jubilees: Translation* [Leuven: Peeters, 1989; CSCO 511 = SÆ 88], 139). Jacob is also characterized in the *Book of Jubilees* as "perfect" (*Jub.* 19:13 [see VanderKam, *Translation*, 112-113]; 27:17; after תם, Gen 25:27), and so is Jacob's seed (*Jub.* 25:20).

³⁶ The Quranic wording may be taken as an interpretation to the ambiguous expression אב המון גוים. This expression raises the question in what sense will Abraham be "the *father* of the multitude of nations."

³⁷ See M. Kister, "Affinity and Competition between Biblical Figures in Post-biblical Literature," *Meghillot* 10 (2013), 123-124 (in Hebrew).

suits the wording of the Quran, conveys the sentiment of the passage in *Genesis Rabbah* 46.9, but in the form of a dialogue between Abraham and God.

Q 2:132, "And Abraham charged his sons with this and Jacob likewise," (وَوَصَّىٰ بِهَا) (إِبْرَاهِيمَ بَيْنَهُ وَيَعْقُوبَ) alludes to another biblical verse, "For I have known him (כִּי יָדַעְתִּיו), that he may charge his children and his household after him to keep the way of the Lord" (Genesis 18:19) The biblical text's "I have known him" may be understood as an oblique reference to God's covenant with Abraham recounted in the preceding chapter of Genesis. The Quranic wording, "charged his sons *with this*" might best be understood as similarly referring to Abraham's transmission of his covenant obligations to his descendants. Already in the *Book of Jubilees* (2nd century BCE) Genesis 18:19 was interpreted to mean that all the patriarchs, the children of Abraham, charged their children before their death "to keep the way of the Lord" (*Jubilees* 20:2-10; 36:3-4).³⁸

The Quranic passage concentrates on Jacob's testament to his children: "and Jacob likewise: 'My sons, God has chosen for you the religion; see that you die not save as *muslimāna*.'" In a passage in *Genesis Rabbah* Jacob specifically is depicted as charging his children before his death: "Hearken to the God of Israel, your father" (שְׁמַעוּ לֵאלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל) (אֲבִיכֶם).³⁹ In another passage in the same composition,⁴⁰ a confessional statement is attributed to Jacob at his death. He says to his children: "He is our God to whom we deliver (*mashlimim*) our souls (probably at the time of death)."⁴¹

The relevance of the Jewish midrashic material for Q 2:133, is striking.⁴² The Quranic verse reads as follows:

³⁸ M. Kister, "Commentary to 4Q298," *JQR* 85 (1994), 245-249.

³⁹ *Genesis Rabbah* 98.3 (ed. Theodor & Albeck, 1252). English translation from H. Freedman, *Midrash Rabbah: Genesis* (London: Soncino Press, 1983), 2:947. This is based on a Midrashic reading of Jacob's words in Genesis 49:2, "listen to Israel your father" (וְשָׁמְעוּ אֶל יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲבִיכֶם).

⁴⁰ The midrash appends to Genesis 49:3 ("When Jacob ended his charge to his sons").

⁴¹ *Genesis Rabbah* 100 (101).1 (ed. Theodor Albeck, 1283). This is an interpretation of the words וְלוֹ אֲנַחְנוּ in Ps 100:3 ("Know that the Lord is God. It is He that made us, and we are His").

⁴² In Q 2:127–9 Abraham and Ishmael pray that God make them *muslimāna laka* and make their progeny a nation which is *muslima laka* and that He send a messenger, one of them. Needless to say, the narration in this passage aims at stressing Muhammad's special importance; it is therefore quite possible that it does not necessarily draw on any passage in the Bible or elsewhere. One may hesitantly hypothesize, however, that

أَمْ كُنْتُمْ شُهَدَاءَ إِذْ حَضَرَ يَعْقُوبَ الْمَوْتُ إِذْ قَالَ لِبَنِيهِ مَا تَعْبُدُونَ مِنْ بَعْدِي قَالُوا نَعْبُدُ إِلَهَكَ وَإِلَهَ آبَائِكَ إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَإِسْمَاعِيلَ وَإِسْحَاقَ إِلَهًا وَاحِدًا وَنَحْنُ لَهُ مُسْلِمُونَ (133)

(133) Were you witnesses, when death came to Jacob? When he said to his sons: “What will you worship after me?” They said: “We will worship your God and the God of your fathers Abraham, Ishmael and Isaac, One God; to Him (*lahu*) we are *muslimūna*”.

A rabbinic parallel is attested already in a tannaitic source, (edited at the end of the 2nd century CE; the following translation is deliberately literal):

כשהיה יעקב אבינו נפטר מן העולם קרא להם לבניו... אמר להם: שמא יש בלבבכם מחלוקת על מי שאמר והיה העולם? אמרו לו: 'שמע ישראל' אבינו, כשם שאין בלבך מחלוקת כך אין בלבנו מחלוקת על מי שאמר והיה העולם אלא 'ה' אלהינו ה' אחד' (דב' ו 4)... הודה ושבח שלא יצא ממנו פסולת.⁴³

When our father Jacob was departing from this world he called his sons... He said to them: “Is there division (*maḥāloqet*) in your hearts concerning Him who spoke, and the world came into being?” They replied: “*Hear, O Israel*, our father! Just as there is no division in your heart, so there is no division in our heart concerning Him who spoke and the world came into being [=God]. Rather, *The Lord, our God, the Lord is one*. (Deuteronomy 6:4)... He gave thanks and praise to God that no corruption [=corrupted, wicked sons] had emerged from him.⁴⁴

In a late stratum of *Midrash Tehillim* this is formulated as follows:

the Quranic paraphrase of “and be perfect” (והיה תמים) of Genesis 17:1 was combined with another biblical passage with similar phraseology, namely Deuteronomy 18:13–18, “You must be perfect (*tamim*) with the Lord your God... The Lord your God will raise up for you a prophet like me from among your brethren.” Deut 18:18 was cited by medieval Muslim scholars as a proof-text from the Torah for Muhammad's prophecy ('Alī b. Rabban al-Tabarī, *Al-dīn wa-al-dawla*, [ed. 'Adel Nuweyhed; Bairut: Dār al-āfāq al-jadīda: 1973], 137; Samaw'al al-Maghribi, *Ifhām al-yahūd: Silencing the Jews* [New York: American Academy for Jewish Research, 1964], *29, 45. It is also possible that these verses, describing the building of a holy house by Abraham and Ishmael, are influenced by Christian or Jewish traditions (as suggested by Witztum, "The Foundations of the House.").

⁴³ *Sifre Deuteronomy* §31 (ed. L. Finkelstein; New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1969), 53.

⁴⁴ English translation adapted from Reuven Hammer, *Sifre: A Tannaitic Commentary on the Book of Deuteronomy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 58. This text has been compared with the Quran by Geiger (A. Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judentume aufgenommen?* [Bonn: F. Baaden, 1833], 140-141 [ET: *Judaism and Islam* (Madras: M.D.C.S.P.C.K. Press, 1898), 110]).

אברהם יצא ממנו פסולת, ישמעאל וכל בני קטורה; יצחק יצא ממנו פסולת, עשו ואלופיו; אבל יעקב העמיד שנים עשר שבטים כולם שלמים להקב"ה שנאמר 'כולנו בני איש אחד נחנו כנים אנחנו'.

From Abraham emerged corruption [=wicked sons]: Ishmael and all the sons of Keturah; from Isaac emerged corruption: Esau and his chiefs. But Jacob begot twelve tribes, *all of them wholly (devoted) (shlemim) to the Holy One, blessed be He*, as is said, "We are all one man's sons; we are *upright*" (Genesis 42:11).⁴⁵

The words "wholly (devoted) (*shlemim*) to the Holy One," are strikingly similar to the Quran's *lahu muslimūna*. It can be demonstrated that the phraseology of this passage is related to the phraseology of earlier sources. Interestingly, the words שלמים להקב"ה are also precisely the opposite of "having division (*maḥloqet*) in the hearts" concerning God (יש בלבבכם מחלוקת על מי שאמר והיה העולם) in the parallel passage in the *Sifre*. The word *maḥloqet* does not carry here its more common meaning ("disagreement"), but is rather a term for describing belief in two powers, i.e., deviation from monotheistic belief.⁴⁶

This is also how the Targum renders the difficult words concerning the people who worship both God and the Baal in 1 Kings 18:37, "and that You have turned their hearts back" (ואתה הסבות את לבם אחרנית); in the Targum this sentence reads: "and they made their heart divided" (ואנון יהבו ית לבהון פליג). Here we have "a divided heart" – the opposite of "a whole heart" – to express anything less than strict monotheism. This is

⁴⁵ *Midrash Tehillim* §118.20 (ed. Buber, 487). English translation adapted from William G. Braude, *The Midrash on Psalms* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), 2.244.

⁴⁶ For a similar usage see a late midrash according to which Moses asks the angels: כתיב בתורה "לא יהיה לך – הליקה יש לכם? שתי רשויות יש ביניכם? In the Torah it is written *Thou shalt have no other gods* (Exod 20:3). Have you a division (of heart)? Do you have (i.e., believe in) two powers?" (*Pesikta Rabbati*, §20.4; English translation adapted from Braude, *Pesikta Rabbati*, 1.409). It is unclear to me how this sense is related, if at all, to הלוק לב. The secular sense of the latter expression is to hesitate (e.g., Pharaoh hesitates concerning the chase of Israel; *Mekhilta de-Rabbi Ishma'el, Vayyehi Beshallah*, 1 [ed. Lauterbach, Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1949], 129). הלוק לב or הלוקים means also heretics as well as those who contest God's decrees (see M. Zulay, *Eretz Israel and Its Poetry: Studies in Piyyutim from the Cairo Genizah* [Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1995], 507-508 [in Hebrew]; S. Lieberman, *Studies in Palestinian Talmudic Literature* [Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1991], 147-148, 575; idem, *Deuteronomy Rabbah*, third edition, 70, 138 (below, n. 47).

perhaps also the meaning of the rabbinic saying 'בכל לבבך' – בכל לב בך, שלא יהיה לבך חלוק על המקום "with all your heart" (Deut 6:5) – with every heart that you have, so that your heart will not be divided concerning God" (*Sifre Deut* 32, ed. Finkelstein, 55).⁴⁷

This phrase is found in the Jewish Palestinian Aramaic Targumim (*Neofiti* and the *Fragment Targum*) to Deuteronomy 6:4 (composed prior to the 6th century), where Jacob asks his sons if they worship idols and they "answer together with a whole heart" (עניין) (כחדה בלבה שלמה). A whole heart is a heart which worships only the one God, whereas the antonyms, "a divided heart" and "division", denote the worship of other gods besides God.

Noteworthy in this context is a text that precedes the latter passages by many centuries. According to the Hebrew original of Ben Sira 49:2–3 (2nd century BCE), Josiah destroyed the idols (השביית תועבות הבל); this phrase is followed by the words ויתם אל לבו, i.e., made his heart whole for God, – that is, abstained from worshipping other gods. As mentioned above, in the early Syriac translation of Ben Sira included in the Peshita (2nd century CE?) the Hebrew sentence is rendered with the verb *ashlem*: (Josiah) *ashlem* his heart to God (אשלם לבו לאלהים).⁴⁸

⁴⁷ See the parallel in *Deuteronomy Rabbah* (a midrash compiled in a much later date): 'בכל לבבך' – לא יהא "with all your heart" (Deut 6:5) – your heart will not be divided, but perform the commandment for its own sake *wholeheartedly*." See also S. Lieberman, *Midrash Debarim Rabbah*, 3rd edition (Jerusalem: Wahrman Books, 1974), 70, 138 (in Hebrew). Lieberman thinks that the meaning of the expression is "uncertain, have doubt" (he compares it to Greek δίσχυρος). However, elsewhere in the same compilation (in the version of *Deuteronomy Rabbah* edited by Lieberman) the term לב שוה, which is rightly recognized by Lieberman as the antonym of לב חלוק, refers to idolatry (it is said that gentiles "their heart is not equal, because they are idolatrous and do not accept God's authority." See Lieberman, *ibid.*, 71 n. 10. See also the wording of a late passage of the Samaritan compilation *Tibat Marqe*: שמע ישראל ה' אלהינו ה' אחד כי קרא יתה עבדה ארש השלם מדעיה בה ושמה "Hear O Israel the Lord our God the Lord is one" – when it is recited it is made it a foundation, and made the minds perfect by it, and made it the root of God's worship" (*Tibat Marqe*, 4.106 [245a], Ben-Hayyim, 299).

⁴⁸ Possibly, this usage may explain the following passage from *Deuteronomy Rabbah*: כמה ימים היו מושלמים (How many days were they [i.e. Israel] *mushlamim* to the Holy One, blessed be He? Not [even] one day were they *mushlamim* to the Holy One, blessed be He, but on the very same day they sinned in idolatry, as it says *Yet they deceived him with their mouth... their heart was not upright toward Him* (Psalms 78:36–7)."

It is possible that this concept is found already in the Hebrew Bible. In Hosea 10:2 we read, as part of the description of Israel's idolatry: חלק לבם עתה יאשמו, which could be translated:⁴⁹ "their heart is divided, (therefore) they will now be destroyed." It seems to me that the "divided heart" is the opposite of worshipping God with one heart.⁵⁰

Having established the meaning of the word *mahāloqet* in the *Sifre*'s tradition concerning Jacob and his sons, we are in a position to evaluate the Palestinian Targums which render Genesis 49:2 as follows (in the wording of MS Neofiti 1):

מִן דַּאֲתַכְנִשׁוּ תְרִין עֶשֶׂר שְׁבִטוּי דִיעֻקְבַּ... עֲנִי אַבּוֹנָן יַעֲקֹב וְאָמַר לְהוֹן: אַבְרָהָם אֲבוּי דַאֲבָה קָם מְנִיָּה פִסּוּל – יִשְׁמַעֵל וְכָל בְּנוֹי דְקִטּוּרָה, וְיִצְחָק אֲבָה קָם מִיִּנְיָה פִסּוּלָה – עֲשׂוּ אַחׁוּי, וְאָנָּה דְחִיל דְלֹא יְהוּוּי בִינִיכּוֹן – גַּבְר דְלִבִּיָּה פְלִיג עַל אַחׁוּי לְמִזּוֹל לְמַפְלַח קָדָם טַעוּוֹן אַחְרַנִּין. עֲנִיין תְּרִין עֶשֶׂר שְׁבִטוּי דִיעֻקְבַּ כְּחַדָּא וְאִמְרִין: שְׁמַע מִנָּן יִשְׂרָאֵל אַבּוֹנָן, ה' אֱלֹהֵן ה' חַד.

After the twelve sons of Jacob had gathered together... Our father Jacob said to them: "From Abraham, my father's father, arose corruption – Ishmael and all the sons of Keturah. And from Isaac, my father, arose corruption – Esau, my brother. And I fear lest there should be among you one whose heart is *divided against his*

(*Deuteronomy Rabbah* ed. Lieberman, 8). The antonym of *mushlamim* is idolaters and the synonym in the cited verse is לב נכון, "upright heart" (see Psalms 78:37: עמו לב נכון). As I mentioned above, the poet Yannai (5/6 century CE?) refers to the people of Israel as "a people who are *mushlamim* to You (i.e., God)" (עם לך מושלמים); cf. in a *piyyut* by the Qillir: שלימים ומושלמים היו כולהם: "all of them were without (physical) blemish and *mushlamim* (*Erez mata*, line 577; S. Elizur, *Rabbi El'azar birbi Kiliri Hymni Pentacostales*, 131). By itself, the word *mushlamim* in *Deuteronomy Rabbah* may be understood as "devoted," and it may be suggested that it is derived from the other meaning of the root, namely "to deliver oneself" to God; in light of the other passages discussed here, however, it seems to me unlikely that the meaning of "wholly worshipping God" did not play any role in this midrash.

⁴⁹ Contrast S. Talmon, חלק לבם עתה יאשמו, *Mehqarim be-Lashon* 11-12 (2009), 133-137 (in Hebrew). For a survey of scholarly opinions on this verse see A.A. Macintosh, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Hosea* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1997; ICC), 388-389.

⁵⁰ This interpretation is not found in classical rabbinic literature. It would therefore seem that the usage in rabbinic Hebrew is not derived from Hosea, but rather that the idiom continued to be in use. The following verse in Hosea connects the rebellion against God with rebellion against the king. In this context see Amarna letter 119, 41-44 : "I have no second heart, my face (intention) being to serve the king my lord" (The translations of W.L. Moran [*The Amarna Letters* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University, 1992), 197 and of A.F. Rainey [*The El-Amarna Correspondence* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 1.630-631] are rather free.) I thank Dr. Noga Darshan-Ayali for referring me to this text.

brothers to go and worship foreign idols". The twelve tribes of Jacob answered together and said: "Hear us, O Israel, our father; the Lord our God is one Lord".⁵¹

Though all the surviving Palestinian targums share the text "divided against his brothers to go and worship before foreign idols," it would seem – in light of the other sources discussed above – that the words "divided heart" originally meant the deviation from the sole worship of God, and that the words "against his brothers" (על אחוי) were added mistakenly by someone who misinterpreted the expression "whose heart is divided" (דלביה פליג) in this context, interpreting it – in light of another sense of this expression in Aramaic – as referring to an argument between human beings. The latter sense, however, suits neither the context nor the midrashic parallels. As mentioned above, according to the Palestinian Targums to Deuteronomy 6:4 describing the same conversation, all of Jacob's sons "answered together with a whole heart," precisely the antonym of "divided heart." I therefore suggest that the original text of the Palestinian Targums to Gen 49:2 – or rather the original tradition embedded in the Targum – was:

דלא יהווי ביניכון גבר דלביה פליג למיזל למפלה קדם טעוון אחרניין

Lest there should be among you one whose heart is divided to go and worship foreign idols.

It is of general importance to point out this case, in which the Palestinian Targums, in their present forms, interpret a midrashic source in a manner which departs from its original meaning. It is difficult to decide conclusively whether there was ever a more original form of the Palestinian Targum to Genesis 49:2 (without the words על אחוי "against his brothers") or whether, alternatively, the *tradition* was misinterpreted (i.e., the words על אחוי were added to it) in the earliest form of the Palestinian Targum. In view of the Targum to Deut 6:4, "answer together with a whole heart," I incline to the first solution.

Thus far we have examined a Quranic passage which polemicizes against Judaism and Christianity while drawing on Jewish traditions. The Arabic verb *aslama* in this

⁵¹ English translation adapted from Martin McNamara, *Targum Neofiti 1: Genesis: Translated, with Apparatus and Notes* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1992), 216–7.

passage has been shown to be a parallel of *shalem*, *tamim*, and *hishlim* in those Jewish traditions.

III. Q 37:84, 101-103

Let us now turn to another passage of the Quran. In Q 37:84 it is said that Abraham “came unto his Lord with a *qalb salīm*”.⁵² This phrase is to be understood of course in light of the Biblical phrase *lev* or *levav shalem*, wholeheartedness. In the present case it seems that this phrase refers to monotheism, as in the next verse Abraham’s battle in his youth against the idolatry of his father and his people is described.

Later on the sacrifice of Abraham’s son, who remains unnamed, is related:

فَبَشِّرْنَاهُ بِغُلَامٍ حَلِيمٍ (101) فَلَمَّا بَلَغَ مَعَهُ السَّعْيَ قَالَ يَا بُنَيَّ إِنِّي أَرَى فِي الْمَنَامِ أَنِّي أَذْبَحُكَ فَانظُرْ مَاذَا تَرَى قَالَ
يَا أَبَتِ افْعَلْ مَا تُؤْمَرُ سَتَجِدُنِي إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ مِنَ الصَّابِرِينَ (102) فَلَمَّا أَسْلَمَا وَتَلَّهُ لِلْجَبِينِ (103) وَنَادَيْنَاهُ أَنْ يَا
إِبْرَاهِيمُ (104) قَدْ صَدَّقْتَ الرُّؤْيَا ... (105)

(101) Then We gave him the good tidings of a prudent boy; (102) and when he had reached the age of running (or work) with him, he said: "My son, I see in a dream that I shall sacrifice you; consider, what do you think?"⁵³ He said: "My father, do as you are commanded; you shall find me, God willing, one of the steadfast." (103) When they had *aslamā*, and he ... (*wa-tallahu li-l-jabīn*),⁵⁴ (104) We called unto him: "Abraham, (105) you have fulfilled (*ṣaddaḡta*) the vision [...]"

⁵² The phrase is borrowed from Hebrew; see Ringgren, *Islām*, 8-10. In the context of Arabic vocabulary it is explained "sound, healthy, unimpaired (heart)" (Ambros, *Concise Dictionary*, 138). Muslim commentators understood very well that monotheism is meant here (see, e.g., Ṭabarī, *Tafsir*, ed. Al-Turkī [Cairo, 2001], 19.565). The phrase occurs also in Q 26:89; the sense of "wholeheartedness" in this latter verse might be broader; see also below.

⁵³ Abraham says: *innī arā fī -l-manām innī adhbahuka. fa-nzur mādhā tarā*. Note the sight vocabulary (*naẓara, ra'ā*) in Abraham's question.

⁵⁴ For a suggestion concerning the interpretation of these words see N. Calder, "The *Sa'y* and the *Jabīn*: Some Notes on Quran 37:102-103," *JSS* 31 (1986), 17-26 esp. 22-26. Calder interprets *jabīn* as mountain; he does not interpret the word *tallahu*.

Of special interest for the present study is verse 103, where it is said that Abraham and his son *aslamā* (dual form of *aslama*). Scholars such as Charles Cutler Torrey considered this to be an important key for understanding the term *islām*,⁵⁵ whereas Baneth considered it a problematic and uncharacteristic usage.⁵⁶ We will examine it in light of the parallels within the context of the nearby verses. In verse 102 Abraham says: “My son, I see in a dream that I shall sacrifice you”. A similar notion about the occasion of the command to sacrifice the son is found in a late Jewish work, *Pirque de-Rabbi Eliezer* §31:

באותו הלילה נגלה הקב"ה על אברהם.

On the same night, the Holy One blessed be He, revealed Himself to Abraham

As Rabbi David Luria rightly noted (in his commentary *ad loc.*), this is grounded in the words of Genesis 22:3, “So Abraham rose early in the morning,” which suggests that God’s order to sacrifice Isaac (Genesis 22:2–3) occurred during the night. To this we may add the similarity between “Abraham rose early in the morning and saddled his donkey” (Genesis 22:3) and “Balaam got up in the morning and saddled his donkey” (Numbers 22:21), the latter verse following immediately after “*That night* God came to Balaam and said to him...” (Numbers 22:20).⁵⁷ Thus, the Quranic reference to a dream apparently elaborates on a Jewish midrash that paid close attention to the words of the Bible and brought together distinct passages with similar wording. To be sure, *Pirque de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* is a post- Quranic document, but this midrashic detail is not derived from the Quran; in fact, one could reconstruct the midrash underlying the Quran without the evidence of *Pirque de-Rabbi Eli'ezer*. The Quran would seem to be the earliest testimony of this specific midrashic tradition. The rest of verse 102, in which Abraham's son

⁵⁵ C.C. Torrey, *The Jewish Foundation of Islam* (New York: Jewish Institute of Religion, 1933), 101-104.

⁵⁶ Baneth, “What Did Muhammad Mean?”, 188.

⁵⁷ For a mirror comparison between Abraham and Balaam see, *Genesis Rabbah* 55:8 (ed. Theodor – Albeck, 593).

encourages him to do as commanded and thus become a full partner in the deed, is reminiscent of the famous rabbinic (and Christian) legends.⁵⁸

In verse 103 following the words “and when they *aslamā*”, Abraham’s act towards his son is described obscurely (تَلَّهَ لِلجَبِينِ *wa-tallahu li-l-jabīn*). Then we hear of the call to Abraham: “Abraham, you have already fulfilled (صَدَقْتَ *ṣaddaḡta*) the dream” (verses 104–5). This too is better understood in light of a midrashic reading of the Bible. God's command to Abraham is, according to the Bible: העלהו לי לעולה meaning "sacrifice him to Me as a burnt offering." The midrash, however, chooses to interpret God's commandment in retrospect as commanding Abraham merely to "take Isaac up" (a literal translation of the word והעלהו if it stands alone). Thus the rabbis say in an ingenious midrash:

אמר לו הקב"ה: כך אמרתי לך "שחטהו"? "העלהו" אמרתי לך, אסיקתניה – אחתיה.⁵⁹

The Holy One, blessed be He, said to him: “Did I say to you: ‘Slaughter him?’ ‘Take him up’ is what I said to you. You have taken him up; now take him down.

According to the Quran, however, Abraham saw in his dream (i.e., was commanded by God) that he should *sacrifice* Isaac (verse 102), and it is stated that this was fulfilled by Abraham (verse 105).

It seems, then, that several aspects of the Quranic passage are rooted in Jewish midrashim concerning the binding of Isaac. The word *aslamā* too finds its parallel at the exact same point in the story of the binding of Isaac in the Palestinian targums. In Targum Neofiti to Genesis 22:8, for example, we read that “the two of them went together, wholeheartedly” (ואזלו תריהון כחדא בלבה שלמה).⁶⁰ The Jewish parallel to *aslamā* then would be *be-lebba shlema*, their wholehearted willingness to bind and to be bound.⁶¹

⁵⁸ See, e.g., S. Spiegel, *The Last Trial: On the Legends and Lore of the Command to Abraham to Offer Isaac as a Sacrifice: The Akedah* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1967); J.L. Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible* (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998), 304-305.

⁵⁹ *Genesis Rabbah* 56:8 (ed. Theodor & Albeck, 604).

⁶⁰ English translation adapted from McNamara, *Targum Neofiti* 1.117. See also J.L. Kugel, *Traditions*, 305-306.

⁶¹ The relationship of the Quranic verse to midrashic renderings of Gen 22:8 has been noted by Calder ("Sa'y," 22-23); my emphasis here is on the lexical dimension of *aslama*.

A liturgical poem of Qillir, roughly a contemporary of Muhammad, offers a slightly different parallel. There Isaac is referred to as *נפש בעקד נפש*, i.e., “the pure one who gave up (*ha-mashlim*) his soul (*nefesh*) at the binding”.⁶² Elsewhere, Qillir refers to Isaac as *משלים בתום יהידה* (“He who gave up his soul wholeheartedly”).⁶³ Similarly, in a liturgical poem of Yoḥanan ha-Kohen ben Yehoshua (fl. in the beginning of Islamic rule in Palestine) it is said of Isaac:

כי השלים למאקלת ולאש תוקד/ והלכו בלב שלם עוקד ונעקד

For he (=Isaac) delivered (himself; *hishlim*) to the knife and to the fire that would be lit / and the binder and the bound one went whole-heartedly (*be-lev shalem*).⁶⁴

Here the verb *hishlim* by itself (without any complement) has the meaning “deliver oneself to death.” In any case, it is only Isaac who delivers his life, whereas Abraham and Isaac both go wholeheartedly.

It seems rather plausible that the wording of the Quranic passage is related to the wording of the Jewish sources.

IV. Q 27:29-44

In yet another Quranic passage the comparison to a Jewish source is illuminating. In the course of the story about the Queen of Sheba (Q 27:17–44) we read as follows:

قَالَتْ يَا أَيُّهَا الْمَلَأُ إِنِّي أُلْقِيَ إِلَيَّ كِتَابٌ كَرِيمٌ (29) إِنَّهُ مِنْ سُلَيْمَانَ وَإِنَّهُ بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ (30) أَلَا تَعْلَمُونَ
عَلَيَّ وَأُتُونِي مُسْلِمِينَ (31) ... قَالَ يَا أَيُّهَا الْمَلَأُ أَيُّكُمْ يَأْتِينِي بِعَرْشِهَا قَبْلَ أَنْ يَأْتُونِي مُسْلِمِينَ (38) ... قَالَ نَكَرُوا

⁶² Elizur and Rand, *Rabbi El'azar Berabbi Qillir: Liturgical Poems for Rosh Ha-shana*, 307. For a discussion of the usage of this expression as referring to martyrs' death – including the Aqedah – or to death in general, see the discussion of Elizur, *ibid.*, 106-108. Cf. an interpretation of the Quran by Qatāda (8th century C.E.): *aslama hādha nafshahu lillāhi, wa-aslama hādha bnahu lillāhi*, “This one [Isaac] delivered his soul [or himself] and this one [Abraham] delivered his son” (Ṭabarī, *Tafsir*, 19.584)

⁶³ See above, n. 32.

⁶⁴ N. Weissenstern, “The Piyyutim of Johanan ha-Kohen Birabbi Jehoshua: Critical Edition with an Introduction,” PhD thesis, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, p. 38 (in Hebrew). Note that a very similar phrase is found in an earlier *piyyut* by Yose ben Yose: *טלה הושלם לחרב וליקוד אש* (Yose ben Yose, *Asapper gedolot*, 17; A. Mirsky, *Yose ben Yose: Poems* [2nd edition; Jerusalem, 1991], 205 (in Hebrew). In the latter *piyyut*, however, the lamb is “delivered” rather than “deliver himself” (I have not found a reading *השלים* in Yose ben Yose's *piyyut*).

لَهَا عَرْشَهَا نَنْظُرُ أَتَهْتَدِي أَمْ تَكُونُ مِنَ الَّذِينَ لَا يَهْتَدُونَ (41) فَلَمَّا جَاءَتْ قِيلَ أَهَكَذَا عَرْشُكَ قَالَتْ كَأَنَّهُ هُوَ وَأُوتِينَا الْعِلْمَ مِنْ قَبْلِهَا وَكُنَّا مُسْلِمِينَ (42) وَصَدَّهَا مَا كَانَتْ تَعْبُدُ مِنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ إِنَّهَا كَانَتْ مِنْ قَوْمٍ كَافِرِينَ (43) قِيلَ لَهَا ادْخُلِي الصَّرْحَ فَلَمَّا رَأَتْهُ حَسِبَتْهُ لُجَّةً وَكَشَفَتْ عَنْ سَاقَيْهَا قَالَ إِنَّهُ صَرْحٌ مُّمَرَّدٌ مِنْ قَوَارِيرَ قَالَتْ رَبِّ إِنِّي ظَلَمْتُ نَفْسِي وَأَسْلَمْتُ مَعَ سُلَيْمَانَ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ (44)

(29) She said: “O Council, see, a noble letter has been cast unto me. (30) It is from Solomon, and it runs: ‘In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. (31) Rise (pl.) not up against me, but come to me *muslimīna*’... (38) He [Solomon] said: “O Council, which one of you will bring me her throne, before they come to me *muslimīna*?”... (41) He said: “Disguise her throne for her, and we shall behold whether she is guided or if she is of those that are not guided”. (42) So, when she came, it was said: “Is your throne like this?” She said: “It seems the same”. “And we were given the knowledge before her, and we were *muslimīna*”. (43) But what she worshipped, apart from God, barred her, for she was of a people of unbelievers. (44) It was said to her: “Enter the chamber”. But when she saw it, she supposed it was a pool, and she bared her legs. He said: “It is a polished chamber of glass”. She said: “My Lord, indeed I have wronged myself, and I have *aslamtu* with Solomon (*wa-aslamtu ma‘a sulaymān*) to God, the Lord of all beings”.

When Solomon calls the Queen of Sheba and her people in his letter: “Rise not up against me, but come to me *muslimīna*”, the audience may rightly assume that Solomon is calling the queen of Sheba to submit to his authority. It seems that the same is true of Solomon’s words in verse 38, “O Council, which one of you will bring me her throne, before they come to me *muslimīna*?” (i.e., surrendering to my sovereignty).⁶⁵ If the story would have ended with the words *wa-aslamtu ma‘a sulaymān* (see v. 44), it could have been interpreted as referring to political submission; the words that follow in v. 44, however, make it clear that the issue is religious: “*aslamtu* to God, the Lord of all beings”. In verses 42 (“And we were given the knowledge before her, and we were *muslimīna*” وَأُوتِينَا الْعِلْمَ مِنْ قَبْلِهَا وَكُنَّا مُسْلِمِينَ) the verb *aslama* seems to be used in a religious context.

In fact, the root *sh-l-m* in a similar meaning occurs in a close literary parallel to the Quranic tale of Solomon and Queen of Sheba. The parallel, that has been noticed and

⁶⁵ Cf. Margoliouth, "Muslim and Ḥanīf," 475.

studied in relation to the Quran,⁶⁶ is a Jewish tradition preserved in a source which in its present form is perhaps post-Quranic, the Second Targum of Esther.⁶⁷ It tells of the hoopoe (תרנגול ברא) finding a kingdom not subject to Solomon. Upon learning about it, Solomon sends the Queen of Sheba the following letter:

מני *מלכה* שלמה שלם ליכי שלם לרברבניך דאת ידעת דאמליך יתי קדשא בריך הוא על חיות ברא ועל עופא דשמיא ועל שידין ועל לילין וכל מלכיא דמדינחא ומערבא דרומא וציפונא אתיין ושיילין בשלמי. כען אם תצביין ותתין ותשאלין בשלמי יקר סגי אנא עביד לך בין כל דגני קדמיי ואין לא תצביין ולא תיתין ולא תשאלין בשלמי אשדר עליכי מלכין ולגיונין <ופרשין>

From me, King Solomon, peace to you, peace to your princes. As you know, the Holy One, blessed be He, appointed me to reign over the wild beasts, over the fowl of the heavens, and over the demons and spirits, and all the kings of the East, the West, the South and the North come and greet me (literally: inquire about my peace; *shaylin bi-shlami*). Now if you wish to come and greet me, I will grant you great honor among those who sit reclining in my presence. But if you do not wish to come and greet me (*tish'alín bi-shlami*) I will send kings, legions, and riders against you.⁶⁸

Unlike the story in the Bible (1 Kings 10:1 = 2 Chronicles 9:1-9), which is concerned only with Solomon's wisdom, the *Second Targum* adds to it matters of dominance and surrender, and in the Quranic passage this is the most dominant feature, besides the religious motif (notably absent in the *Second Targum*); although Solomon's wisdom is central in the context of the passage in the Quran (verses 15-27), a remnant in the Quran of the wisdom contest described in the *Second Targum* is verse 44,⁶⁹ a verse that is

⁶⁶ See A. Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed*, 186-187 (ET: *Judaism and Islam*, 147-149); and see below.

⁶⁷ The date of this *targum* is still a mystery. Even if it is post-Quranic, as it might well be, it does not mean that it is influenced by the Quran. For considerations related to the date of the *targum*, see B. Ego, *Targum Scheni zu Esther* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996; TSAJ 54), 21-25.

⁶⁸ Bernard Grossfeld, *The Targum Sheni to the Book of Esther: A Critical Edition Based on MS. Sassoon 282 with Critical Apparatus* (New York: Sepher-Hermon Press, 1994), 31-2. English translation is based on idem, *The Two Targums of Esther: Translated, with Apparatus and Notes* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1991), 115, with alterations.

⁶⁹ Possibly verses 41-42 may be also a wisdom contest undocumented elsewhere; these verses, however, are related to verse 23 (see below n. 79); the throne of the Queen of Sheba symbolizes her sovereignty, which is overpowered by God (by the human agency of Solomon).

unintelligible by and of itself in the Quranic context, but is part of the wisdom contest between Solomon and the Queen of Sheba described in the *Second Targum*. The passage in the Quran is thus a remnant of an aggadic tradition well attested in Jewish literature (and rooted in the biblical narrative) for the wisdom contest between Solomon and the Queen; moreover, this tradition is the key for understanding the Quran.

The story as presented in the *Second Targum* builds on a play on words between Solomon's name, *shelomo*, and greeting (literally: inquiring about one's *shlama*, i.e. "peace") which means acknowledging someone's authority and rule.⁷⁰ The Quranic story seems to build on a play between *shelomo* and *hishlim*, i.e. surrendered. In Hebrew, the verb *hishlim* (followed by the preposition *le-* or *'im*) denotes the submission to a king (as noted above, the Palestinian *paytan* of the sixth century, Hadutahu, writes: מלך המשיח / הכל ישלימו לו להיות עליהם מלך / "You shall make the messiah king flourish, him being the son of a king. / All will surrender to him (*yashlimu lo*) to be king over them").⁷¹ The Quranic narrative, then, is a parallel word play, one that works well either in Arabic or in Hebrew, between Sulaymān and *aslama*, or between the Hebrew name of Solomon, *Shlomo*, and *hishlim*. It is conceivable that Solomon's reign over all the animals in this passage of the *Second Targum* is related to the biblical verse "and the wild animals shall surrender to you"⁷² (וְחַיַּית הַשָּׂדֵה הַשְּׁלֵמָה-לָךְ; Job 5:23). Be that as it may, this very same play on words is explicitly found in rabbinic lore, albeit in an entirely different context. In a passage from *Pesikta de-Rav Kahana*, the name *shelomo* in Song of Songs 3:11 is construed as a name of God who is said to have "made His creations surrender (*hishlim*) to His creatures"⁷³ (במלך שלמה, המלך שהשלים מעשיו עם בריותיו).⁷⁴

⁷⁰ The terminology שלם שאל in the meaning of becoming the vassal of a great king is well attested in a variety of ancient texts. Prof. Y. Eph'al draws my attention to an Accadian text: "Muttallu von Kummuhī... [a vassal king], der verlies sich auf die hochragenden Berge... verweigerte die Abgabe und schickte mir [nicht seinen] Boten ins Land Bīt-Jakin, um sich nach meinem Wohlbefinden zu erkundigen (šá-al šul-mī-ia; A. Fuchs, Die Inschriften Sargons II aus Khorsabad [Göttingen: Cuvillier Verlag, 1994], 337-338, 177).

⁷¹ Above, n. 16. See also above, n. 15.

⁷² Or: be at peace with you (see above, on the ambiguity of the verb *hishlim*).

⁷³ E.g., God surrendered fire to Abraham (who was not burnt when thrown by Nimrod to the fire), and angel to Jacob (Gen 32:26).

⁷⁴ *Pesikta de Rav Kahana* (ed. Mandelbaum), 1:5. English translation adapted from Braude and Kapstein, *Pesikta de-Rab Kahana*, 8–9.

The complexity of the Quranic verses was described by William Montgomery Watt in the following passage:

Several points are obscure. Thus verses 39 and 40 appear to give parallel accounts, and it is not stated by whom 43 and the latter part of 42 are spoken... The general point of the story is clear. It is the summoning of sun-worshippers to a belief in the true God... In this the Quran is markedly different from the very similar story in the *Targum Shevi* where the queen is required to come and do homage to Solomon in order to enhance his glory... In verse 31 the word would conceivably mean "in submission to me, Solomon", and this would be in accordance with the Aramaic form of the story; but it is more likely that the correct interpretation is submission to God, as is certainly to be understood in the other verses [38, 42],⁷⁵ while in verse 44... God is explicitly mentioned.⁷⁶

I would contend, however, that the parallel with the *Second Targum* (as well as with the Hebrew usage of *hishlim*) makes a strong case for considering the wording in verse 31 as reflecting the story that was *embedded* in the Quran, in which the word *aslama* was used as a secular political term.⁷⁷ Verse 31 was not remodeled to suit the broader context of the Quranic passage, which is the religious aspect of Solomon's activity (but remained in accordance with the tradition attested in the *Second Targum*).⁷⁸ The Quranic passage, however, plays with the double meaning of *aslama*, as it plays with the double meaning of "great throne" in verses 23, 26 (according to verse 23 the Queen of Sheba has "great throne," while according to verse 26 the "great throne" is God's throne).⁷⁹

⁷⁵ Verse 38, however, should not necessarily be read as meaning submission to God; its meaning is precisely that of verse 31, whatever it may be.

⁷⁶ W. Montgomery Watt, "The Queen of Sheba in Islamic Tradition," in: *Solomon and Queen of Sheba* (ed. J.B. Pritchard; London: Phaidon, 1974), 85-103, esp. 94. It has been noted by Geiger, who compared the Quranic account with the *Second Targum*, that "turns the matter from one of government into one of religion" (above, n. 66).

⁷⁷ It is conceivable that the wording at the end of the *tradition*, (verse 44) could be originally: *aslamtu ma'a sulayman*, without the last words: "to God..." I would like to stress, however, that I do not mean to argue that there was such an original *text* of the Quran; it could possibly be the original meaning of a *tradition embedded* in the Quran.

⁷⁸ The religious sense of *aslama* occurs in the awkward verses 42-43.

⁷⁹ These verses are related to vv. 40-41.

To be sure, the religious aspect of the encounter between Solomon and the Queen of Sheba could easily emerge from a midrashic reading of the biblical text. The story begins, according to 1 Kings: "and the Queen of Sheba heard of the fame of Solomon concerning (? –Heb. לשם) the name of the Lord," (1 Kings 10:1) and concludes with the Queen's acclamation "May the Lord your God be blessed..." (1 Kings 10:9), which were elaborated in the *Second Targum*: "When the Queen of Sheba saw Solomon's greatness and glory, she praised the One who had created him." The religious aspect of the encounter in the Quranic passage could easily be an elaboration of an earlier source elaborating this element in the biblical text.

V. Q 6:125

Finally, after identifying some Quranic passages in which the verb *aslama* is strikingly related to Jewish passages using the root *sh-l-m*, mention should be made of another Quranic verse that may be relevant. Q 6:125 reads as follows:

فَمَنْ يُرِدِ اللَّهُ أَنْ يَهْدِيَهُ يَشْرَحْ صَدْرَهُ لِلْإِسْلَامِ وَمَنْ يُرِدْ أَنْ يُضِلَّهُ يَجْعَلْ صَدْرَهُ ضَيِّقًا حَرَجًا

Whomsoever God desires to guide, He expands his breast (*ṣadrahu*) to *islām*; whomsoever He desires to lead astray, He makes his breast (*ṣadrahu*) narrow, tight...

To be sure, there is nothing surprising in the wording of this verse in the context of the Quran. For the sake of the present discussion, however, it should be noted that the wording is reminiscent of an ancient Jewish prayer preserved in the prayer which begins "A redeemer shall come to Zion" (*u-va le-Ziyyon go'el*):

...והבדילנו מן התועים... הוא יפתח לבנו בתורתו... לעשות רצונו ולעבדו בלבב שלם

And has separated us from those who go astray... May He open our heart to (or: by) His Torah... to do His will and serve Him with a perfect heart (*be-levav shalem*).⁸⁰

⁸⁰ English translation from Philip Birnbaum, *Daily Prayer Book: Ha-siddur Ha-Shalem* (New York: Hebrew Pub. co., 1949), 134.

As has been noted, a letter sent from Jerusalem to Egypt in the 2nd century BCE preserved in 2 Maccabees (1:3-5) consists of a supplication with a very close wording to the synagogue prayer:

May He give you all a heart to worship him and to do his will with a big heart and a willing spirit (καρδία μεγάλη καὶ ψυχῆ βουλομένη). May He open your heart in [or: to; ἐν] His law and His commandments, and may He bring peace (καὶ εἰρήνην ποιῆσαι). May He hear your prayers...

Comparing the phraseology of the Quranic verse with the Jewish supplications, *islām* in Q 6:125 seems at first glance to be the counterpart of “His Torah.” We have seen, however, that in other cases *islām* is the counterpart of בלב שלם ("wholeheartedly") in Jewish texts, and the Jewish parallels to Q 6:125 contain this component as well.⁸¹

Conclusion

The Quranic passages examined in this article demonstrate a striking similarity to Jewish sources. In some cases, it can be shown that the Quranic text reflects midrashic readings of specific biblical passages. While some of these readings are well attested in classical Jewish sources, in other cases the Quran contributes to our knowledge of the midrashic readings. The counterpart of *islām* in the parallel Jewish sources is *be-lev shalem* or *hishlim*, a term that accrued two meanings typical of the Jewish usage: worshipping the Lord wholeheartedly, and delivering the soul to God while accepting His authority and surrendering to Him.

I do *not* wish to argue, however, that the Quranic term *islām* was borrowed from Judaism. We do not find in the Quran the phrases we would expect in light of rabbinic usage, أسلم قلبه **aslama qalbahu* (his heart) or أسلم نفسه **aslama nafsahu* (his soul). Instead, the Quran actually has أسلم وجهه *aslama wajhahu* (his face), for which I am unaware of a Jewish parallel.⁸² To this, one may add the testimony of the pre-Islamic Arab *talbiya*.⁸³ The word *islām* may have been in circulation before the Quran. It seems,

⁸¹ It is even possible that one variation of this supplication included the verb וישלם ("may he bring peace"); see 2 Maccabees.

⁸² See Q 2:112, Q 3:20, Q 4:125, and Q 31:22.

⁸³ See above, n. 5.

however, that Jewish sources contributed to several passages in the Quran in which the words *aslama* and *islam* occur, and – as I said at the outset of the present article – these Jewish texts shed some light on the shades of meaning that this term has accrued.