

CONSERVATISM IN ITS VARIOUS FORMS: WOMEN IN ISLAM

Bismillah ar-Rahman as-Rahim

In the name of Allah, the most merciful and compassionate

As salam o 'alaikum

Peace be upon you

Since 1974, I have been engaged in developing feminist theology in the context of Islam. I will show how a scholarly examination of the theological assumptions underlying the widespread negative ideas and attitudes toward women in Muslim culture as seen through a feminist, non-patriarchal perspective is essential in order to establish gender-justice or woman-man equality as a precondition for development and peace both in the Muslim world and the world in general.

BACKGROUND OF MY WORK IN THEOLOGY OF WOMAN IN ISLAM

Experientially I have always known what it means to be a Muslim woman since I was born female in a Saiyyad¹ Muslim family in Lahore, Pakistan. However, it was not until the Fall of 1974 that I reluctantly began my career as a "feminist" theologian. I was, at that time, Faculty Adviser to the Muslim Students' Association Chapter in Oklahoma State University in Stillwater, Oklahoma. This "honor" had been conferred upon me because each student association is required to have a faculty adviser and I happened to be the only Muslim faculty member on campus that year.

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It is a tradition of the MSA chapter at Stillwater to have an annual seminar at which the Faculty Adviser gives one of the principal addresses. In keeping with tradition, I was asked—albeit not with overwhelming enthusiasm—if I would read a paper on women in Islam that year. I was asked to speak about women in Islam at a seminar in which Muslim women were not allowed to participate or even be in the audience because it would have been totally inappropriate to expect a Muslim woman to be competent to speak on any other subject pertaining to Islam. I was aware of the fact that Faculty Advisers were not assigned specific subjects and I resented what that meant. Furthermore, I was not much interested in the subject of women in Islam up until that time. Nevertheless, I accepted the invitation for two reasons. First, I knew that being invited to address an all-male, largely Arab Muslim group which prides itself on its patriarchalism was itself a breakthrough. Second, I was so tired of hearing Muslim men pontificate upon the position or status or role of women in Islam while it is totally inconceivable that any woman could presume to speak about the position or status or role of men in Islam.

I do not know exactly at what time my “academic” study of women in Islam became a passionate quest for truth and justice on behalf of Muslim women. Perhaps it was when I realized the impact on my own life of the so-called Islamic ideas and attitudes regarding women. What began as a scholarly exercise became an Odyssean venture in self-understanding. But “enlightenment” does not always lead to “endless bliss.” The more I saw the justice and compassion of God reflected in the Qur’anic teachings regarding women, the more anguished and angry I became, seeing the injustice and inhumanity to which Muslim women are subjected in actual life. I began to feel strongly that it was my duty as part of the microscopic minority of educated Muslim women to do as much consciousness-raising on the situation of Muslim women as I could. The journey, which began in Stillwater, has been a long and arduous one indeed.

Women such as Khadijah and ‘A’ishah (wives of the Prophet Muhammad) and Rabi’a al-Basri (the outstanding woman Sufi) figure significantly in early Islam. Nonetheless, the Islamic tradition has remained strongly patriarchal until today. This means that the sources on which the Islamic tradition is based, mainly the *Qur’an* (which Muslims believe to be God’s Word transmitted through Angel Gabriel to the Prophet Muhammad), *Sunnah* (the practice of the Prophet Muhammad), *Hadith* (the oral traditions attributed to the Prophet Muhammad) and *Fiqh* (jurisprudence) have been interpreted only by Muslim men who have arrogated to themselves the task of defining the ontological, theological, sociological and eschatological status of

Muslim women. It is hardly surprising that up until now the majority of Muslim women who have been kept for centuries in physical, mental and emotional bondage have passively accepted this situation. Probably, this is due to the fact that the literacy rate of Muslim women is among the lowest in the world.

WOMEN AND THE PROCESS OF "ISLAMIZATION" IN THE CONTEMPORARY MUSLIM WORLD

In recent years, largely due to the pressure of anti-women laws promulgated under the cover of "Islamization" in some parts of the Muslim world, women with some degree of education and awareness are beginning to realize that religion is being used as an instrument of oppression rather than as a means of liberation. To understand the powerful impetus to "Islamize" Muslim societies, especially with regard to women-related norms and values, one needs to know that of all the challenges confronting the Muslim world, perhaps the greatest is that of modernity. In general, Muslims tend to think of "modernity" in two ways: (a) as modernization which is associated with science, technology and material progress, and (b) as westernization which is associated with promiscuity and all kinds of social problems ranging from latch-key kids to drug and alcohol abuse.

While "modernization" is considered highly desirable, "westernization" is considered equally undesirable. What is of importance to note here is that an emancipated Muslim woman is seen by many Muslims as a symbol of "Westernization." These days Muslim boys as well as girls go to western institutions for higher education. When a young man returns from the west, he is considered "modernized" but when a young girl returns she is considered "westernized." This is because she appears to be in violation of what traditional societies consider to be a necessary barrier between "private space" where women belong and "public space" where men belong. The presence of women in men's space is considered to be highly dangerous because a popular *hadith* states that whenever a man and a woman are alone, *ash-Shaitan* (the Satan) is bound to be there.²

In today's Muslim worlds, due to the pressure of political and socio-economic realities, a significant number of women may be seen in "public space." Caretakers of Muslim traditionalism feel gravely threatened by this phenomenon. They see "emancipated" Muslim women as symbols of "westernization" which is linked not only with the colonization of Muslim peoples by Western powers in the not-too-distant past, but also as a continuing onslaught on "the integrity of the Islamic way of life" by westerners and westernized Muslims who

uphold the west as a model for intellectual and social transformation of Muslim communities.

Though I had begun my study of theological issues pertaining to women in the Islamic tradition in 1974, it was not until 1983-1984 when I spent almost two years in Pakistan that my career as an activist began. The enactment of the *Hadud Ordinance* (1979) which declares women's testimony inadmissible in *Hadd* crimes including the crime of rape was accompanied by a wave of violence toward women and a deluge of anti-women literature which swept across the country. Many women in Pakistan were jolted out of their "domestic slumber" by the "Islamization" of the legal system through the promulgation of the *Law of Evidence* (1984) as well as the threat of other discriminatory legislation (such as the *Law of Qisas and Diyat* or "blood-money") that reduced their status to less than that of men. It soon became apparent that forces of religious conservatism stemmed from a deep-rooted desire to keep women in their place—secondary, subordinate and inferior to men.

Reflecting upon the scene I witnessed with increasing alarm and anxiety, I asked myself how it was possible for manifestly unjust laws to be implemented in a country which professed a passionate commitment to both Islam and modernity. The answer to my question was so obvious that I was startled that it had not struck me before. Pakistani society (or other Muslim societies) could enact or accept laws which specified that women were less than men in fundamental ways because Muslims, in general, consider it a self-evident truth that women are not equal to men. Among the "arguments" used to overwhelm any proponent of gender equality, the following are perhaps the most popular:

- that according to the Qur'an, men are "*gawamun*" (generally translated as "rulers" or "managers") in relation to women
- that according to the Qur'an, a man's share in inheritance is twice that of a woman
- that according to the Qur'an, the witness of one man is equal to that of two women
- that according to the Prophet, women are deficient both in prayer (due to menstruation) and in intellect (due to their witness counting for less than a man's)

Since, in all probability, I was the only Muslim woman in the country who had been engaged in a study of women's issues from a non-patriarchal, theological perspective, I was approached numerous

times by women leaders to state what my findings were and if they could be used to improve the situation of Pakistani women. I was urged by women activists who were mobilizing and leading women's protests in a country under martial law to help them refute the arguments being used against them, on a case-by-case or point-by-point basis. Though I felt eager to help, I was not sure if the best strategy was simply to respond to each argument being used to deprive women of their human (as well as Islamic) rights. What had to be done first and foremost was to examine the theological ground in which all the anti-women arguments were rooted to see if a case could be made from the point of view of normative Islam, men and women were essentially equal, despite biological and other differences.

WOMEN IN THE ISLAMIC TRADITION: THREE FOUNDATIONAL THEOLOGICAL ASSUMPTIONS

As a result of further study and reflection I came to perceive that in the Islamic, Jewish and Christian traditions, there are three theological assumptions on which the superstructure of men's alleged superiority to women has been erected. These three assumptions are:

1. that God's primary creation is man, not woman, since woman is believed to have been created from man's rib, hence is derivative and secondary ontologically;
2. that woman, not man, was the primary agent of what is generally referred to as "Man's Fall" or man's expulsion from the Garden of Eden, hence "all daughters of Eve" are to be regarded with hatred, suspicion, and contempt; and
3. that woman was created not only from man but also for man, which makes her existence merely instrumental and not fundamental.

The three theological questions to which the above assumptions may appropriately be regarded as answers are:

- How was woman created?
- Was woman responsible for the "Fall" of man?
- Why was woman created?

It is not possible within the scope of this short presentation to deal exhaustively with any of the above-mentioned questions. However, I would like to take a few moments to focus on the first question

which deals with the issue of woman's creation. I consider this issue to be more basic and important, philosophically and theologically, than any other, in the context of woman-man equality, because if Allah who is ultimate arbiter of value created man and woman equal, then they cannot become unequal, essentially, at a subsequent time. On the other hand, if Allah created man and woman unequal, then they cannot become equal, essentially, at a subsequent time.

THE ISSUE OF WOMAN'S CREATION IN THE ISLAMIC (AND JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN) TRADITION

The ordinary Muslim believes, as seriously as the ordinary Jew or Christian, that Adam was God's primary creation and that Eve was made from Adam's rib. While this myth is obviously rooted in the Yahwist's account of creation in Genesis 2:18-24, it has no basis in the Qur'an which describes the creation of humanity in completely egalitarian terms. In the thirty or so passages pertaining to the subject of human creation, the Qur'an uses generic terms for humanity ("anas," "al-insan," "bashar") and there is no mention in it of *Hawwa'* or Eve. The word "Adam" occurs twenty-five times in the Qur'an but it is used in twenty-one cases as a symbol for self-conscious humanity. Here, it is pertinent to point out that the word "Adam" is a Hebrew word (from "*adamah*," meaning the soil) and it functions generally as a collective noun referring to "the human" rather than to a male person. In the Qur'an, the word "Adam" (which Arabic borrowed from Hebrew) mostly does not refer to a particular human being. Rather, it refers to human beings in a particular way. As pointed out by Muhammad Iqbal:

Indeed, in the verses which deal with the origin of man as a living being, the Qur'an uses the words "Bashar" or "Insan" not "Adam" which it reserves for man in his capacity of God's vice-regent on earth. The purpose of the Qur'an is further secured by the omission of proper names mentioned in the Biblical narration-Adam and Eve. The term "Adam" is retained and used more as a concept than as a name of a concrete human individual. The word is not without authority in the Qur'an itself.³

An analysis of the Qur'anic descriptions of human creation shows how the Qur'an evenhandedly uses both feminine and masculine terms and imagery to describe the creation of humanity from a single source. That God's original creation was undifferentiated humanity and not either man or woman (who appeared simultaneously

at a subsequent time) is implicit in a number of Qur'anic passages. If the Qur'an makes no distinction between the creation of man and woman, why do Muslims believe that *Hawwa'* was created from Adam's rib? It is difficult to imagine that Muslims got this idea directly from Genesis 2 since very few Moslems read the Bible. It is much more likely that the rib story entered the Islamic tradition through being incorporated in the Hadith Literature during the early centuries of Islam. In this context the following six "*ahadith*" are particularly important since they are cited in *Sahih-al-Bukhari* and *Sahih Muslim* which Sunni Muslims regard as the two most authoritative Hadith collections whose authority is exceeded only by the Qur'an.

1. Treat women nicely, for a woman is created from a rib, and the most curved portion of the rib is its upper portion, so if you would try to straighten it, it will break, but if you leave it as it is, it will remain crooked. So treat women nicely.⁴
2. The woman is like a rib, if you try to straighten her, she will break. So if you want to get benefit from her, do so while she still has some crookedness.⁵
3. Whoever believes in Allah and the Last Day should not hurt (trouble) his neighbor. And I advise you to take care of the women, for they are created from a rib and the most crooked part of the rib is its upper part; if you try to straighten it, it will break, and if you leave it, it will remain crooked, so I urge you to take care of woman.⁶
4. Woman is like a rib. When you attempt to straighten it, you would break it. And if you leave her alone, you would benefit by her, and crookedness will remain in her.⁷
5. Woman has been created from a rib and will in no way be straightened for you; so if you wish to benefit by her, benefit by her while crookedness remains in her. And if you attempt to straighten her, you will break her, and breaking her is divorcing her.⁸
6. He who believes in Allah and the Hereafter, if her witnesses any matter he should talk in good terms about it or keep quiet. Act kindly towards women, for woman is created from a rib, and the most crooked part of the rib is its top. If you attempt to straighten it, you will break it,

and if you leave it, its crookedness will remain there so act kindly towards women.⁹

In my research/writings, I have examined the above “*ahadith*” and shown them to be weak in their formal aspect (i.e. with reference to their “*isnad*” or list of transmitters). The content (*matn*) is obviously in opposition to the Qur’anic accounts about human creation. Since all Muslim scholars agree in principle that any *hadith* which is in contradiction to the Qur’an can not be accepted as authentic, the above-mentioned “*ahadith*” ought to be rejected on material grounds. However, they still continue to be a part of the Islamic tradition because they are included in the Hadith collections by Muhammad ibn Isma’il al-Bukhari (810-870) and Muslim bin al-Hallaj (817-875) collectively known as the Sahihan (from “*sahih*,” meaning sound or authentic) which “form an almost unassailable authority, subject indeed to criticisms in details, yet deriving an indestructible influence from the ‘*ijma*’ or general consent of the community in custom and belief, which it is their function to authenticate.”¹⁰ But the continuing popularity of these “*ahadith*” among the Muslims indicates that they articulate something deeply embedded in Muslim culture—the belief that women are derivative and secondary in the context of human creation.

Theologically, the history of women’s inferior status in the Islamic (as well as the Jewish and Christian) tradition began with the story of *Hawwa*’s creation from a crooked rib. The negative impact of this story on the life of Jewish, Christian and Muslim women is impossible to overstate. However, if one bears in mind that the rib story has no place in the Qur’an which upholds the view that man and woman were created equal by God, then the existing inequality between men and women can not be seen as having been mandated by God but must be seen as a subversion of God’s original plan for humanity.

MUSLIM WOMEN: QUR’ANIC ETHICS VERSUS MUSLIM PRACTICE

Reference has been made in the foregoing account to the fundamental theological assumptions which have colored the way in which Muslim culture has viewed women. That these assumptions have had serious negative consequences and implications—both theoretical and practical—for Muslim women throughout Muslim history up to the present time needs to be emphasized. At the same time, it needs to be borne in mind that the Qur’an does not discriminate against women. The cumulative (Jewish, Christian, Hellenistic, Bedouin, and other) biases existing in the early Arab-Islamic culture infiltrated the Islamic

tradition through the *Hadith* literature undermining the intent of the Qur'an to liberate women from the status of chattel or inferior creatures. Not only does the Qur'an emphasize that righteousness is identical in the case of man or woman, but it clearly and consistently affirms women's equality with men and their fundamental right to actualize the human potential that they share equally with men. In fact, when seen through a non-patriarchal lens, the Qur'an goes beyond egalitarianism. It exhibits particular solicitude toward women and other classes of disadvantaged persons. The Qur'an also provides particular safeguards for protecting women's special sexual/biological functions such as carrying, delivering, suckling, and rearing offspring.

God, speaking through the Qur'an, is characterized by justice. God can never be guilty of "*zulm*" (unfairness, tyranny, oppression, or wrongdoing). Hence, the Qur'an as God's word can not be made as source of human injustice, and the injustice to which Muslim women have been subjected can not be regarded as God-derived. The goal of Qur'anic Islam is to establish peace which can only exist within a just environment. Here it is of importance to note that there is more Qur'anic legislation pertaining to the establishment of justice in the context of family relationships than on any other subject. In other words, the Qur'an regards the home as a microcosm of the "*ummah*" (community of believers) and the world community, and emphasizes the importance of making it "the abode of peace" through just living.

The importance of developing what the West calls "*feminist theology*" in the context of the Islamic tradition is important to liberate not only Muslim women, but also Muslim men, from unjust social structures and systems of thought. It is extremely important for Muslim women activists to realize that in the contemporary Muslim world, laws instituted in the name of Islam can not be overturned by means of political action alone. This can be done through the use of better religious arguments. Professor Fazlur Rahman had stated that the tragedy of modern Muslims lies in the fact that those who understood modernity did not understand Islam, and those who understood Islam did not understand modernity. A greater tragedy lies in the fact that Islam seems to be represented globally by two extreme groups, one presenting Islam in extremely narrow and conservative terms, and the other as being in absolute opposition to human rights as they are defined in Western secular discourse. The majority of the educated Muslims who tend to be progressive rather than conservative, appear to be marginalized. Neither the extreme right nor the anti-religious groups which have "hijacked" human rights in many Muslim countries represent the vast majority of Muslims who are religious without being fanatic, narrow-minded or inclined toward violence and terrorism.

THE "DERAILMENT" OF VIOLENT WOMEN AND THE IMPORTANCE OF KNOWING ONE'S HISTORY

Santayana had remarked with acute insight that those who do not know their history are destined to repeat it. Stating the same idea in another way, a Muslim scholar once said, "If you are going somewhere in a train and you realize after some time that the train has somehow become derailed and is going in the wrong direction, you cannot at that moment get back on the right track. You have first to get back to the point at which you got off-track and then you can get back on-track." Women need to know the point at which they become derailed in history in order to reclaim their proper place in the world. I believe strongly that by means of feminist theology, it is possible to equip and empower women to combat the gender-inequality and injustice to which they have been subjected for a very long time.

MUSLIM WOMEN: A PARADIGM SHIFT FROM RE-ACTIVE TO PRO-ACTIVE

The United Nations Conference on Population and Development (September 1994 in Cairo, Egypt) was an extremely important landmark in raising global consciousness in a number of issues central to the lives of women. The Conference was particularly momentous to the large number of Muslim women participants. The presence in Cairo of al-Azhar University, the oldest university in the world whose "*fatwas*" or religious proclamations carry much weight among Muslims, added further significance to the venue.

In an opening session of the Conference, three male Professors representing the Al-Azhar University presented what was labeled as "Muslim viewpoints" on the subject of "Religion, Population and Development." However, only a small part of their presentations dealt with Population and Development. After stating that Islam was not against family planning but that it allowed abortion only to save the mother's life or health, the speakers focused on the status or position of women in the Islamic tradition. The purpose of this panel presentation by high-powered representatives of the most prestigious Muslim university in the world was to pre-empt the discussion on the subject of Muslim women by making the "privileged" position of women in Islam clear to both the Western media (which stereotypes Muslim women as "poor and oppressed") and to Muslim women themselves. In interventions from the floor, however, the "Muslim viewpoints" represented by the three male Professors of the al-Azhar University was questioned because of the conspicuous absence of Muslim women in the panel of presenters. Muslim women demanded "equal time" and they got that and more in subsequent days during a number of

sessions at the NGO Forum where Muslim women figured significantly and women-related issues were explicated by women themselves.

Women's identification with body rather than with mind and spirit is a common feature of many religious, cultural and philosophical traditions. However, though women have traditionally been identified with their bodies, they have not been seen as "owners" of their bodies. The issue of who controls women's bodies—men, the State, the Church, the Community or women—has been one of the most important underlying issues of the Cairo Conference. The fact that Muslim women forcefully challenged the traditional viewpoint not only about women's identification with body, but also the control of the woman's body, indicates that Muslim women are no longer nameless or faceless, and that they are ready to stand up and be counted.

It has now been accepted globally that the issues which may appear to pertain primarily to a woman's body—contraception and abortion—can not be discussed without considering the overall development of women as human beings. However, as pointed out by a number of persons and agencies, the primary focus of the Cairo Conference was on "population" issues focusing on the body, rather than on "development" issues focusing on the whole person.

The challenge before Muslim women is to shift the re-active mindset wherein it is necessary for women to assert their autonomy over their bodies in the face of strong opposition from patriarchal structures and systems of thought and behavior, to a pro-active mindset wherein they can finally begin to speak of themselves as full autonomous human beings who have not only a body, but also a mind and a spirit. What do Muslim women understand to be the meaning of their lives? Reacting against the Western model of human liberation no longer suffices because a pro-active orientation requires a positive formulation of one's goals and objectives. The critical issue which Muslim women are called upon to seriously reflect on is what kind of model or models of human self-actualization can be developed within the framework of normative Islam which takes account both of the realities of the contemporary Muslim world and its ideals.

Those human rights groups in the Muslim world which adopt the position that human rights and Islam are incompatible and that the abandonment of Islam is a pre-condition for women's liberation from oppression and development should bear this in mind. The average Muslim woman in the world has three characteristics: she is poor, she is illiterate and she lives in a rural environment. If a human rights activist wanted to "liberate" this average Muslim woman living

anywhere from Ankara to Jakarta, it is not enough to talk to her about the 1948 UN Declaration on Human Rights because this means nothing to her. It is possible to reach this woman's heart and mind and soul by reminding her that God is just and merciful and that, as a creature of this just and merciful God, she is entitled to justice and protection from every kind of oppression and inequity. I have seen the eyes of many Muslim women who have lived in hopelessness and helplessness light up when they realize what immense possibilities for development exist for them within the framework of the belief-system which defines their world.

In the end, a word needs to be said about the representation of Muslim women in the West and by the Western media. Since the 1970s there has been a growing interest in the west in Islam and Muslims. Much of this interest has been focused on a few subjects such as "Islamic Revival," "Islamic Fundamentalism," "The Salman Rushdie Affair," and "Women in Islam," rather than on understanding the complexity and diversity of "the World of Islam." The choice of subjects and the manner with which these subjects have generally been portrayed by Western media or popular literature call into question the motivation underlying the selective Western interest in Islam and Muslims.

Given the reservoir of negative images associated with Islam and Muslims in "the Collective Unconscious" of the West, it is hardly surprising that, since the demise of the Soviet Empire, "the World of Islam" is being seen as the new "Enemy" perhaps even more incomprehensible and intractable than the last one. The routine portrayal of Islam as a religion spread by the sword and characterized by "Holy War" and Muslims barbarous and backward, frenzied and fanatic, volatile and violent, has led in recent times to an alarming increase in "Muslim-bashing"—verbal, physical as well as psychological—in a number of Western countries. In the midst of so much hatred and aversion toward Islam and Muslims, the outpouring of so much Western sympathy toward Muslim women appears, at surface level, to be an amazing contradiction. For are Muslim women also not adherents of Islam? And are Muslim women also not victims of "Muslim-bashing"? Few of us can forget the brutal burning of Turkish Muslim girls by German gangsters or the ruthless rape of Bosnian Muslim women by Serbian soldiers.

Since the modern notion of human rights originated in a western, secular context, Muslims find themselves in a quandary when they initiate or participate in a discussion on human rights. Based on their life experience, most Muslim women who became human rights advocates or activists feel strongly that virtually all Muslim societies

discriminate against women from cradle to grave. This leads many of them to become deeply alienated from Muslim culture in a number of ways. This sense of alienation oftentimes leads to anger and bitterness toward patriarchal structures and systems of thought which dominate Muslim societies. Muslim women often find much support and sympathy in the West as long as they are seen as rebels and deviants in the world of Islam. But many of them begin to realize that while they have serious difficulties with Muslim culture, they are also not able to identify with Western, secular culture. This realization leads them to feel isolated and alone. Much attention has been focused, in the Western media and literature, on the sorry plight of Muslim women who are "poor and oppressed" in visible or tangible ways. Hardly any notice has been taken of the profound tragedy and trauma suffered by the self-aware Muslim women struggling to maintain their religious identity and personal autonomy in the face of the intransigence of Muslim culture and the imperialism of Western, secular culture.

While the west constantly bemoans the "rise of Islamic fundamentalism" it does not extend significant recognition or support to progressive Muslims who are far more representative of "mainstream" modern Islam than either the conservative Muslims on the right or the "secular" Muslims. Therefore an understanding between the "world of Islam" and the "West" can not be made without a proper recognition of what Islam means to millions of Muslims.

NOTES

¹ Descendant of the Prophet Muhammad.

² One is reminded here of the classic statement by St. Augustine that women ought not to intrude into public space because "*they cause erections even in holy men!*"

³ Muhammad Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (Lahore: Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1962), 83.

⁴ M.M. Khan, *Translation of Sahih Al-Bukhari* (Lahore: Kazi Publications, 1971), 346.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 80.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 81.

⁷ A. H. Siddiqui, *Translation of Sahih Muslim*, vol. 2 (Lahore: Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1972), 752.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*, 752-753.

¹⁰ Alfred Guillaume, *The Traditions of Islam* (Beirut: Khayat, 1966), 32.