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Chinese Translations of the Qur'ān: A Close Reading of Selected Passages

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PREFACE

First of all I would like to express my gratitude to the following people: my supervisor Halvor Eifring for being a constructive critic; Christoph Harbsmeier for being an inspiring mentor and a constant source of wit and knowledge; Michael Carter for guiding me in the world of Arabic and Islamic studies; Kristoffer Vadum for neverending dialogue and constructive suggestions; various Muslim friends, in Egypt and elsewhere, especially Hišām Ḥāmid Ša’lān; Leïla Chebbi for providing references to sources I couldn't find; Christoph Anderl and Jens Braarvig for providing comparative perspectives; Rune Svarverud for patience with a certain index and general helpfulness; Kristoffer Aarholt for patience and creative company; various Chinese Muslim students in Cairo for their hospitality and willingness to provide me with first-hand information; Bruno Lainé for sending me an article and an inspiring exchange of views; my wife Eva for helping to shape the text, for being with me, sharing and solving.

All these people have been instrumental in the process of bringing the thesis to its conclusion. That said, it must be pointed out that I alone am responsible for the shortcomings. These are unfortunately still all too numerous, and I hope to fill in the gaps and develop a more systematic understanding and more orderly presentation of the topics studied here in the future. The inadequacies arise largely from the fact that I was rather too optimistic about the amount of work and systematicity needed to arrive at even a basic analytic understanding of the phenomenon of Chinese Qur‘ān translation, not least with respect to what interdisciplinarity demands of the researcher in the Information Age¹. In many ways this remains an initial experiment awaiting further efforts.

Ivo Spira

Oslo, May 17, 2005

¹ Unfortunately I have not been able to get at all the sources I would like to, but there may be some comfort in the fact that I have not even come close to make full use of all the sources I have. The sources are many, yet one's capacity to absorb, quote and integrate is limited.
GRAPHICAL CONVENTIONS

**Symbols**

"xxx yyy zzz" quote from a specific context; translation of such a quote
'xxx' term; conventional gloss (e.g. according to a dictionary)
«xxx» the sememe denoted by 'xxx', i.e. the concept(s) denoted and connoted by 'xxx'
[xxx] predefined semantic label 'xxx'
[V - suff.] syntactical and grammatical patterns

^xxx uncertain/preliminary gloss xxx

.xxx.xxx is implicit in the wording of the source text,
but needed in the literal translation to make the point

(-xxx-) round brackets are present in the original

'[ xxx ] xxx is a marked addition in Wang's translation

yyy (&; xxx) yyy in this situation implies xxx as well

<xxx> (1) «xxx» is expressed explicitly in the source text,
but is not to be translated
(2) 'xxx' is a hyperlink

[xxx] comment, explanation or translation by the author of the thesis
[or: xxx] alternative English translation
{c: xxx} a commentary says: "xxx"
('b' instead of 'c' means Baydawi's commentary; 'j' Jalayn)

xxx [->yyy] xxx has developed into yyy; yyy is a more idiomatic version
xxx [-<yyy] xxx has developed from yyy; yyy is a more literal version

[->] content displaced to later verse
[xxx->] xxx is further to the right in the original
[<-xxx] xxx is further to the left in the original

A hyphen has sometimes been used in literal translations to indicate that the connected words correspond to one word in the original.

**Scope:**

_xxxx yyy zzzz [ccc]
_xxxx yyy zzzz {ccc}
_xxxx yyy zzzz (ccc)

This means that the comment, addition, substitution or explanation ccc is valid for the whole phrase from the underscore (_) until the opening bracket.

**Punctuation:**
All punctuation in the literal translations from Arabic are added by the author and do not occur in the Qur’anic source text. The translations of Mā’s Chinese follow his punctuation. In the case of Wáng, his two full stops (and ︕) have not usually been differentiated in the translation (though sometimes semi-colon occurs for the dot). Other graphical devices of Wáng’s to mark transliteration and pronominal reference to the Prophet or Allāh have not been reproduced for technical reasons.

**Transcription:**

The transcription system used for Chinese is pīnyīn 拼音. I have used traditional characters throughout to simplify matters. Tone marks and characters are in principle spelt out wherever known, except for the names Wáng and Mā, which should be understood as referring to Wáng Jīngzhāi and Mǎ Jiān or their translations.

For Arabic I have adopted the German system, with the following modifications: ƙ for ّ, j for ی, y for ی. The diphtongs are spelt َay and َaw, and the assimilation of the definit article َal- to the following word is not shown when this occurs. A hyphen has been used to separate certain affixes and affix-like elements from the stem for clarity’s sake (e.g. wa-ṣuraba-ني "and he beat me", written as one word in Arabic), except for cases where this is not practicable due to the lack of clear boundaries (e.g. ِینی). Ellision is not marked.

Arabic phrases are spelt with pausal endings when they are cited out of context. So when the verse reads al-ḥamdu ِl-llāhi rabbī ِl-‘ālamīn la I will cite the words from this context as ِhamd, Allāh, rabb, and ِ‘ālamīn. The vertical bar at the end of the verse shows that the letters following it are not pronounced in pause.
1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 SUBJECT AND SCOPE

The present study is an analysis of selected passages from two Chinese translations of the Qur'ān. A close reading of the translations in conjunction with the Arabic source text provides a point of departure for a discussion of the nature and status of the translations in a wider cultural context. The analysis concentrates mainly on linguistic and rhetorical features, though exegetical aspects have not been excluded.

There is a growing body of research on Islam in China, but not so many works deal specifically with the Qur'ān in China, especially in Western languages. Yet the Qur'ān in Chinese is of obvious interest, both as an instance of the merging of disparate conceptual systems, and as raw-material for the local interpretation of the Holy Book of an increasingly active and self-conscious Muslim Chinese population. Islam in China is such an intriguing research topic because it is an opportunity explore the relationship between two entirely different religious traditions after more than a thousand years of co-existence. Islam appears to be incompatible with traditional Chinese religion in many ways, and yet China's Muslims are certainly Chinese. The translation of the Qur'ān into Chinese may be assumed to have a significant impact on the shaping of Chinese Muslim discourse and identity, and hence merits study. This thesis also looks at the intercultural process of translation and acquisition of foreign linguistic and conceptual elements in practice; more specifically, how this takes place in the case of Chinese.

I start with the assumption that the translators faced considerable difficulties in translating the idiosyncratic Qur'ānic text. The following hypotheses can hence be formulated:

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3 In Chinese religion, we may note (a) the absence of any concept of discrete “religions”, (b) the strength of “Familism” in religion, (c) its experiential nature, (d) focus on ritual rather than on belief in a fixed, abstract truth, (e) cyclical rather than linear conception of history/life. All of these features contrast with Islam (and Christianity too, for that matter). See Paper 1994: 77-85.
4 Since I am mostly concerned with Chinese-speaking Muslims here, 'Chinese Muslim' is used loosely to refer to them. They are mostly of the Hui minority.
(a) The translations contain a significant number of marked deviations from the Arabic source text (beyond what one might expect in the case of a more conventional text type).
(b) The shaping of Qur’ānic discourse in Chinese leads to hybrid texts that represent this discourse to the sinophone public. If the degree of hybridity is high, a language form identifiable as an Islamic lect of Chinese\(^5\) may emerge. The lect and the texts written in them are not established and are likely to be rejected by many readers because of their hybridity.
(c) The Qur’ānic text in translation presents a picture of Islam that has shifted a little relative to the original, because of linguistic, rhetorical and conceptual constraints, and exegetical preferences.
(d) There are incommensurabilities between the Arabic/Islamic and Chinese conceptual systems. A close reading of the hybrid texts resulting from the translation process and their source texts, will expose such incompatibilities and their nature.
(e) Any two translations will differ significantly in form and content as a result of the unstable nature of hybrid texts. A close reading of two specific translations, such as conducted in this study, will again expose the differences.

The hypotheses are clearly interrelated, and are intended as a hermeneutical tool which provide a point of departure for the process of close reading rather than a strict hierarchy of exclusive, non-overlapping hypotheses and sub-hypotheses to be systematically tested. In order to probe their validity, I need to ask concrete questions which can be answered in the course of a close reading of the source and target texts in parallel. Consider the following:

**Translation technique / detail questions**
- How did the translators deal with the structure of the Arabic language, which is very different from that of Chinese? Examine grammatical, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic features.
- How did the translators deal with rhetorical figures and other stylistic features?
- How did they deal with the structure of Qur’ānic discourse?
- Did the translators tend to foreignise or domesticate?
- Did the translators tend to archaise or modernise?

**Islam in China / Chinese Islam / broader questions**
- To what extent did the translators select or even emphasise certain

\(^5\) Or a kind of "Chinese with Islamic Characteristics," analagous to Buddhist Hybrid Chinese, a form of language which resulted from a large number of translations of Buddhist scriptures from Sanskrit and Pali. I emphasise that Islamic Hybrid Chinese is not (for now at least) conceived of as a discrete recognised entity within Chinese; rather I see it as a useful label which can be used to describe the sort of language emerging in translated Islamic texts.
interpretations/readings of Qur'anic verses?
• What is the relationship between these translations and earlier Islamic literature in Chinese?
• What implications might the translations have (had) on the perception of Islam and Muslims in China?

While the first three chapters provide general background information and a presentation of method and theory, the close reading in Chapter 4 is the heart of the present work, where each verse is scrutinised in an attempt to answer the above questions. The discussion in Chapter 5 takes up the results from the preceding chapter and puts the facts together to see what kind of picture emerges from the mosaic. Together with the Conclusion in Chapter 6 it fits the results into a larger context and reexamines the initial hypotheses and other issues which have crystallised in the course of the preceding chapters.

The answers to many of these questions may contribute to the explanation of the degree of acceptance or rejection of the translations, and thus provide a tool to investigate the dynamic interaction between scripture and religious community. Do the translations bring the original closer to the Chinese? Or does it force the Chinese to read along in the patterns of an alien Qur'anic discourse? Given the hybrid nature of the translations, the truth is likely to be somewhere in between.

I have based my study on a close reading of the original Arabic text and two Chinese translations, which involves a thorough comparison between them and an attempt to fit the findings into a wider context. In the course of the close reading I have made very literal translations into English of the Arabic and the two Chinese versions (see below). The selections have been chosen for their style and content, in an attempt to provide representative specimens of Qur'anic discourse. While the main types of discourse are present, the selection does not cover all the types and variations. Moreover the representativeness is only impressionistic: it is impossible to generalise features of the selections by deduction, and any inductive generalisations are at most probable hypotheses.

While I should be most eager to explore the reactions of the Muslim and non-Muslim

6 The background information is not the primary focus of my research, and as such does not go very deep into the subject matter.
Chinese readership to translations of the Qur'ān, it has not been possible in this case to conduct field work or extensive discourse analysis for that purpose. So I have largely left this aspect aside, concentrating instead on the philological and linguistic analysis of the translations, their relation to the source text and their place in the Chinese textual landscape.

It should also be pointed out that hybridisation is an important phenomenon in linguistic and cultural development, as this is what usually happens when languages and cultures come into contact with each other, and the development of a language is to a large extent the history of innovations, not least innovations originating in hybridisation. A reference to the history of the English language, or the Chinese language for that matter, should be sufficient to make this point. A good understanding of the process of hybridisation is hence essential to the understanding of linguistic and cultural development and intercultural communication.

1.2 HYBRIDISATION

If the translations turn out to be something along the lines of an Islamic hybrid variety of Chinese, what characteristics can we expect it to have? It is obvious that to hybrid, it must possess elements from more than one system. So it must be different from Arabic, and different from Chinese. Moreover, since it still has to be recognisably and readably Chinese, it will be much more Chinese than Arabic. Of course hybridisation does not necessarily mean that the elements from the constituting systems are simply mixed; when words are forced to mean something else than usual, that word has changed and become a hybrid entity.

One method of investigation is thus to look for un-Chinese and un-Arabic (or un-Islamic) elements in the texts. It is also a significant fact that such elements will probably be criticised or even rejected by people demanding "pure" or "natural" Chineseness, Arabicness or Islamicness (e.g. purists and fundamentalists) on either side. This fact may serve as a heuristic guideline in the course of investigation, and also as the basis for a future field test of the reception of hybrid texts.\footnote{By surveying and comparing the contributions of different participants in the discourse about Islam in China, it is possible to gauge the responses to hybridity.}
In concrete terms, I will look at how imported elements are integrated into the Chinese target text. These elements can be larger or smaller structures; they can be strictly related to linguistic features; they can be tropes or patterns of argumentation.

1.3 PERSPECTIVES FROM TRANSLATION THEORY: THE DYNAMICS OF SOURCE AND TARGET

In its infancy translation theory was strongly source oriented, and translation was widely seen not only as the art of the impossible, but also as a secondary activity with a product whose fate was dependent on the nature of the original work. Translation studies and polsystems theory, however, changed this, stating instead that "the social norms and literary conventions in the receiving culture ("target" system) govern the aesthetic presuppositions of the translator and thus influence ensuing translation decisions." (Gentzler 2001: 108)

This latter view says something important about translations: their fate is very much dependent on the target culture. And in turn they have the potential to have significant influence on the target culture, to the extent that countless literary and linguistic systems owe much of their structure and content to translation activity⁸. It is easy to point to influential translations throughout the history of ideas and nations: the Vulgate, Luther's Bible translation, various translations of Classical Literature, the Union Version of Chinese Bible, Ludvig Tieck's German translation of Shakespeare, the translation of Darwin into Chinese⁹.

A translation can be source-oriented or target-oriented, and with increasing temporal and cultural distance it correspondingly either foreignises or domesticates, archaises or modernises (Eco 2003: 88-102). Whatever approach dominates, a translation by definition contains elements from both the source and target language, and as such represents a negotiated compromise between two cultures. In other words, they are hybrid by nature.

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⁹ Not only great literature or canonical works gain influence as translated entities; also largely anonymously and at times "badly" translated consumer texts such as news-dispatches exert a strong influence through the media, even though often unnoticed.
Even in the translation of sacred texts, there is a venerable precedent for target-oriented translation: Luther famously conceived of translating as *Verdeutschung*, or germanisation of the original text. He even expressed contempt for archaising and foreignising solutions (Eco 2003: 89-90).

The notion of translation as a negotiated compromise is crucial, for if there is such a thing as Islamic Chinese, it must have its origin in innovative language use, which is in turn likely to be inspired by the Arabic of the Qur'ān. That the influx of new cultural elements co-occurs with language change is a well-known phenomenon. Many foreign words thus become adopted into the language as loan words and are frequently over time integrated into language to such a degree that their foreign origin is ultimately unrecognisable.

We may note a few points about certain translation techniques\(^{10}\). *Foreignising* (i.e. the use of foreign words, concepts, grammatical constructions and other structures) in translation can be imposed by many factors, e.g. the inability to express the source concept by means of the resources found in the target language or simply the wish for an exotic effect. But in the absence of strong pressure to conform to the dominant culture, foreignising may be motivated by the cultivation of a linguistic subsystem\(^{11}\) or even distrust in the ability of (the conventional variety of) the target language to express the required meaning. The technique of *domesticating* is likely when the translator does not want to or even dare to burden the reader with too much exotic material. *Archaisation* is often used to lend the translation the authority and prestige of the past, and to give the translation a certain weightiness of style. *Modernisation* is frequently unavoidable for reasons of sheer comprehensibility. Moreover, in the case of the translation of a religious or ideological text, there is often an ideological intention behind the very project of translation. That may lead the translator to conclude that in order to make the text seem palatable and relevant to a modern readership, she must modernise the text in the process of translation.

1.4 EXISTING STUDIES

While there are many works dealing with the history and anthropology of Islam in China\(^{12}\), there are, in Western languages at least, relatively few references to, and studies of, the Qur'ān in China. In the following I briefly introduce the directly relevant

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10 We barely scratch the surface. For a good overview, see Fawcett 1997 and Chesterman 1997.
11 Ethnic, social, religious etc.
12 See especially Raphael Israeli’s *Islam in China: A Critical Bibliography* (1994). Not many of the listed works deal even indirectly with the topic of the Qur‘ān in China. Unfortunately I have not had the opportunity to locate, consult and read all the relevant sources, especially sources in China and Taiwan. I am only too aware of this shortcoming. Leila Chebbi recently kindly pointed several works out to me, among them Lín 1995, Mu 1995 and Li 2000.
works\textsuperscript{13}.

One recent work to deal extensively with the general principles of Qur'\textsuperscript{a}n translation\textsuperscript{14} is Qur'\textsuperscript{a}n Translation by Hussein Abdul-Raof (2001). It concludes that Qur'\textsuperscript{a}n translation, in the sense of the production of an equivalent text in another language which might substitute the source text, is impossible and deceptive, while Qur'\textsuperscript{a}n translation, in his view, is a kind of exegetical activity and therefore ought to be communicative rather than literal\textsuperscript{15}. While this work makes important observations on features of Qur'\textsuperscript{a}nic discourse and their relevance for translation, it has a strong apologetic undercurrent\textsuperscript{16} and a tendency to assess translation from a normative standpoint\textsuperscript{17}.

Translations of the Qur'\textsuperscript{a}n into the languages of the world can be conveniently identified in the World Bibliography of the Translations of the Meanings of the Holy Qur'\textsuperscript{a}n edited by Ismet Binark and Halit Eren (1986). It lists most, if not all, of the Chinese translations up to the date of publication.

With respect to the translation of the Qur'\textsuperscript{a}n into Chinese, there is an article by Jin Yijiu, "The Qur'an in China" (1982). It is a general overview of the history of the Qur'\textsuperscript{a}n in China, but with very little specific information about the nature of the different translations.

Shortly before the completion of the present thesis, I learned that there is an article by Françoise Aubin entitled "Les traductions du Coran en chinois" (1994). Unfortunately the remaining time was to short to get hold of it, and so it has not been taken into account here\textsuperscript{18}.

The Article "Translation as Exegesis. The Opening Sūra of the Qur'an in Chinese" by Raphael Israeli (1997) is the only analytic study in a Western language on Qur'\textsuperscript{a}n translation into Chinese that I have been able to find, and as such is one of the most relevant items. The article analyses two translations (Mā and a Táiwān 臺灣 version —

\textsuperscript{13} I should have liked to devote more time to relevant but remote studies like Linguistic and non-linguistic aspects of Qur'\textsuperscript{a}n translating to Yoruba (by R. Deremi Abubakre), but unfortunately that has not been possible.

\textsuperscript{14} There is a large body of research on Qur'\textsuperscript{a}n translation, cf. <http://www.ahl-ul-bait.org/magazine/English/Thaqalayn2/ch5_1.htm> (10.5.2005). Most of it is not taken into account in this study due to its specific focus on close reading and the ensuing lack of time and energy.

\textsuperscript{15} Abdul-Raof 2001: 179-183.


\textsuperscript{17} E.g. the notion that there is a correct meaning which must be correctly translated, if possible. Cf. Abdul-Raof 2001: 31, 34.

\textsuperscript{18} Thanks to Leïla Chebbi for providing me with this piece of information.
Shí Zīzhōu's 時子周?) and one commentary of Sūra 1, and comes to the conclusion that the translations show distinct traces of sinicisation, not least because they are intended to present the Qur'ān in a manner acceptable to the Chinese. Throughout his analysis he raises many interesting points, and I shall refer to his article in the course of the analysis¹⁹.

The section on the Qur'ān in China in Wing-tsit Chan's Religious Trends in Modern China (1969) is a very illuminating overview and short assessment of the role of the Qur'ān and Qur'ān translation into Chinese.

Finally the prefaces to various Chinese translations of the Qur'ān provide some background, in addition to information on the motivations and principles of the translators.

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¹⁹ Unfortunately a full appreciation of this interesting article is hampered by a lack of precise references to Chinese sources and the fact that the Chinese appears only in transliteration without tone diacritics.
2 THE QUR’ĀN, QUR’ĀN TRANSLATION AND THE QUR’ĀN IN CHINA

2.1 FEATURES OF THE QUR’ĀN WITH A VIEW TO TRANSLATABILITY

There has traditionally been much scepticism from orthodox quarters against Qur’ān translation, an attitude which originated in the dogma of inimitability (‘ijāz) of the Qur’ān and the accompanying elevation of Arabic to the status of lingua sacra. This doctrine developed in the 3rd/9th century, and was widely received as a statement about the inimitable literary qualities of the Qur’ān. Dogmatic misgivings and the pressure of orthodoxy are not the only reasons why Qur’ān translation can be a hazardous undertaking. The text is in fact very difficult to translate. One obstacle is its style, which is quite distinctive and involves sustained rhetorical discourse. It has both rhyme and rhythm, and cadences mark the end of verses. There is ample use of figurative language. Normally, most of this is lost in translation, unless one recreates the text in the target language (as is the case with e.g. poetry), which can be a very controversial step in the case of a text widely perceived as Allāh’s inimitable speech. The organisation of the extant text is also a cause for concern. The sūras are not arranged in the chronological sequence of revelation, but roughly according to length with the longest first. Nor are the individual sūras necessarily organic units. Then there is a battery of linguistic problems, ranging from obscure words (e.g. hapax legomena) to grammatical ideosyncracies and the pragmatic ambiguity of elliptic discourse. And all of this gives rise to a range of exegetical concerns. One should also mention the prominence of orality in both text and transmission.

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20 A general introduction to the Qur’ān would be beyond the scope of this study. The uninitiated reader is referred to Bell&Watt 1970 and the EQ. Only relevant aspects are considered here.
22 An exection is sūra 1, which stands at the beginning.
23 This is a controversial question. Cf. Neuwirth 1981: 6-10.
24 The Qur’ān is in many ways first and foremost an "oral text", in the sense that it is the record of orally conducted communicative interactions. One may argue that a sequence of utterances does not constitute a text before it has been written down, and then promptly loses its orality, as it were. Walter J. Ong’s has strongly criticised the term "oral literature" (2003: 13-15), but the fact still remains that many forms of (written) literature show a very high degree of orality, and it would not be illogical.
The would-be translator of the Qur'ān thus has to consult all sorts of voluminous Qur'ān commentaries (tafsīrs) and reference works, not to mention the perusal of existing translations. These initial difficulties of comprehension and exegesis\textsuperscript{25} are not the end of the story, however. The translator now faces the problems of actual translation, where search for equivalent expressions in an incompatible target-language is frequently in vain and the translator has to negotiate compromise solutions. Again, this is problematic if the translation is to be equivalent to the source text in some sense, especially the Qur'ān, where form really matters. Translation from Arabic into Chinese obviously involves problems of linguistic and cultural incommensurability, and the translators have to find a middle ground using techniques involving modification of target language or source meaning.

\textbf{2.2 GLIMPSES FROM THE HISTORY OF QUR'ĀN TRANSLATION}

As noted above, orthodox Muslim scholars have been reluctant to accept Qur'ān translation, most emphatically if the substitution of translation for source text is intended\textsuperscript{26}. Some jurists, notably those of the Ḥanafī school, take a more liberal view. Whatever the dogmatic position, various reports suggest that oral Qur'ān translation\textsuperscript{27} in the context of commentary has been taking place since the early days of Islam, and it

\begin{itemize}
  \item Additive rather than subordinative (see also the Chapter on syntax and rhetoric)
  \item Aggregative rather than analytic. Sturdy oak. formulas
  \item Redundancy
  \item Agonisticality (polemics, violence, polarity)
  \item Empathetic and participatory
\end{itemize}

Another feature is that the Qur'ān is replete with dialogues and fragments of dialogues. Thus there the incidence of appellative expressions is high, especially in the early sūras. There is abundance of deictic formulas and imperatives. (Neuworth 2003: 470) One can also point to the fact that the the Qur'ān was by no means primarily transmitted as a written document. Memorisation seems to have been around since the origin of the text, and oral recitation is the norm, not silent reading. We should also note that the word Qur'ān itself derives from the root qara'a 'to recite'. (William A. Graham: "Orality" in EQ 3: 584-587)

\textsuperscript{25} ...which are, incidentally, also faced by the Arab reader of the Qur'ān.

\textsuperscript{26} E.g. in ritual prayer. This is definitely an issue in China, as many lively discussions on the Internet show (see chatforums on sites like <http://www.islamcn.net>.

\textsuperscript{27} I.e. 'interpretation', but to avoid confusion with interpretation qua exegesis, I refrain from using this term here.
is probable that written translations were not slow to follow. The first translations were into Persian, and the earliest extant translation was made at the time of the Samanid prince Mansūr b. Nūḥ in 345/959. It is significant that this was actually a translation of the famous Qurʾān commentary by Ṭabarī (which includes the text), and not an independent translation of the text. This is in accord with the usual Muslim attitude that Qurʾān translation is only a translation of the meanings of the Qurʾān, and is to be seen as a kind of commentary which can in no way substitute the sacred text. Translations in the early period were often interlinear and showed little concern for readability in the target language. Translations into Turkic languages were later made in great number.\(^2\)

The first translation into a Western language was made in the 12\(^{th}\) century, and since then the trickle of Qurʾān translations in the West gone on continuously. In general, there has been a movement from extremely hostile to a more congenial apologetic translations. In the beginning, Western Qurʾān translation was conducted expressly for the purpose of refuting the Qurʾān. In more recent times, Muslims have made their own translations into modern languages, not least in order to provide versions which are acceptable to the faithful.\(^3\)

\section*{2.3 THE QURʾĀN IN CHINA}

Islam has been in China for a long time, and so it may come as a surprise that the first complete translation of the Qurʾān appeared in 1927,\(^4\) a translation which was not even made by a Muslim. There may be many reasons for this, and I shall return to this question after an overview over the history of Chinese Qurʾān translation.\(^5\)

Paraphrases and extract translations of Qurʾānic passages can be found in the earliest extant Chinese Islamic literature.\(^6\) Translations of Islamic works naturally also contain such material. But even though Islam has been in China since the Táng 唐 dynasty

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\(^2\) First extant translation dates from 734/1333. The source for the account in this paragraph is the article under Qurʾān in EI and the Introduction in Binark&Eren 1986.


\(^4\) Lǐ Thezhēng 李鐵錚 1927.

\(^5\) If nothing else is stated, the basic source of bibliographic information in the following is Binark&Eren 1986.

(618–907), the first Islamic works appear in Chinese only in the Ming 明 dynasty (1368–1644), i.e. very late in the history of Islam in China. As an example of Qur’ân translation we may mention translations of sūrat al-fātiha (Q 1), the first few verses of sūrat al-ṣalāq (Q 96.1–5) and the šahāda (the Muslim creed) in Liú Zhi’s famous Tiānfāng Zhishèng shìlù 天方至聖實錄 (early 18th century). I have copied out these passages, which can be found in Appendix A.

In the 19th century, Mā Fúchū 馬復初 (1794–1894) reportedly translated the whole Qur’ân, but only five volumes were saved from fire. These five volumes were published by Shǎnghǎi Zhōngguó Huìjiào Huìxuéhuì 上海中國回教學會 in 1927. The title is variously given as Hányì bāomíng zhēnjīng 漢譯寶命真經 or Bāomíng zhēnjīng zhǎijí 宝命真經直解. There were also several phonetic transcriptions of Qur’ānic passages into Chinese characters with accompanying prefaces and commentary, a practice which started in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

The beginning of the twentieth century saw the publication of two translations of the Qur’ân by non-Muslim Chinese, in both cases secondary translations. The first was Kēlánjīng 可蘭經 by Lǐ Tiězhèng 李鐵錚 (transl.) in 1927, which was translated from Rodwell’s English and Kamoto Ken’ichi’s Japanese. The second was Hányì Gǔlánjīng 漢譯古蘭經, edited by Jī Juémí 姬覺彌, which appeared in 1931. Both were largely neglected by Muslims.

The first complete translation by a Muslim was published in 1932 as Gǔlánjīng yǐjiě 古蘭經譯解, translated by the al-Azhar graduate Wáng Jīngzhài 王靜齋. This influential translation was revised and published in successive “editions” in 1943 and 1946. The 'editions' are actually through revisions or re-translations, with the main caesura between the first and the second version, for the first is in Literary Chinese (wényán 文

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33 An thorough annotated bibliography of Islamic works in Chinese before 1911 has been written by Donald Leslie (1981).
34 1662–71736
35 Also known as Mǎ Děixin 马德新.
36 Jīn 1982: 100.
37 Jīn 1982: 98–99 ['eighteenth' must be a mistake]; Farjener 1908.
38 Jīn 1982: 100.
39 In Chinese, they are known as jiùběn 甲本 (1st ed. 1932), yīběn 乙本 (2nd ed. 1942) and bǐngběn 丙本 (3rd ed. 1946).
and the other two in Modern Chinese (bāihuà 白話)⁴⁰. This is the first of the translations studied in this thesis, and more information about it can be found below.

In 1943, Kēlánjīng Hànyì fǔzhūàn 可蘭經漢譯附傳 by Liú Jīnbiāo 劉錦標 was published in Běipíng 北平. According to Lín Sōng 林松, there are many problems with this translation, especially extraneous elements in the commentary⁴¹.

In 1947 yet another translation was published, entitled Gūlánjīng Dàyì 古蘭經大意. The translator was ěhóng Yáng Zhònghóng 杨仲明. Reportedly a strictly literal translation with a unique style⁴², Jin Yījiǔ also reports that there were several unfinished and unpublished Qur‘ān translations at the time (1982: 100).

In 1958, Shí Zīzhōu 時子周 revised and published Wáng Jīngzhāi's 王靜齋 translation in Taiwan and published it as Gūlánjīng guóyǔ yījì 古蘭經國語譯解. Jin Yījiǔ claims that it was actually translated from English and checked against the Arabic, and moreover criticises it for not being stylistically adequate (1982: 100).

The standard translation today is Gūlánjīng 古蘭經 translated by Mǎ Jiān 马坚. It was partly published in 1949-1951, but appeared posthumously in a complete edition in Běijīng in 1981. More will be said about this translation below since this is the second translation analysed here.

In 1988, Lín Sōng 林松 published a rhymed translation of the Qur‘ān. It is the first attempt to render into Chinese not only the meaning, but also formal aspects of the Qur‘ān. The title is Gūlánjīng yǔnì 古蘭經韻譯.

In 1989, Tóng Dàozhāng 全道章, a Muslim Chinese American, published his translation, entitled Gūlánjīng 古蘭經. It is commended for its readability, being a translation which aims for clear and modern language⁴³. It is annotated and has a useful index.

The most recent addition seems to be Qīngzhēn xīlǐ 清真溪流——古蘭經新譯 translated by Shēn Xiàzhūn 沈遐淮, published in Táiběi 臺北 in 1996.

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⁴⁰ Bāihuà is usually rendered as 'Colloquial Chinese', but that is somewhat misleading, since it is actually in many cases far from colloquial. It is 'colloquial' mostly in the sense that it contrasts with Literary Chinese.


⁴³ The translator, who is a journalist, states this explicitly in the preface (Tóng 1989: 9).
According to Lín Sǒng, there are many problems with this translation, among them the "political bias of the translator." In the end he does not even consider it worth reviewing, and claims that it has met with the disapproval among Muslims on both sides of the strait.

What can be the reason for the late onset of Qur'ān translation into Chinese? Wing-tsit Chan argues that the intellectual isolation of Chinese Muslims from the outside world at one hand, and from Chinese intellectuals on the other hand (1969: 196-8). This argument is all the more reasonable if one considers that thorough literacy in both Chinese and Arabic language and literature (not to mention Persian) would be necessary to carry out the translation process successfully. Although Chan argues against it, the notion that the sacredness of the Qur'ānic text was one factor inhibiting translation cannot be entirely dismissed. It clearly played a role elsewhere, encouraging exegetical and interlinear translation rather than creative translation (see above). For the Qīng dynasty (1644-1911) at least, one can also identify caution because of hostility against Muslims as an additional factor.

The isolation just mentioned made the Qur'ān rather inaccessible to Chinese Muslims, many of which adopted Chinese language and customs. With few texts and lack of native-speakers of Arabic, the largely oral transmission of the Qur'ān itself, was not accurate. To this day there are many āhōn97 阿訇 in China who pronounce Arabic incomprehensibly. So in spite of the importance attached to the recitation of the Qur'ān, translation did not become an issue until the 19th century, which is also when the Qur'ān was engraved and printed in China for the first time. The reason for the

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95 Cf. Jin (1982: 98), who talks about lack of translators able to accomplish such a difficult task.


97 Chinese imams. Loan-word from Persian աղոն.

98 Jin 1982: 97. Cf. also the following comment on an Islamic web forum: "另外現在國內大部分地區清真寺禮拜用的都不是標準的阿語，而是被「漢化」的波斯語和阿語，應該稱之為經堂語，我很多中東來的朋友就幾乎聽不懂，我雖然只學了一點阿語，但是也明顯的感覺到了二者之間的區別。" [Besides, the Arabic used nowadays for worshipping in the mosques in most regions of the country is not standard Arabic, but "sinicised" Persian and Arabic, which should be called jǐngtângyǔ [scripture hall language], many of my friends from the Middle East almost can’t understand it, even if I have just learned a little bit of Arabic, I clearly perceive the difference between the two.]

99 In 1862 in Yùnnán 雲南 province (Jin 1982: 98).
sudden and intense translation activity in the early twentieth century was no doubt the intellectual awakening in Chinese Islam (and China in general) at that time. The continued interest in Qur'ān translation among Chinese Muslims is a significant phenomenon.

3 METHOD AND MATERIAL

3.1 SELECTION OF QUR'ĀNIC PASSAGES

The selection of passages to be subjected to a close reading has been made on the basis of criteria related to the form and content of the source text. The objective is to provide a fairly representative sample of Qur'ānic discourse types. Since I have had to restrict rather drastically the amount of text to be analysed, not all types are represented, and some are insufficiently represented: for example, none of the passages include anything about the prophets sent by Allāh before Muḥammad.

These are the selected passages:

A. Whole Sūras

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Sūra</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Keywords</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>al-Fātiḥa</td>
<td>The Opening one</td>
<td>hymn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>al-Nabā’</td>
<td>The Tiding</td>
<td>eschatology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>al-Takwīr</td>
<td>The Folding Up</td>
<td>eschatology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>al-ṢĀlaq</td>
<td>The Blood Clot</td>
<td>revelation, hymn, polemics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>al-Qadr</td>
<td>Power</td>
<td>revelation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112</td>
<td>al-‘Iklās</td>
<td>Sincerity</td>
<td>dogma, Allāh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114</td>
<td>al-Nās</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>hymn, invocation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B. Parts of Sūras

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Sūra</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Keywords</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>al-Baqara</td>
<td>The Cow [183-187]</td>
<td>legislation (fasting)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Yūsuf</td>
<td>Yūsuf [1-11]</td>
<td>narrative, revelation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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51 For an analysis of categories, see e.g. Neuwirth 1981.
52 One of the less fortunate side-effects of the quantitative limitations are that the specimen of Qur’ānic narrative from Sūra 12 is cut off in a somewhat unnatural manner.
3.2 MĀ JIĀN’S TRANSLATION

The most widely used Chinese translation of the Qur’ān today is the translation by Mā Jiān 马坚 (1906—1978). It is quoted ubiquitously, not least on the internet, where the text of this translation is readily available on a number of sites. Mā Jiān was professor of Arabic at Bēijīng University from 1946 until his death. Both the man and his translation has had a great impact on Muslim intellectual life in modern China.

Mā Jiān studied for eight years at al-Azhar University in Egypt (1931-1937). Having completed the draft of his translation between 1937 and 1945, Mā Jiān made preparations to get it published in Bēijīng [Bēijīng] in 1948, but did not succeed. In 1949, 8 “books” were published by the Hēshāngwǔ Printing House of the Bēijīng University Publishing Department. The translation was entitled Gūlānjīng shàngcè 古蘭經上冊 and contained Wáng’s commentary on the text as well. The publication was continued by the official organ of the Chinese Islamic Association, Zhōngguó Mūsīlūn 中國穆斯林 in 1957, but stopped again before completing the 9th book, since Mā became too busy with other work to continue the work of interpretation. Only in 1976 did he again start preparing the translation for publication. He worked on it contiunously until his death in 1978. The full translation was published by Zhōngguó shèhùi kēxué chūbānshè 中國社會科學出版社 in 1981. Mā researched thoroughly and the list of sources in his translation includes famous Qur’ān commentaries such as Baydāwī, Tabarī, Rāzī, and others. Significantly, he also consulted Yusuf ‘Alī’s and Pickthall’s English translations.

In the preface, Mā Jiān states the following about his principles:

我在翻譯的時候，力求忠實、明白、流利：在註釋的時候，不敢牽強、附會、穿鑿。
[When I translate, I strive for faithfulness, comprehensibility and fluency; when I write commentary, I do not dare to force or strain interpretations.]

The translation has been well received, and seems to have reached an almost

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53 字子實，號自適.
55 The biographical data about Mā Jiān have been taken from Mūsīlūnxuézhě Mā Jiān xiānshēng 穆斯林学者 马坚先生, at <http://www.xinnews.net/382/2004-11-24/20@47935.htm> (30.4.2005). There is also a comprehensive biography (Li 2000).
56 北京大學出版部河商務印書館
57 Mā 1981, p. 4 of the translator's preface.
canonical status\textsuperscript{58}. It is significant that it was also published in a bilingual edition by the King Fahd Complex for Printing the Holy Quran in Medina\textsuperscript{59}. Lin 2000a, which is a review of Mā’s translation, has nothing but praise for it, stressing especially its readability and clarity, the careful balancing of literary and colloquial elements, and not least the faithfulness to the style and content of the original. There are nevertheless voices that are not entirely satisfied with the translation (more on this in section 5.12).

3.3 WĀNG JĪNGZHĀI’S TRANSLATION

Wāng Jīngzhāi (1879-1948) 王静斋 was originally from Tiānjīn 天津. He was given an Islamic education from early on and later studied English and Chinese. After having practised as an āḥān 阿訇 (imām) for some time, he went to Egypt for advanced studies in 1922. On his return he embarked on the project of translating the Qurʾān into Chinese, an activity which he carried on for the rest of his life\textsuperscript{60}. As mentioned above, Wāng Jīngzhāi published altogether three Qurʾān translations. I have chosen to include his first translation in this study, especially because it is the first complete translation by a Muslim Chinese. Another reason is that it is written in Literary Chinese, a fact which opens perspectives with respect to finding out more about the flexibility and use of Literary Chinese in the early republican period. The question of how it relates to Modern Chinese is intriguing, and a study of the Wāng’s successive translations would reveal much (the last two are in Modern Chinese). I have, however, chosen not to concentrate on Wāng’s later translations in order to make room for Mā’s canonical translation. That fact that the latter is in Modern Chinese still makes it possible to say something about the relation between the two varieties of language with respect to Qurʾān translation. All further references to ‘Wāng’s Modern Chinese Translation’ are to the 1946 edition (Wang 1946).

The stated ambitions of the translator are limited to convey the meaning, without trying to achieve an embellished literary style\textsuperscript{61}. Lín Sōng’s 林松 review of Wāng's

\textsuperscript{58} Lin 2000a.
\textsuperscript{59} Lin 2000a.
\textsuperscript{60} Source of bibliographical data: Lin 2000b.
\textsuperscript{61} Gǔlán yìjì fǎnì 古蘭譯解凡例 in Wāng 1932, p. 1.
three Qur’ān translations considers the third translation to be the best on all levels, because it is in Modern Chinese and because it is more mature after a long process of deliberation and refinement (Lin 2000b). Moreover we are told that the translator’s main objective was a faithful translation. Lín hails Wáng’s repeated effort as a victory achieved by rigorous scholarship and indefatigable perseverance.

In the translation under scrutiny here, Wáng lists the materials he has used in the process of translating, some of it generically, and some of it by name. All names of non-Chinese works and their authors are unfortunately only given in Chinese characters, which sometimes makes identification difficult, but a comparison with the list of consulted works that appears in Wáng’s 1946 translation, where the names are given in Arabic too, is very helpful.

The basis for Wáng’s division of verses (and maybe his source text?) is Jūnhštāndīngbāo Sā‘īdē gulānjīng dābēn 君士坦丁堡賽阿德古蘭讀本 (1017 年) "Sā‘īdē’s [?] Qur’ānic Reading Book (the year 1017 [A.H.])". Wáng, like Mā, has consulted numerous Qur’ān commentaries, tafsīrs, tefîlīlī 特富希[口雷]:

- 特富希[口雷] by 嘎維 gāzhuī (=Wang 1946): Tafsīr al-qādī al-mašhūr bi-ʾanwār al-tanzīl wa-ʾaṣrār al-ta’wil 嘎维 这 is identifiable as the famous Qur’ān commentary Tafsīr l-Baydāwī: ʾAnwārū l-tanzīl wa-ʾaṣrāru l-ta’wil, where gāzhuī 嘎维 is a transcription of al-Qādī (the Judge).
- 哲 拉 賴 呢， Tafsīr al-Jalā‘ayn 著名的Qur’ān commentary in the form of text with interspersed commentary. It is hard to say if this corresponds to the following entry in the 1946 translation: " 註 註 tafsīr al-jamāl " If so, Jamāl must be a mistake for Jalā‘ayn.

After the list of tafsīrs, we find the following cryptical entry: "印度大阿訇 亞哈麥德沙和氏 之古蘭 管論 wslowl wuron 穆氏 英文古蘭註釋 [The great Indian Imām Mr. Ahmad Shah’s (yāhmānādē shāhē) Key to the Qur’ān,] wslowl wuron [sic!] and Mr Mū’s English Qur’ān Commentary". The first work could be Miftah-ul-Quran: concordance & complete glossary of the Holy Quran, by Rev. Dr. Ahmad Shah63 [sic!]. The second is likely to be the English Muslim

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62 Here and in the following entries: information supplied from the index of sources, 註文所採的經名簡稱對照表, in Wáng’s 1946 translation.
63 Lahore : Book House, [197-?] Reprint. originally published: Benares : E.J. Lazarus, 1906 (see <http://valeph.tau.ac.il/ALEPH/ENG/TAU/AAC/AAC/INDEX-ACC/0514219>). Note that the 'miftah' of the title is miftāḥ and means 'key'. The 'Rev.' in the bibliographical info seems rather cryptical to me,
Muhammad Marmaduke Pickthall's English Qur'an translation from 1930 (The Meaning of the Glorious Koran, A. A. Knopf, New York), which also appears in the list of consulted works in the 1946 translation.

3.4 METHOD: CLOSE READING

The foundation of this study is a comparison of the Arabic source text and the two selected Chinese target texts\(^64\). The comparison is carried out by close reading, which in practice means not only to read attentively and pay attention to every aspect, but also—crucially—to use other texts as reading tools. The assessment of the translations\(^65\) arrived at in this way are of course not to be taken as value-judgements.

Although I should have liked to compare the features of the translations with parallel texts\(^66\) in the target culture in order to find out to which extent the texts depart from the norm, it has not been possible to do this because of limited time and resources. Instead I focus on a contrastive analysis of features between the target and source texts, both in term of formal characteristics and possible readings\(^67\).

3.5 PRINCIPLES OF LITERAL (RE)TRANSLATION

I have translated the Arabic and the two Chinese versions into English, using the process of (re-)translation as a hermeneutical tool. They are very literal, and follow certain graphical conventions. Their purpose, besides serving as a tool of close reading, is to convey to the reader a sense of how I have read the source text of the re-

\(^{64}\) but is confirmed in Zwemer (##: 256), where we also learn that he has made a translation of the Qur'an into Hindi.

\(^{65}\) The reader might at this point ask himself if it is not foolhardy for someone whose native language is neither Chinese nor Arabic to undertake such a task. While I cannot provide the perspective of a native speaker, it may be easier for me to avoid the pitfall of overestimating my competence in either of the languages involved. That means that I have to consult more reading tools (other texts and reference works), which, if I am systematic, may lead to a clear sense of what the restrictions of the conclusions are. In any case it should be clear that when I make general statements about Arabic or Chinese without being too specific, it is merely out of convenience and not out of arrogance.

\(^{66}\) There is always the danger that an editor, publisher or printer is responsible for some of the details I analyse. (Maybe esp. in the case of Mā's translation, since it was published after his death.) But since I am more concerned with the final translations than the translators themselves, this should not be any big issue here.

\(^{67}\) Also called lateral assessment (Chesterman 1997: 133-136).

\(^{67}\) Similar to what has elsewhere been called retrospective and prospective assessment (Chesterman 1997: 123-133).
translation, and not least to provide those not proficient in Arabic and/or Chinese with a means of following the discussion.

At this point, an important methodological question presents itself. Should the (re)translations into English reflect a default Chinese reading or a specifically Muslim Chinese reading\(^68\)? In order to provide an answer to this question it is necessary to consider the purpose of the retranslation. At first sight the purpose seems to be twofold. First, it should grant readers unfamiliar with the source language access to the text. That means that the retranslations have to be kept as close to the source texts as possible, i.e. they have to be literal translations, so that one can "see" the Chinese through the English re-translation\(^69\). Second, the retranslation should give an indication of my reading of the source text.

Thus the answer to the question of which reading to choose is not obvious, for which reading is "closer to the (Chinese) source text", a Muslim or a Non-Muslim reading? Nor does the second statement of purpose solve the issue. My own reading may easily come to vacillate between Muslim and Non-Muslim readings, and indeed others as well. I cannot, however, leave it at that and choose on a case-to-case basis: the principles of the retranslations need to be transparent, otherwise they are well-nigh useless.

So one obvious procedure to adopt is to choose one way of reading for the translation, and confine other readings to the notes. An argument in favour of a default Chinese reading is that the intended Muslim reading (ideal from the Muslim's point of view) is anyway there in the Qur'ān text itself (and reflected in my literal translation of the Arabic). The notes will then have to cover readings other than default readings.

Some words about the conception of meaning in this thesis are in order, since meaning is obviously of central concern in translation research. First of all, it is assumed that the meaning of an expression is dependent of the interpreter of the expression. The lexical senses attributed to expressions in semantics are ultimately abstractions made on the basis of instances of language use, not something inherent in the expression itself. Thus the letters of a text by themselves, without readers, are dead, they merely possess a potential of being understood and

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\(^68\) Or, in terms of interpreters (readers), the reading of a Chinese reader uninitiated to the world of Islam, or rather that of a learned Chinese Muslim

\(^69\) Such transparency will inevitably produce awkward English, to say the least, but as no aesthetic ambitions are involved, it is not an unbearable loss. In some ways it would have been desirable to provide interlinear glosses as well, but for obvious reasons this is not practicable in a work of limited dimensions. In any case, the English re-translations may be termed 'overt' rather than 'covert', to use Juliane House's terms (Fawcett 1997: 113).
endowed with meaning. In other words, semantics alone is insufficient to explain language use; we have to include pragmatics to get a complete picture.

It follows that if one wants to investigate meaning, one had better define carefully which interpreters one postulates, and choose one's authorities accordingly, whether they be informants or famous dictionaries. A descriptive dictionary of any language will provide rather different lexical senses than a prescriptive dictionary, to give one example. As any historical dictionary will show, the current default readings of expressions are far from stable: they change all the time. In literate cultures, lexical senses have a tendency to accumulate over time as the body of literature and lexicographical works grows, thus reinforcing the impression that they are durable and at the same time multiplying the number of potential readings of each expression. After centuries of sense accumulation, one has to rely increasingly on context and circumstance to determine which of the collectively recognised sense(s) is (are) relevant for a particular occurrence of an expression. Which readings of which readers to choose in a study like this is a question which must be settled with a view to what one wants to compare, and what one wants to show.

I base my study on a traditional reading of the Qur'ānic material, without paying much attention to radical (re-)interpretations (as e.g. Luxenberg 2000). As guides to the traditional reading I have relied mostly on the commentary Tafsīru ʿl-Bayḍawī: ʿAnwār altanzīl wa-ʿasrār al-taʿwil [The Lights of the Revelation and the Secrets of Interpretation] by al-Bayḍāwī (d. 691/1292) and Tafsīr al-Jalālayn [The Commentary of the two Jalāls] (late 15th century AD). I have of course also consulted the existing English translations, especially Arberry's translation (Arberry 1964). For English glosses of Arabic words I have used Hava's Arabic-English dictionary, since it is both concise, complete and is based on traditional Arabic lexicography. I have moreover made ample use of the famous Arabic lexicon Lisān al-ʿArab ['The Tongue of the Arabs'] by Ibn Manẓūr (630/1232-711/1311). For grammatical points I have used a number of works, specified in the course of the text where necessary.

For Chinese, I have used the most comprehensive dictionary available, the Hányǔ dà cídiǎn 漢語大詞典, to get general readings and an overview of other possible readings. For Modern Chinese, the standard work Xiàndài Hányǔ cídiǎn 現代漢語詞典 has been frequently consulted as well. This is my point of departure for the reading of the Chinese target texts, since I am not necessarily looking for a specifically Muslim reading of the text, but rather want to explore the semantic potential of the target texts. For the grammar of Classical Chinese, Pulleyblank's Outline of Classical Chinese Grammar (1995) has been the guide, and for Modern Chinese Chinese: A Comprehensive
Grammar by Yip and Rimmington (2004). For Islamic terms in Chinese, the glossary in Gladney 1991 is highly valuable, and transcriptions from Arabic, Persian and Turkish can be readily identified in Wáng Jianping's Glossary of Chinese Islamic Terms (2001).
4 TEXT AND ANNOTATED TRANSLATIONS

4.1 SūRA 1

This sūra, which bears the name sūrat al-ḥādhīa "The Sūrah of The Opening (Sūra)", may be said to sum up in a few verses some important elements of Islam. It is formulated as a prayer, and it is in fact a part of the daily prayer ritual (ṣalāt), which is obligatory. It has many other uses beside this, and one would expect every Muslim to know it. The importance of the sūrah is obvious, and so there is ample reason to analyse its translation into Chinese thoroughly.

Some work has already been done in this respect: Raphael Israeli (1997) has written an article where he compares this sūra in the translation of Mā Jiān 馬堅, a translation from Tāiwān 臺灣 of a certain Bai Jianmin [does he mean Shi Zīzhōu 時子周 ?], and an anonymous Chinese phonetic transliteration and commentary of the Qur'ān.

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| 1.1 bi-smi ilāhi l-raḥmāni l-raḥīm | 1.1 奉至仁至慈的真主之名 | 1.1 奉普慈獨慈按拉乎之名 |

1.1 In the name of Allah the Merciful [Rahmān], the merciful [raḥīm] 1.1 (Respectfully) up-holding the name of the most humane, most compassionate True Ruler, 1.1 (Respectfully) up-holding the name of the universally compassionate, the specifically compassionate Allāh.

 Bí-smi ilāhi l-Raḥmāni l-rahīm — "In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the merciful": this formula, called basmala, is
ubiquitous in Islam. It stands at the beginning of every sûra (except sûra 9), and constitutes the first verse of sûrat al-fātīha. It is used in everyday life as an invocation of Allah, often at the outset of any small action, but obligatorily so when anything of importance is being done. For a thorough analysis of its components, see Chapter 5: Terminology: Basmala, Allâh and Allâh’s Blessings and Mercy.

On the syntactical side, Wâng articulates the near-synonyms al-rahmân "the Merciful" and al-raḥîm "the merciful" by adding contrastive adnominal elements to ci 慈 «compassionate». Wâng fails to make it syntactically explicit whether what is rahmân and raḥîm is Allah himself, or his name. Mâ retains standard Buddhist—but not very currently pre-Buddhist—conjoined complex adnominal phrases.

Neither of the translations reproduce the assonance present in al-rahmân al-raḥîm, but a repeated element is present in both translations.

In Wang's translation the divine name appears as ânlâhâ 拉拉乎 here, but this seems to be a misprint for the ânlâhâ 安拉乎 used elsewhere in the text.

*| 1.2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1.2 al-ḥamdu</th>
<th>1.2 一切赞颂,</th>
<th>1.2</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʾî-lâhî ʾrabbi</td>
<td>全归真主, 全世界的主</td>
<td>讚頌拉乎調養眾世界之主。</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l-kâlamînja</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 The praise is (due to) to</td>
<td>1.2 All praise is-due to the</td>
<td>1.2 [We] praise Allâh, the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allah, the master of the worlds</td>
<td>True Ruler, the ruler of all</td>
<td>ruler who nurtures all the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the world,</td>
<td>worlds.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Allah is ubiquitously referred to as rabb «master», which denotes the notion of God as "master, sustainer and owner of his creation" [Calderini: "Lord", in EQ 3: 230]. The standard translation of rabb into Chinese is zhǔ 主 'ruler; owner'. For a thorough analysis of this term and its translations, see Discussion: Rabb.

Yìqîe zànsong 一切赞颂 "all praise" overtranslates the Arabic, since it seems to suggest that nothing else and no one else is praiseworthy. But surely in this context, the phrase is intended as an enthusiastic hyperbole. Again, quán 全 «all» is and merely emphatic and resumptive, without any basis in the literal meaning of the Arabic. Possibly this redundance is motivated by a desire to make four-character phrases.
Note that zànㄠng 許頌 'praise' is verbal in Wáng's translation. This might be due to grammatical restrictions on this kind of subject in Literary Chinese.

Note the repetition of zhǔ 主 'ruler', in order to make syntactical structure perspicuous. Moreover, the postposed, non-restrictive modification in Mā, quánzhǔ 仝...主. is a clear case of Europeanized grammar, and moreover it is rythmically problematic, with its monosyllabic head noun. This has to be translated as "We praise Allah, the Lord who...", and here you can see that the Chinese distinctly misconstrues God's mercy.

The Chinese translators add zhǔ 主 'ruler; owner'. Of course, since al-rahmān is used exclusively about God, it has almost become a proper name (al-Rahmān as it were), and it makes sense to suggest this in the translation, which is maybe the purpose of the zhǔ 主. Elsewhere (78.37) Mā renders al-Rahmān (not followed by al-rahīm) as zhūrēn de zhǔ 至仁的主 "the most kind-hearted ruler". Wáng's solution in the same verse is maybe the most satisfying: cǐzhǔ 慈主 "the loving ruler".
judgement  the day of retribution  day of retribution.

The semantic differences between *rabb* (lit. 'master', conventionally 'Lord', see analysis in Discussion: *Rabb*), *mālik* 'owner' and *Allāh* are obscured in Mā's rendering: *zhū* 主 'ruler; owner' is his usual equivalent for *rabb* ('master', conv. 'Lord'), but there is no mention of *rabb* in the Arabic.

*Bàoqìng* 報應日 "The Day of Retribution": For a thorough analysis, see Discussion: *Dīn*. The Day of Judgement is a key concept in Islam, and it is hardly surprising that it should occur in the opening sūrah of the Qur'ān. It is the day when man, after death, will be resurrected and held responsible for his past actions, and God will justly judge him and administer punishment or reward, the punishment being the opportunity to taste the Hellfire eternally, and the reward a pleasant existence in the paradisical Garden with all sorts of pleasures. No human being knows when the Day will come, and this constitutes a powerful motive to submit to God (cf. 'īsālām 'submission').

*MĀLIK/MALIK*

It is difficult to know with certainty which reading the translators have chosen among the following two canonical readings: *MLK* vocalised as *mālik* 'owner' or *malik* 'king', where the former reading was read by al-Kisā‘ī and ‘Āşim and the latter by the rest [Al-Taysîr fi'l-qirā‘āt al-sab‘a, p. 18]. It might actually be the former, since the reading *malik* 'king' might be expected to become *wáng* 王 'king' in Chinese, rather than *zhū* 主 'ruler; owner', cf. Ma 114.2 *jiānwáng* 君王 'monarch' for *malik*.

Wáng introduces *zhǐhāng* 執掌 'control, direct' as a way of describing Allah's role on the Day of Judgement, whereas the Arabic limits itself to saying 'owner' (*mālik*). The term *zhǐhāng* 執掌 'control, direct' occurs in Liú Zhi's translation of Q 1 and so Wáng has probably simply adopted a traditional term.

*| 1.5

1.5 'iyyā-ka na‘budu wa-'iyyā-ka

| 1.5 我們只崇拜你，只求你祐助，我等惟求顯助。

| 1.5 You do we worship and you do we ask for help

1.5 We worship only you, and ask only you for help.

1.5 We only worship you, we only ask you to help.
The Arabic original emphasises the object pronoun suffix -ka 'you' [m. sg.] by attaching it to the detached object pronoun carrier ʿayyā instead of attaching it to the end of the verb, which is the default option. This emphasis on "you" is the motivation for Mā's use of zhī 只 'only'. At the first glance, Wāngh seems to have done the same thing, using a Classical word, wéi 惟 'only be'. Now zhī 只 'only' is an adverb which, although placed immediately before the verb, can apply to any of the elements in the clause, focussing the restrictive force on e.g. the subject or object instead of the verb. This does not seem to be the case with wéi 惟 'only be', which is a kind of restrictive copula that would normally restrict a noun phrase following it. It can be used in an adverb-like manner, but can it focus the restrictive force on the object of the verb, in the way Wāngh is using it here? [Pulleyblank 1995: 131-132]

Yóuzhù 助 'help' has overtones of «blessing» and «protecting» in addition to «helping» [HDC 7:843]. See nQ 1.7.

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*| 1.6

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1.6 (i)hdi-nā      1.6      1.6 求爾導我等於正道。
l-širāṭa          求你引導我們上正路。
l-mustaqīm|a

1.6 Guide us onto the straight path      1.6 (We) ask you to lead us onto the right way,
1.6 (We) ask you to lead us onto the right way.

The imperative form of the word ʾihdīnā is rendered by means of a paraphrase with the verb qiā 求 'ask; beg; demand'.

Mā uses là 路 for širāṭ, whereas Wāngh chooses dào 道. One wonders if Mā did not want to avoid using such an overloaded concept as dào 道, even at the cost of being prosaic. A discussion of the concept of «širāṭ mustaqīm _lstm "straight path"» and «hudā 'guidance'» can be found in Chapter 5.

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*| 1.7

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1.7 ṣirāta
llaḍīna
‘an’amta
‘alay-him
ɣayrī
l-maḍūbi
‘alay-him
wa-lā
l-dālinja

1.7 你所祐助的路，
不是受譴怒者的路。
也不是迷誤者的路。

1.7 即爾所施恩者，
非被怒，
亦非迷誤者「所守」之道。

1.7 The path of those whom you
have favoured, not of those
whom you are wrathful against,
nor of those who have gone
astray [or: the erring]

1.7 The way of those, whom you
have helped, <(it is) not the
way of those, who have suffered
reproof and anger, nor <is
(it)> the way of those, who
have gone astray.

1.7 Namely the way 「kept by」
those, whom you show favour,
not [of those, who] have
suffered anger, nor of those
who have gone astray.

Mā translates an’uma 'bless' by yóuzhù 祥助 'help', a word he has just used in the translation of istā’āna 'to ask for help' above (1.5, q.v.), thus undermining the difference between the two concepts in Arabic. This contrasts with Wáng, who has shǐ‘én 施恩 'bestow favours'. See Chapter 5 for a detailed discussion.

Dalla can mean both «lose one's way» and «err». In Chinese, the concrete meaning is tuned down and the «error» component amplified, thus eliminating any sense of metaphor. mǐwǔ HDC 10: 822

It is interesting to note that the passive formulation maḍūbi ‘alay-him has been rephrased in Chinese as V-O constructions, namely shòu qiànmu 受譴怒 "suffer reproof and anger" (Mā) and bèi nà 受怒 "suffer anger" (Wáng), where the verbs fit the category of verbs that often form alternative quasi-passive constructions. [The construction <bèi 被 plus verb> is actually one common way of forming passive clauses in Modern Chinese.] But while the sentence is syntactically mimickable in English as "raged [p.p.] against-them", meaning "those raged against", i.e. «those unfortunate enough to have aroused divine wrath», it is very hard not to turn it into an active construction in a more idiomatic translation.

Mā repeats li 路 'way' at the end of each phrase of the verse, while both Wáng and the original are content to let the word for «way» or «path» respectively occur only once. It might seem that Mā wanted to embellish the verse with the rhetorical figure of epiphora, but it is rather more probable that he wanted more syntactic perspicuity, as it is rather unusual to have several coordinated attributive adnominal clauses qualifying the same noun.

35
Further note that the translators introduce copulas (是 'be' and 非 'not be') to break up and arrange the parts together: apparently Chinese conjunctions do not allow substitution constructions in the manner of the preposition 佉 yr 'other than' in Arabic.
4.2 SÛRA 2

Sûra 2, al-Baqara 'The Cow', is the longest sûra of the Qur'ân. Here, only a small portion of it will be analysed due to limited capacity. I have picked a passage rich in legislative content to see how the Chinese translators have dealt with both the style of legislation in the Qur'ân and the import of the laws themselves.

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<tr>
<td>2.183</td>
<td>信道的人們啊！</td>
<td>穆民乎、</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yâ‘-ayyu-hâ llaqînâ</td>
<td>齋戒已成為你們的定制</td>
<td>已對爾等規定齋戒、</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘âmanû kutîba ‘alaykumu</td>
<td>猶如它曾為前人的定制一樣</td>
<td>即如曾對爾等先人規定之、</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l-ṣiyâmu ka-mâ kutîba ‘alâ</td>
<td>以便你們敬畏。</td>
<td>庶爾等敬畏。</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>llaqînî mîn qâbil-kum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la‘alla-kum tattaqûnja</td>
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2.183 oh (you) who have believed(!) fasting has been prescribed for you as it was prescribed for those before you, haply you will fear > be godfearing; or: be guarded (against sins)]

2.183 Oh you <people> who believe in the way [teaching] Fasting has already become your fixed rule [i.e.: a fixed rule for you], like it once was a fixed rule of (your) forefathers, so that you (may) be reverent.

2.183 All mu‘mins [Ar. = believers][!], [I] have <already> established the fast for you, just as once [!] established it for your forefathers, (so that) hopefully you (will) be reverent.

The verb ittaqâ, which is usually understood to mean 'be godfearing', is here understood in its original sense by the Jalâlayn commentary, i.e. 'be guarded against', and it adds "the sins, because they arise from lust". Cf. Izutsu's analysis of taqwâ 'fear of God' (1964: 234-239). The translators' rendering does not suggest this origin. Elsewhere, however, Wâng has jingshên 敬慎 'be cautious in demeanour' (HDC 5.489; e.g. Q 78.31).

Wâng has specified that the verse is addressed to "all" (zhòng 穆) the Believers, and has used the transcription mümîn 穆民, which probably originated in Arabic mu‘min 'Believer'. It is interesting that one could also re-interpret this as mû 穆 mín 民 'people', where the first element is an abbreviation of either Mâhânmîḍ 穆
Note that the «writing» part of «kutba 'alaykum "has been prescribed for you"» is gone in the Chinese versions.

Fasting is nothing new to Chinese culture, and so the words zhāi and jì occur in many early Chinese texts, including the combination zhāijì 粟戒 [HDC 12: 1425, 1429]. It was clearly conceived of as a way of purifying oneself (esp. before an important sacrifice), and as such may not have been restricted to the abstention from food, drink and sex. Both Buddhism and Taoism knows special times for fasting, and the both traditions use the term zhāiyuè 粟月 "fasting month" (the 1st, 5th and 9th lunar month), which is incidentally used by Muslims to mean «Ramaḍān». Another common term for «fasting» and «Ramaḍān» is fēngzhāi 封齋 lit. "to seal the fast", a term which interestingly is shared by Chinese Roman Catholics, who use it for «lent» [HDC 2: 1261]. Bāzhāi 把齋 is a synonym of fēngzhāi 封齋.

Dīngzhì 定制 fix or institute rules (HDC 3: 1363).
Shà probably means «hopefully» here. This is a strange usage, but found in HDC 3: 1234.

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*| 2.184a

| 2.184a | 2.184a | 2.184a |
| 'ayyāman ma’dūdātin fa-man kāna min-kum marīdan 'aw 'alā safarin fa-fiddatun min 'ayyāmin 'uṣkara wa-‘alā ilaḏiña yuṭīqūna-hu fidyatun ta‘āmu miskīnin | 2.184a | 2.184a |
| 2.184a (for) days numbered, and whoever among you is ill or on a journey <then> a number of other days and for (those) who are capable of it, a redemption, the food of a poor man, | So you should fast a number of few days. Those among you who have an illness or are travelling, should mend the fast according to the number of missed days. Those who (can) fast only with difficulty should pay redemption, namely to give (in charity) a meal of food to a poor man, | this is indeed a fixed number of days. Those among you who have caught an illness, or are travelling, <then> another number of days. Those who cannot fast, <then> (they) have to (do) the [act of] redemption of giving [a] poor man [or: people] one measure of food [:a meal].

38
Mā chooses to translate fa'-iddatun min 'ayyāmin 'uṣara "<then> a number of other days" rather freely as dāng yī suā quē de rīshā bāzḥāi 當依所缺的日數補齋 "should mend the fast according to the number of missed days". This is already a detailed piece of positive legislation, and does not reflect the indeterminateness of the Arabic. Unsurprisingly, it is also in accord with Jalālān’s exegesis.

Here Ma and Wang interpret the text differently. One can go some way in the direction of Wáng’s translation if one reads yūtīqāna-hu as "bear it (only with effort)" (like Mā has). But the negation present in Wáng’s translation is far too intrusive, and Wáng even complicates the matter by commenting: "that is to say, who can fast, but does not do it, ...". The sense of intrusion is amplified when we compare it to the Jalālān commentary, where là 'not' has been inserted before yūtīqāna-hu.

Alternatively one can read yūtīqāna-hu as "can afford it", with reference to the meal to be given as redemption.

Fāshā 罰贠 to pay a fine of money to redeem sins/crimes (HDC 8: 1039).
Shá 贠 1. redeem sth. pawned 2. cancel, neutralise

| 2.184b |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| fa-man tāţawwa’a ķayran   | fa-huwa ķayrun lahu wa’an | tašūmū ķayrun la-kum ‘in kuntuµ |
| 自願行善者,              | 必獲更多的善報,            | 齋戒對於你們是更好的,         |
| 必獲更多的善報,            | 齋戒對於你們是更好的,         | 如果你們知道。                     |
| 其自願為善者、是於彼最佳者. | 若爾等曉然,                   | 則爾等之齋戒是於爾等最佳者。          |

2.184b and (he) who has volunteered goodness [or: sth. good], is (a) good (thing) for him, and that you fast is better for you if you knew [if you are knowing]

2.184b He who himself is willing to do good, will certainly obtain more (of) good retribution. Fasting is even better for you, if you know.

2.184b He of them who _himself is willing to [＞voluntarily] do good, is the best for him. If you are knowing, <then> your fast is the best for you.
Although it seems to be implicit in the Arabic text, Mā states explicitly that to volunteer good leads to an increase in reward, or "positive retribution" (shànghào 善報), to use his phrase. (Cf. HDC 3:446)

*| 2.185a  

| 2.185a ṣahru ramaḍāna illaḍī | 2.185a 賴買丹月中. | 2.185a 來麥搭乃月. |
| 'unzila fi-hi l-qur'ānu hudan | 開始降示《古蘭經》. | 是頒降古蘭之月. |
| li-l-nāsi wa-bayyīnātin mina | 指導世人，昭示明証. | 「此古蘭是」引導世人者、 |
| l-hudā wa-l-furqānī | 以便遵循正道，分別真偽. | 且是引導之明証， |
| 2.185a the month of Ramaḍān in which the Qur'ān was sent down as guidance for people, and as clear signs of guidance and distinction (between good and evil), | 2.185a In the month of Ramaḍān, [I] began to send down the Qur'ān, guide the people of the world, make clear to all the clear proof, so that [people] keep to the right way, distinguish between truth and falsehood, | 2.185a The month of Ramaḍān is the month of the sending [<"promulgation"] down of the Qur'ān. 「This Qur'ān is」 one that guides the people of the world, and moreover is clear proof of guidance, and the distinction 「between truth and falsehood」. |

Both translators transcribe the name of the month of fasting, Ramaḍān.

Ma transforms the syntax of the verse from |head - relative_clause| into |adverbial_phrase - main_clause, main_clause, ...|.  
Wang sticks closer to the Arabic, and adds the information that Ramaḍān is the month in which the Qur'ān was sent down more as an afterthought.

Wang indicates between brackets that it is the Qur'ān that is a guidance to the people of the world. Evidently he was not comfortable with transferring the construction directly from Arabic, in which hudā "guidance" stands in apposition to qur'ān.
Mā seems to add yībàn 以便 "in order to". It is not at all clear that the Arabic preposition min 'from' has this meaning here.

Mā alters hudā 'guidance' to "follow the straight way" and expands furqān 'distinction' into "distinguishing between true and false".

Wang makes produces a translation of bayyinātin mina l-hudā wa-l-furqānī "clear signs of guidance and distinction" which gives the impression that only yǐndāo "guidance" modifies mingzhèng "clear proofs", whereas fēnbié 「zhēnwéi」 "distinction 「between true and false」 " looks strangely isolated. What is the function of the coverb yǔ 'with' here?

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*| 2.185b

2.185b  fa-man šahida min-kumu  2.185b  故在此月中，  2.185b
l-šahra fa-l-yaṣum-hu wa-man  你們應當齋戒：  故爾等中其逢此月者、
kāna marīdan 'aw 'alā safarin  害病或旅行的人，  則令之齋戒。染病或旅行者、
fa-'iddatun min 'ayyāmin 'ulqara  當依所缺的日數補齋。  則其他限定之若干日.

2.185b  and so whoever among you who witnesses the month shall fast (during) it and whoever is ill or on a journey, <then> a number of other days;  2.185b  therefore in this month you should fast; people who have fallen ill or are travelling should mend the fast according to the missed number of days.  2.185b  Therefore those among you who meet [＞attend] this month, <so> let them fast. Those who have an illness or are travelling, <then> another limited *few days.

Ma changes the wording: instead of the dramatic "and whoever among you witnesses this month shall fast (during) it" we get simply "therefore in this month you should fast". Syntactically there is a change from an indefinite conditional construction to a simple clause with a temporal phrase at the beginning, and the rhetorical impact is much weakened.

The positive indirect command construed with fa-  后 followed by a verb in the apocopate is dealt with differently by the two translators: Mā uses the modal verb dāng 'should', whereas Wáng uses lìng 'order; let'.

41
Ma adds *suǒ quē* 所缺 "the missed" and *bǔzhāi* 補齋 "mend the fast" like above (2.184a).  
Mǎ adds .  
Wang adds *xiàn dìng* "limited" 限定.

*| 2.185c

| 2.185c | 2.185c | 2.185c |
| yurūdu illāhu bi-kumu | yurūdu illāhu bi-kumu | yurūdu illāhu bi-kumu |
| l-yusra wa-lā yurūdu bi-kumu | 真主要你們便利, | 安拉乎欲爾等容易, |
| l-ʿusra wa-li-tukmiḥu l-ʿiddata | 不主要你們困難, | 不欲爾等困難, |
| wa-li-tukabbirū illāha `alā mā | 以便你們補足所缺的日數, | 欲爾等滿數日數, |
| hadā-kum wa-laʿalla-kum | 以便你們讚頌真主引導你們的恩德,以便你們感謝他。 | 並欲爾等以「感謝」引導而頥安拉乎尊大. |
| taškūrūnja | 並願爾等感謝。 | |

2.185c Allāh intends easiness for you and does not intend hardship for you and [?that] you shall complete the number, and you shall magnify Allāh that he has guided you, and haply you may be grateful |

2.185c The true ruler wants your convenience [>convenience for you], (he) does not want your difficulty [>difficulty for you], so that you (may) make up for the missed number of days, so that you (may) praise the grace of the true ruler's guiding you, so that you (may) feel gratitude towards him. |

2.185c Allāh desires you to be ^at ease, (he) does not desire you to be ^at difficulty, (he) desires that you fulfill the number, and desires that you to praise Allāh's greatness because of the 「feeling of gratitude for」 [his] guidance. And wishes you to feel gratitude. |

I feel uncomfortable with analysing Mǎ's *bú yào nǐmén kùnnǎn* as |Neg - V - Obj|. "Your difficulty" is awkward. It would be nice to have a pivot construction with *nǐmén* as the pivot: |Neg - V - Piv - ...|, but then the last element would have to be a verb, which to my knowledge *kùnnǎn* cannot be. Bùnlì 'convenient' in the preceding parallel clause is primarily a verb, hence the difficulty. Similarly in the case of Wáng. In the end a third solution may be preferable: that the translators imitated the Arabic construction, although without using a coverb (corresponding to the Arabic preposition), so that we have to read this |Neg - V - Obj1 - Obj2|, without taking the two last nominal elements together.
Ma and Wáng understand the next two Arabic clauses, which begin with *li-* followed by a verb in the dependent form, differently. Mā takes them to be clauses of purpose (and thus equivalent to *la’alla* ‘happly’, Mā: *yibḥān* 以便 "in order to", e.g. same verse below), whereas Wáng perceives them to be subordinate to the main verb of the preceding clause, *yurīdū* "wants", and so repeats the Chinese equivalents at the beginning of each of the two clauses in question.

Mā has Allāh tell the believers that they should praise His grace (which consists in guiding them), not Allah himself.

Note Wáng’s phrasing: *sōng ʿAnlāhā zāndā* 頒安拉乎尊大 "to praise the honourableness-and-greatness of Allāh". Wáng adds *zāndā* ‘honourableness and greatness’ (HDC 2:1280). Maybe motivated by the «great» component in «kabbara ‘magnify’». Note that *zāndārān* 尊大人 "honourable and great man" and *zāndājn* 尊大君 "honourable and great gentleman" about the interlocutor’s father/parents (HDC 2:1280-1281).

Ma adds ḳenā 恩德 ‘grace’.

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\*| 2.186

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2.186  *wa-ʿidā* saʿala-ka 2.186 2.186

* ʿibādī ʿannī fa-ʾinnī qarībun  如果我的僕人詢問我的情況，

* ʾujiḥu daʿwata l-dāʾiʿ ʿidā  你就告訴他們：我確是近臨的，

* daʿānī fa-l-yastajibū lī  確是應答禱者的禱告的。

* wa-l-yuʿminū bī laʿalla-kum  當他禱告我的時候，

* yarṣudūnja  教他們應答我，信仰我，

以便他們遵循正道。  苦其可以獲正道也。

2.186 and when [or: if] my slaves [or: servants] ask you about me, <then> I am near, I answer the call [>prayer] of the caller [>one who prays] when he calls to me [>prays to me], so let them respond to me and let them believe in me 2.186 If my servants inquire about my condition, <then> tell them: I am indeed near, I am indeed [?] the one who answers the prayer of the one who prays. When he prays to me, let them answer me, (and) believe in me, so that they keep to the right 2.186 When my servants ask you about me, I am indeed near; when the caller calls me, <then> [I] consent to^ his call [or: appeal], ^then^ let them answer me; and let them believe (firmly in) me; hopefully [they] may get the
(and) haply you may be rightly  way. right way.
guided

For comments on ʿibād "slaves; creatures", see Chapter 5.

Ma inserts 你就告訴他們: "so <you> tell them:" This is in accordance with Bayḍāwī’s gloss

Ma appears to have mispunctuated. The subordinate clause ʿīdā daʾā-nī "when he calls me" clearly belongs to the foregoing, not the following.

Gutūn 归信, lit. "return faith to" seems to be used in the sense "believe firmly in" (HDC 5.372).

Didang 第當 has noe entry in HDC. Cf. di 第: HDC 8:1132. I translate it tentatively as "then" here. [Wâng's Modern Chinese translation has dâng 當 here.]

Wâng construes [fa-ı - V] with ling 令 'order; let'.

Huò zhèngdào 瑟正道 / xún zhèngdào 循正道: Both translators paraphrase the verb yarṣudāna "they (may) be rightly guided". Mâ: "follow the right way"; Wâng: "may get the right way". A reason might be that Chinese (and English) doesn't seem to have a verb to express "be rightly guided".

Note that there is no pluralis majestatis, which is ubiquitous elsewhere.

============================================================================

*| 2.187a

2.187a ʿuḥilla la-kum laylata
l-ṣiyām i-rafaṭu ʿîlā
nisāʾi-kum ḥunna libāsun la-kum
wa-ʿantum libāsun la-hunna

2.187a 睗戒的夜間.
准你們和妻室交接。
她們是你們的衣服。
你們是你們的衣服。

2.187a 當齋戒之夜.
與妻交合。
是於爾等置於合法者。
彼等是爾等之衣。
爾等亦彼等之衣。

2.187a it has been permitted
you (in) the night of the fast
to have *intercourse with your

2.187a In the night of fasting, it is permitted for you [or: he has allowed you] to have

2.187a In the night of fasting, having intercourse with wives
is established as lawful for
women (during which) they [f. pl] are clothing to you and you are clothing to them [f.pl];

intercourse with your legal-wives. They [f.pl.] are your clothing, (and) you are their [f.pl.] clothing.

you; they are your clothing,

The original lexical meaning of ṭafāt is 'obscenity', but Baydāwī tells us that it is a metonymous expression (kīnāya) for «sexual intercourse», because "it is hardly free from obscenity, which is to say clearly what should be hidden (yuskā, same root as kīnāya)". The translators both choose fairly neutral terms which also mean «association», «joining», i.e. «intercourse”; so the connotations of ṭafāt are lost. This is a case of euphemism.

The metaphor ṭibās 'clothing' is kept in the translation. Note that the Arabic prepositional phrases with la-hunna "for them [f.pl.]" and lakum "for you" are rendered into Chinese as one noun simply modifying the other without any specification of the relationship.

| 2.187b |

2.187b ʿalima llāhu ʿanna-kum kuntum taḵānūna anfusa-kum fa-ṭāba ʿalay-kum wa-ṭafā ṭan-kum

An拉乎已知爾等曾與自身背義.
厥後主允汝等悔罪、
並宥宥汝等.

2.187b ʿalima llāhu ʿanna-kum kuntum taḵānūna anfusa-kum fa-ṭāba ʿalay-kum wa-ṭafā ṭan-kum

真主已知道你們自欺,而恕饒你們，赦免你們；

2.187b ʿalima llāhu ʿanna-kum kuntum taḵānūna anfusa-kum fa-ṭāba ʿalay-kum wa-ṭafā ṭan-kum

Allāh has learned [lit. known] that you were deceiving yourselves, so he has turned [relented] toward you [or: made you repent] and forgiven you,

The true ruler has (already) learned [lit.: known] that you deceived yourselves, and (he) forgives you, pardons you;

Allāh has already learned [lit.: known] that you have turned your back on justice [or: the meaning] with your own bodies [or: selves]; after that the ruler allowed you to repent your sins [or: crimes] and (magnanimously) forgave you;

The verb ṭāba originally meant «return», but here it is used in the sense of «forgive», cf. the paraphrase given in LA 1.233: ʿādā ʿalay-hi bi-l-maʿṣīra "he returned to him with forgiveness". LA (ibid.) gives another paraphrase as
well, *waffaqa-hu la-hā* "directed him to it [repentance, *tawba]*". This might be the motivation for Wáng's translation.

\[\begin{array}{lll}
2.187\text{c} & \text{fa-l-āna bāširū-hunna} & \text{2.187\text{c} 现在,} \\
& \text{wa-btağū mā kataba llāhu la-kum} & \text{2.187\text{c} 而今爾等其與妻室接近,} \\
& \text{wa-kulū wa-šrabū ḥattā} & \text{並尋安拉乎為爾等所記者.} \\
& \text{yatabayyana la-kumu l-ḵaytu} & \text{爾等其食而且飲.} \\
& \text{l-’abyadu mina l-ḵayti} & \text{治黎明時天邊的黑線和白線對你們截然劃分。} \\
& \text{l-’aswadi mina l-fajri} & \text{現與爾等時.}
\end{array}\]

\[\begin{array}{lll}
2.187\text{c so now} & \text{have-intercourse-with them [f. pl]} & \text{2.187\text{c} now, you may }\_\text{associate} \\
& \text{and seek what Allāh has destined [<written] for you and} & \text{with [or: join] them [f.pl],} \\
& \text{eat and drink until the white thread stands-out-clearly from} & \text{(you) may seek the (-sons and} \\
& \text{the black thread from [or: at]} & \text{daughters-) which the true} \\
& \text{dawn,} & \text{ruler has destined for you,} \\
& & \text{(you) may eat, (you) may drink,} \\
& & \text{until the black thread and the} \\
& & \text{white thread of the horizon at} \\
& & \text{the time of dawn are completely} \\
& & \text{distinguishable to you.}
\end{array}\]

Mā transforms interprets the imperative expression *bāširū-hunna* "have-intercourse-with them [f.pl.]" as a permission, and hence uses *kūy* "may" in his translation. He carries this through with the rest of the imperatives in this verse. Wáng sticks to *qī*, which can also be understood as «may» here rather than «should».

\[\begin{array}{lll}
2.187\text{d} & \text{ţumma ’atimmū l-šiyāma} & \text{2.187\text{d}} \\
& \text{’ilā l-laylī wa-lā} & \text{2.187\text{d} 然後爾等其圓滿齋戒、至夜.} \\
& \text{tubāširū-hunna wa-’antum} & \text{爾等靜居於樓斯志德時,}
\end{array}\]

46
‘ākifūna fī l-masājid

2.187d and then complete the fast until the night and do not have-intercourse-with them [f. pl.] while you are staying in the mosques [lit.: places-of-prostration];

2.187d Afterwards fast the whole day, until the night. When you live in reclusion in the pure and true temple [>mosque], you must not have-intercourse-with them [f. pl.].

2.187d afterwards you should fulfill the fast, until night; when you reside quietly in the masjid [Ar.: mosque], it must not get close to your legal-wives;

Note that Wáng transcribes masjid ‘mosque’ (lit. "place of prostration"), whereas Mǎ uses the traditional Muslim Chinese term qíngshēn清真 (lit. "pure and true temple"). See also the section on terminology in Chapter 5.

The circumstantial clause introduced by the wa- 'and' (known as ḥāl-clause) shows up in Chinese as a temporal subordinate clause.

*| 2.187e

2.187e tilka ḥudūdu llāhi
fa-lā taqrabū-hā ka-ḍālikah
yubayyinu llāhu 'āyāti-hi
li-l-nāsi la‘alla-hum
yattaqūn|a

2.187e 這是真主的法度,
你們不要臨近它。
真主這樣為世人闡明他的跡象,
以便他們敬畏。

2.187e 這是安拉乎之定律。
爾等不得侵犯之。
安拉乎是者、
對眾表明己之頌贊、
庶彼等敬畏也。

2.187e those are the limits of [set by] Allāh, so do not come [too] close to them, thus Allāh makes clear his signs to people, (and) haply they may fear [>be godfearing]

2.187e This is the law of the true ruler, you must not approach it. The true ruler in this way clarifies his signs, so that they (may) be reverent.

2.187e this is Allāh's law; you must not trespass it; Allāh like this,<,> makes clear his signs to all, hopefully they (will) be reverent.
Hudūd Allāh "Allāh's limits" is a reference to divinely decreed limits which men should not even approach, and much less transgress. Wáng and Mā both translate with words meaning "law", leaving the "limits" aside. According to the exegete al-Bayḍāwī hudūd Allāh does indeed refer to Allāh's rulings ('āhkām), but they only do so by way of metonymy. Wáng adjusts the verb translating taqṣūbā-hā 'approach them' to qināfūn 'violate', so that it fits together with dinlāṭ 'law' (this corresponds to the Jalālān commentary's glosses ta'ādātā 'you violate' and 'āhkām 'verdicts'). Mā does not make such an adjustment, and has linjūn lāmīn 'approach'.
4.3 SŪRA 12

This sūra contains the longest sustained narrative found in the Qurʾān, and that is the reason for the inclusion of some of its verses in this study.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Ma Jian's Translation</th>
<th>Wang Jingzhai's Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(transcription)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*| 12.1

12.1 Ā-L-R [letters read as: 'alif Flām rā'] tilka ʾayātu
I-kitābi l-mubīnji

12.1 ʿalīf, ʿālem, rā‘;
those are the signs [or: the verses] of the clear book

12.1 ʾāliḥfū, lāmā, ʾālem, rā‘;
these are the clear signs of the clear heavenly scripture of the clear [or: illustrious] volume [or: book, classic].

The first verse of this sūra opens with three Arabic letters, ʿalif (ʾ), ʿālem (L) and rā‘ (R). The meaning of these letters has been much debated, but no conclusive solution to the riddle has yet been found. In traditional Qurʾān exegesis, the meaning of these letters is deemed to belong to those parts of the Qurʾān which are mutashābih, i.e. which do not allow interpretation. Only Allāh knows what they mean. Both translators transcribe the Arabic names of the letters. In the Arabic, only the letters are given, not the names, though it is the names which are read when the Qurʾān is recited.

The translators have differed in their primary interpretation of ʾayāt, which can be understood either as «signs» (Wāng) or as «verses» (Mā). But Wāng adds the alternative in his commentary. Wāng adds the epithet xīān "clear".

Note that Allāh speaks about himself using a plural pronoun. For a discussion of this ubiquitous pluralis majestatis, see Chapter 5.
12.2 'innā 'anzalnā-hu qur'ānān 'arabiyyān la'alla-kum ta'qīlūn|a
我确已把它降示成阿拉伯文的《古蘭經》, 以便你們了解。

12.2 we did indeed send it down (as) an Arabic [or: Arab]|or: clear| qur'ān, haply you will understand.
12.2 I have indeed <already> sent it down as an Arabic Qur'ān, so that you (may) understand.
12.2 I have indeed <already> sent down this Arabic Qur'ān; hopefully you understand.

In Arabic the verb 'anzala 'send down' is used about God when he reveals scripture to his creatures. It is frequently translated as 'reveal', but this is etymologically speaking very shoddy work, because there is no «uncovering» component «'anzala 'send down'». Wáng translates with the natural jiàng 降 'send down'. Mā also resorts to the morpheme jiàng 降 'send down', but expands it to the word jiāngshì 降示 'show by sending down'. This is closer to «reveal», and could be an Islamic Chinese coinage (possibly ancient) influenced by qīshī 啟示 'inspire; enlighten'. The concepts of inspiration and revelation are also represented by the Arabic verbs 'alhama 'inspire' and 'awkhā 'convey mysteriously' (cf. nQ 12.3; more on «'anzala 'send down'» in nQ 97.1).

While the source text is ambivalent as to whether it is an Arab or Arabic Qur'ān (the traditional understanding is «Arabic»), the translators unanimously agree that it is Arabic and make this explicit by adding the morpheme wén 文 'text; language; culture' after the transcription of 'arabiyyān "Arab[ic]". They follow the commentators in this reading. Ma also puts the word gālā́jīng 古蘭經 "the Qur'ān scripture" in quotes to show that it is a book title. Wáng transliterates without adding jīng 經 'scripture'. The original meaning of the (now) Arabic word Qur'ān may have been something like «lectionary», derived from the common Semitic root q-r- with the basic meaning «call out», which later developed into «read». Qur'ān may have been a borrowing from Syriac.

*| 12.3

12.3 naḥnu naqṣṣu ʿalay-ka
12.3
12.3

50
12.3 We [?] will tell you the fairest narrative by conveying silently to you this Qur'ān, and before it you were indeed one of the heedless negligent.

The Arabic verb *'awḥā* basically means «convey meaning somehow mysteriously, mostly non-verbally to so. else». It occurs throughout the Qur'ān in connection with revelation. A detailed semantic analysis can be found in Izutsu 1964: 156-158.

Wáng's *wāngshì* 往事 "past history" might be a mistake for *wāngshì* 往事 'past event'.

Wáng captures the notion of an individual characterised by his group by rephrasing "you were indeed one of the heedless" as "you really belonged to the confused". Ma simply ignores this aspect.

* | 12.4

12.4 ḫī ḡāla yūsufu
li-‘abī-hi yā-‘abat-i ‘innī
ra‘aytu ‘aḥaḍa ‘aṣara kawkaban
wa-l-šamsa wa-l-qamarā
ra‘aytu-hum lī sājidīn|a

12.4 At that-time-when Yūsuf
[Joseph] said to his father[:]

12.4 昔時、
當時優素福對他父親說：
「我的父親啊！
我確已夢見十一顆星和太陽、
月亮，我夢見他們向我鞠躬。
」

12.4 At that time, Yūsuf said
to his father: "O my father! I

12.4 In former times, Yūsuf spoke to his father saying[:]

51
my father I did indeed see
eleven stars and the sun and
the moon, which I saw
prostrating to me

did indeed <already> see in my
dream eleven stars and the sun
and the moon, I saw them in my
dream bowing to me."

my father[!] I have 「in a
dream」 seen eleven stars, and
the sun (and) the moon; I saw
them doing obeisance [or:
worshipping] to me.

Arabic ra‘ayt-hum "I saw them" can also be used about what you see in a dream, compare the cognate noun
ru'yâ 'vision; dream' which occurs in the next verse. The translators make it explicit in this verse already that it is
a dream, thus resolving the ellipsis present in the original. Ma does so without drawing our attention to what he
does, Wáng uses corner brackets to make his interpretation explicit. Note that Wáng repeats mèngjiān 夢見 'see
in a dream' in the last colon.

Interestingly, sājdina "prostrating-themselves" is rendered with jūgōng 鞠躬 'bow (to s.o.)' and bái 拜 'pay
obeisance to' respectively. Why not the more literal and equally expressive kōutōu 叩頭 and kōushōu 叩首, both
'kowtow (to s.o.)', which occurs in the translations of Q 96.19?

*| 12.5

12.5 qāla yā-bunayya lā taqṣuṣ
ru'yā-ka 'alā 'ikwati-ka
fa-yakīdū la-ka kaydan 'inna
l-šayṭāna li-l-'insāni 'aduwwun
mubīn̄un

12.5 他說：
「我的孩子啊！
你不要把你的夢告訴你的
哥哥們、以免他們謀害你；
惡魔確是人類公開的仇敵。」

12.5 He said: "O my son! You
must not tell your dream to
your older brothers, lest they
plot to harm (?murder) you;
the  şeytān [Satan] is a
manifest enemy to man

12.5 He said: "O my son! You
must not tell your dream to
your older brothers, lest they
plot to harm (?murder) you;
the  şeytān [Satan] is a
manifest enemy to man

12.5 Ya‘qūb said[,] my little
son[!], don't tell your dream
to all your elder brothers; 「if
so」 they (will) plot against
you; [the] demon is really
[the] outstanding enemy of
mankind.
Wáng translates the diminutive *bunayya* "my little son" by qualifying *zi* ‘son’ by *xiao* 小 ‘little’. Ma ignores the diminutive form.

It is noteworthy that the translators do not have any problems with expressing a prohibition, as opposed to expressing a positive command expressed with an Arabic imperative. There are clear constructions in both Literary and Modern Chinese for expressing a prohibition, here *bùyào* 不 "must not" and *wù* 勿 ‘don’t’.

The Arabic construction with a verb and a cognate object, which is used to underline the event in question, is ignored by both translators.

Both Má and Wáng translate *ṣaytān* ‘Satan; devil’ as *èmò* 惡魔, whereas Wáng transliterates it in Q 81.25. See also notes on Q 81.25 and Q 114.4-5.

| 12.6 wa-ka-ḏālika yajtabī-ka | 12.6  
| rabbi-ka wa-yuʕallimu-ka min | 12.6 爾養主如此選擇爾、
| taʕi wili l-ʻaḥādiri wa-yutimu-mu | 他教你圓夢，
| nīr mata-hu ʻalay-ka wa-ʕalā | 他要完成對你和對葉爾孤
| ʻāli yaʕūba ka-mā ʻatamma-hā | 白的後裔的恩典，
| ʻalā ʻabāway-ka ma qablū | 猶如他以前曾完成對你的
| ʻibrāhīma wa-ʕišţaqaʻ innā | 祖先易卜拉欣和易司哈格
| rabba-ka ʻalīmūn ḥakīmusun | 的恩典一樣，
|  | 你的主確是全知的，
|  | 確是至睿的。

12.6 And thus your lord chooses [or: will choose] you and teaches [or: will teach] you the interpretation of sayings and fulfill his blessing [or: kindness, mercy] upon you and on the kin of Yaʕqu b [Jacob] as he has fulfilled it on your fathers of Yaʕqu b, as he previously completed (his) grace toward your ancestors ʻibrāḥīm and ʻišṭāq, your ruler is indeed

12.6 Your rearing ruler chooses you like this, and teaches you to interpret sayings [or: stories]; [he will] complete his grace towards you, and to Yaʕqūb's clan; (it is) just like the grace in olden times to your two ancestors, i.e. Ibrāhīm
before [>old] 'Ibra  him and 'Is  a q [Abraham and Isaac], your master is indeed knowing (and) wise

all-knowing, is indeed most farseeing.

and 'Is  a q; your rearing ruler is indeed profoundly knowing, and ^subtle^.

Ma interprets 'āl "kin" to mean "descendants", whereas Wang sticks to jūzā "clan"

Jīngnǐǎo 'subtle'? (HDC 9:218). Wáng's Modern Chinese translation has 明哲 'wise and virtuous person.

*| 12.7

12.7 laqad kāna fl yūsufa wa-'iḳwati-hi 'ayātun li-l-sā'īf|a

在優素福和他哥哥們（的 故事）裡， 對於詢問者確有許多謎象。

12.7 In Yūsuf and his brothers were [>are?] signs for those who ask

12.7 In (-the story of-) Yūsuf and his brothers, there are indeed many signs for those who inquire.

12.7 In 「the past event of」 Yūsuf and all his elder brothers is indeed a sign for those who inquire.

Note that the metonymical use of Yūsuf wa-‘iḳwati-hi " Yūsuf and his brothers" to mean «the story of Yūsuf and his brothers» is not transferred into Chinese. A marked explanatory phrase is added in both translations.

*| 12.8

12.8 'īḏ qālū la-yūsufu wa-‘aḵū-hu 'aḥabbu  līlā ʿabīnā

當時，他們說：「優素福和他弟弟，眾日猶思福與其胞弟在父
minnâ wa-nâhu ʿushbatun ʿinna
'abâ-nâ la-fî ḏalâlîn mubîjîn

在我們的父親看來，
是比我們還可愛的，
而我們是一個（強壯的）團體，
我們的父親確是在明顯的
迷誤之中。」

12.8 At-the-time-when they said[,] Yûsuf and his brother are dearer to our father than we (are) and [or; though] we are a band, our father is indeed in manifest error

12.8 At that time, they said:
"Yûsuf and his younger brother are more lovable than we, (as) our father sees (it), but we are a (-strong-) group, our father is indeed in obvious error."

12.8 At that time, (they) all said[,] Yûsuf and his younger _womb brother [→full brother] are [or: seem] (more) lovable before the face of (our) father compared to us strong ones; our father is indeed in error.

Both Ma and Wang make it explicit in the Chinese that ʿākû-ḥu "his brother" refers to a «younger brother» (i.e. Benjamin). Wang also adds the information that it is a full brother, not a half-brother.

Wang incorporates the concessive afterthought ("while we...") into the clause of comparison.

Ma adds kânlît "as our father sees (it)", and Wang adds "before the face of". A case of explicitation.

======================================================

*| 12.9

12.9 (u)qṭulû yûsufa 'awi trâḥû-hu 'arḍan yaḵlu la-kum wajhu 'abî-kum wa-takûnû mîn baʾdi-hi qawman šâlîhînja

12.9 （他們說：）「你們把優素福殺掉，
或把他拋棄在荒遠的地方，
你們父親的慈愛，
就會專歸於你們了，
而你們以後還可以成為正
直的人。」

12.9 kill [pl.] Yûsuf or throw [expel] him (to some) land,

12.9 (-They said:-) "Take Yûsuf and kill him, or abandon him (in) one [→some]

12.9 爾等其殺猶思福，
或棄之一地。
「若然」父面惟向於爾等，
爾等於彼以後、可為正民。

55
your father's face [may] then be free for you, and after it you may be upright people

him in a desolate and remote place, and so your father's caring-love may (come to) belong only to you, and afterwards you can become upright people."

It is significant that Mā rephrases "your father's face [may] then be free for you" as "and so your father's caring-love may (come to) belong only to you" (metaphor dissolved).

The word Mā uses for «caring love» is cīfā 慈愛 is closely related to cī 慈 'caring love', which is elsewhere used to translate different expressions for the rahma 'mercy' of God. See nQ 1.1. The word cīfā 慈愛 itself is in most cases used about God in Ma's translation, e.g. Ma 9.128 and 42.19.

sālh is the antonym of fāsid (or mufsid) [Sihāh]

Ma seems to add hūi "may".

Both translators add a modal verb of possibility in the last clause.

*| 12.10

-----

12.10 qāla qā'īlun min-hum lā taqtulū yūsufa wa-'alqū-hu fī ġayābalī l-jubbi yaltaqīt-hu ba'du l-sayyārati 'in kuntum fā'īl'ān

12.10 他們當中有一個發言人曾說：「你們不要殺死優素福，你們可以把他投入井裡。要是你們那樣做了，一些過路的旅客會把他拾去的。」

12.10 其中有一發言者曰爾等勿殺猶思福。可投之於黑井中，而任一般旅客拾去。爾等若是行旅者，則當從我之主張。」

12.10 a speaker among them said:[;] do not kill Yūsuf but throw him into the bottom of the well and some caravan will take him, if you are doing

12.10 Among them one speaker [or: spokesperson] said: "You must not kill Yūsuf, you can take him and throw him into the well. If you do (it) this way,

12.10 Among them was a speaker [who] said[:;] don't kill Yūsuf; you can throw him into a ^black well, and have a party of travellers pick him up; if you
[something] some passing travellers may do things [are active], 「then pick him up." (you) should follow my proposal」.

Note again that a prohibition does not pose a problem of translation. (Cf. 12.5 above)

Ma marks the direct speech with parentheses, while Wang only has the quoting-verb yue 'say' at the beginning.

Imperative rendered by kēyī and kē, both 'may'.

The word gayāba "(far) bottom" is not translated, though Wang’s hēi 'black' may be intended as a compensation.

The last clause of the Arabic, in kuntum fā'ilina "if you are doing [something]", is traditionally by elipsis interpreted to mean "if you are doing something to separate Yūsuf from his father" [Baydāwī]. Ma takes it in a totally different sense, and preposes it as a condition of someone picking up Yūsuf ("if you do like this..."), thus producing a neat narrative sequence. Ma comes closer to Baydāwis interpretation, but he fills in his own apodosis: "then you should follow my proposal".

*| 12.11

12.11 qālū yā-‘abā-nā mā la-ka lä ta’mān-nā ʿāḷā yūsufa wa-innā la-hu la-nāṣīhūn|a

12.11 他們說：「我們的父親啊！你對於優素福怎麼不信任我們呢？我們對於他確是懷好意的。

12.11 彼等曰我等之父乎、爾於懷思福何以不放心我等。我等確是與之親切者。

12.11 they said[.] o our father, what is (it) with you, (that) you do not entrust us with Yūsuf, while we are advisers [well-wishing] to him

12.11 They said: "O our father! Why do you not trust us with respect to Yūsuf? We do indeed harbour good intentions with respect to him."

12.11 They said[.] our father[!] why are you not at ease with us about Yūsuf[?]; we are indeed (intimately) friendly toward him.
| 12.12 |

12.12 'arsil-hu ma‘a-nā ġadan yarta‘ wa-yaf‘ab wa‘-innā la-hu la-hāfizūn|a  
12.12 明天，請你讓他們一同去娛樂樂遊戲，我們一定保護他。」
12.12 明日，爾其遣彼與我等同往、食鮮果、作遊囀、我等是必保衛之者。

12.12 Send him with us tomorrow to fill himself with [enjoyable fruit etc.] and play and we are indeed keepers <to> him
12.12 Tomorrow please let him go together with us to amuse [himself] and play, we [will] certainly protect him."
12.12 Tomorrow, you should send him with us, to eat fresh fruit, <do> play, we are certainly (people who) guard him.

Neither of the translators have taken notice of the variant reading nurta‘ī "that we should herd (cattle/sheep) " (Bayḍāwī).

Wang follows Bayḍāwī in specifying «fruit» as the source of enjoyment.

| 12.13 |

12.13 qāla ‘innī la-yahzunu-nī ‘an taqhabū bi-hi wa-‘aţāfu ‘an ya‘kula-hu l-ţl‘bu wa-‘antum ‘an-hu ġāfīlūn|a  
12.13 他說：「你們把他帶走，我實在放心不下，我生怕在你們疏忽的時候，狼把他吃了。」
12.13 耶穌孤伯曰爾等偕之同往、實殆我憂慮。我恐汝等之疏忽、而其被狼所啖。

12.13 he said[,] (as for) me it saddens me that you should go away with him and I fear that the wolf may eat him while you are negligent of him  
12.13 He said: "I really cannot feel at ease about your taking him with you, I fear that when you are negligent, the wolf [will] eat him."
12.13 Ya‘qu b said[,] that you [?]should go off together with him, really gives me worries; I fear your being negligent, and his being eaten [or: lured] by
Wáng makes it explicit who is speaking.

12.14  fa-qālū la-'in 'akala-hu
l-gī'bu wa-naḥnu 'uṣbatun 'innā
'iğan la-ḵāṣirūna

12.14  他們說：
「我們是一個（強壯的）團體，
狼卻吃了他，
那我們真是該死了。」

12.14  so they said[.] if the
wolf eats him though we are a
band, then we are indeed losers

12.14  They said: "We are a
(-strong-) group, however if
the wolf eats him, then we are
really deserving death
[>damned]."

12.14  they said[.] we are
strong (and brave), if he is
eaten [or: lured] by the wolf,
then we are indeed decrepit
people.

Wang replaces 'uṣba 'band' by its understood attribute «strong», xiōngzhùang "strong and brave".

頹喪 tuīsàng 'decrepit; negative' HDC 12: 317

Ma's rendering of kāṣirūn "losers" as gāši de "damned" (lit. "deserving death) is curious. The word is used in colloquial language approximately like 'damned' in English, and is not a very polite expression (cf. XD).
### 4.4 SŪRA 78

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic (transcription)</th>
<th>Ma Jian's Translation</th>
<th>Wang Jingzhai's Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

*| 78.1

| 78.1 thal'ama yatasā'alūna | 78.1 他們互相詢問, 詢問什麼? | 78.1 彼等相詢於何事。 |
| 78.1 of what do they question one another? | 78.1 They ask each other, (and) what do (they) ask each other about? | 78.1 What do they ask each other about? |

Note the rhetorical question with the answer given in the next verse by the speaker (subiectio, Lausberg 1973: 381).

Why does Mā use a topic-comment structure, repeating the verb xiānwèn 詢問 ('ask, inquire')?

*| 78.2

| 78.2 thal'naba'ī l-aẓīmī | 78.2 詢問那重大的消息 | 78.2 於彼等所對之[->] |
| 78.2 of the great tiding | 78.2 They ask about that great tiding, | 78.2 About the great tiding [->] |

*| 78.3

| 78.3 ailağī hum fi-hi | 78.3 | 78.3 |
78.3 about which they are disagreeing
78.3 <just> that tiding which they dispute.
78.3 which they are disputing against [?or: about], <and that is all>.

Mā keeps the verse order, but consequently has to use a coordinated clause in verse 3 instead of a (subordinated) relative clause, since relative clauses in Chinese precede what they qualify.

Muktalifun "disagreeing" — the Jalālayn commentary explains: the news which "the believers confirm and the unbelievers deny."

*| 78.4

78.4 kallā sa-ya`lamūn|a
78.4 絕不然！
78.4 否否、

他們將來就知道了。
彼等將即曉然。

78.4 no indeed, they shall know
78.4 Not at all <so>! They will learn it in the future.
78.4 They will _soon understand [or: be understanding][or: reach understanding].

The translators make the future time reference explicit by adding jūng(lái) 將(來) 'in the future'.

Xīdān:"be understanding" (HDC 5: 834)?

*| 78.5
78.5 ṭumma kallā sa-ya‘lamūn|a 78.5 絕不然，他們將來就知道了。
78.5 再曰否否、彼等將即曉然。

78.5 and again [or: then]:
no indeed, they shall know

78.5 Not at all <so>! They will learn it in the future.
78.5 Said again[.] they will soon understand [or: be understanding][or: reach understanding].

The particle ṭumma ('then; again'), which signals the intentional repetition (and, according to Zamaḵšarī, the intensification) of verse 4, goes unnoticed in Mā’s translation. Wānɡ, however, does not only translate it as zātyāye 再曰，but also makes a rhetorical note in his commentary saying that "it takes the meaning one level deeper" (取義更深一層).

The intentional repetition can be classified as a kind of geminatio (Lausberg 1973: 312-314).

=================================================================================

*| 78.6

78.6 a-lam naj‘ali l-‘arda
mihādā

78.6 我豈未以地為穀、難道我沒有使大地如搖籃.

78.6 have we not made the
earth as a bed

78.6 Have I not made the earth as a cradle,
78.6 Have I not made a blanket of the earth,

The rhetorical question (interrogatio) introduced by ‘a-lam 'Have... not' is taken notice of and rendered as such by Wānɡ and Mā, using nándào 難道 and qī 豈 respectively (both are rhetorical question markers).

Note that the putative non-occurrence of the act of creation is deliberately marked by the aspectually loaded mēyūa 沒有 'have not' and wèi 未 'not (yet)'. This is carried over into the next verse.

Mā: yāolān 搖籃 ('cradle'), Wānɡ: tān 毯 ('blanket') for Ar. mihād

=================================================================================
78.7 wa-l-jibāla 'awtādā 78.7 使山巖如木樞嗎？ 78.7 以山為釘乎。
78.7 and the mountains as pegs [or: poles {j: to fasten it with}?] 78.7 and <made> the mountain chains as pins [or: pillars]? 78.7 (and) pegs {comm: or pillars} of the mountains

Wáng (comm.) gives zhù 柱 'pillar' as an alternative reading.

78.8 wa-kalaqnā-kum 'azwājā 78.8 我曾把你們造成配偶。
78.8 and we have created you in pairs [or: as spouses] 78.8 I have <once> created you as spouses [or: pairs], 78.8 I have created you as two natures (&: sexes)

In Mā's translation, this verse begins a series of verses containing the experiential aspect marker cēng 曾. It is curious that this marker should be repeated again and again until verse 78.12, with the exception of 78.11. More on this subject in the discussion.

Wang specifies that we are dealing with "two kinds" of human beings; the word he uses for «kind» can also be used to refer to «sex», which is what he meant, judging by his commentary: "Every kind [lèi 類] is divided into female and male".
78.9 wa-jaʿalnā nawma-kum subātā
78.9 I have caused you to obtain rest from (your) sleep,
78.9 I have established your sleep as rest;

Ma paraphrases the verse in more concrete terms.

*| 78.10

78.10 wa-jaʿalnā l-layla libāsā
78.10 I have made a curtain of the night, as a garment;
78.10 我置夜為衣。
78.10 篷為衣幕。

Why has Mā made the «garment» (libās) into a «curtain» (wēمن帷幕)?

*| 78.11

78.11 wa-jaʿalnā l-nahāra maʿāsā
78.11 I provide (a way of) seeking livelihood, as the time of livelihood.
78.11 我置白晝為生業之時。
78.11 我以白晝供謀生。
Wáng adds zhīshí 之時 "the time of". This ensures that both the object of zhī 'establish', báizhōu 白晝 "daytime", and the object of the co-verb wèi 為, shēngyè zhīshí 生業之時 "the time of livelihood", are time-expressions. Maybe he did this to underline the connection between «daytime» and «livelihood», even though the connection is pretty obvious - man pursues his livelihood in daytime (at least most people do).

Mā is not content to present daytime as a source of livelihood created for man by Allāh: in his translation he makes it explicit that Allāh provides (gōng 供) livelihood for man through the creation of daytime. In his paraphrase Mā has thus made the link between God and man's livelihood appear more direct.

Note that the time adverb céng 曾 is conspicuously absent from this verse, contrasting with the preceding verses and following verse. The reason is probably Mā's rewording as described in the previous paragraph. (Note that rewording with the causative shǐ 使 'make' in 78.9 did not lead to the elimination of céng 曾 there.)

*| 78.12

| 78.12 wa-banaynā fawqa-kum | 78.12 | 78.12 | 78.12 wa-banaynā fawqa-kum | 78.12 | 78.12 | 78.12 wa-banaynā fawqa-kum |
| sab’ān šidāda | 我在你們上面建造了七層堅固之天, | 我於爾等上面建造堅固之七層天. |
| 78.12 and we have built over you seven strong ones | 78.12 I have built seven solid layers of heaven above you, | 78.12 Above you I have built the solid seven layers of heaven; |

Note the presence of verbal -le 了 (aspectual particle) in this verse. It seems to be used sparingly in Mā's translation, and its presence here could be due to the object being a heavily modified noun phrase.

Both translators add "heavens" (tiān 天) after "four strong ones", resolving the ellipsis in the original. Unsurprisingly, their additions turns out to be in perfect agreement with what the commentators have to say about the verse (Bayḍāwī, Jālālayn).
The classifier used for 天 'heaven' in both target texts is 蓬 'layer'. Is this significant? The co-occurrence of 蓬 'layer' and 天 'heaven' does not seem to be of Buddhist or Classical Chinese origin. They do not co-occur in any of the first 320 sūtras of the Taisho collection.

Chinese Buddhism knows a plethora of different heavens, and that is where the gods live (see, e.g. Fōguāng 1330-1332). If one leads a good life, one may be reincarnated as a god and live in one of the heavens. This is, however, only a prolonged stay in the world of illusion, since the true goal is enlightenment, leading to Nirvana, not to paradise.

*| 78.13

78.13 wa-ja‘alnā sirājan 78.13 I have created a bright
wahhājā lamp.

The list of acts of creation continues in the same manner until 78.16, but the stream of 蓬 adverbs in Mā's translation stops here.

Wahhāj 'blazing' conveys a notion of «heat» as well as «brightness». That is not the case with the target expressions chosen by the translators (guāngmīng 光明 and mínɡ 明 'bright'), which have religious and psychological connotations in the direction of «intellectually bright», «bright [as sth. good]». But it is not clear to me what other alternatives they would have.

Wáng gives the solution to the metaphor in his commentary: tāiyáng 太陽 'sun'.

*| 78.14

78.14 wa-‘anzalnā mina 78.14 我由醯雨之雲中降沛沛之水.
l-mu‘şirāti mā‘an ūtajājā 我從含水的雲裡.
78.14 and we have sent down water cascading from the (clouds) bristling (with water)
78.14 I have sent down torrential rain from water-holding clouds, copious
78.14 I have sent down copious water from amid rain-brewing clouds,

*al-muṣirāt* (pl.) are clouds that are heavy with water which is just about to pour down as rain. The commentators (e.g. Jal) and LA 4.577b-4.478a compare this with another usage of the singular of the same word, where it means "a girl just about to get her (first) menstruation". Whether the Quranic meaning of the expression is derived from by means of a metaphor, or plausibly otherwise derived from the general basic senses of the root (connected with «age» and «press»), is difficult to say. One possibility is that *al-muṣirāt* are winds pressing rain out of the clouds (Zamaḳšarī). Whatever the original imagery, it has been lost in the Chinese translations.

*| 78.15

| 78.15 li-nuṣrija bi-hi ḥabban wa-nabātā | 78.15 | 78.15 |
| 以便我借此而生出百谷和草木，而用之現出籽粒、[->] | 78.15 so that we bring forth thereby grain and plants | 78.15 so that, relying on it, I [can] produce all kinds of grain and vegetation, | 78.15 and with it I have brought forth grain, |

Both gāḥē 穀禾 and ziḥ 攔粒 in Wāng's translation seem to mean 'grain'. According to HDC ziḥ 攔粒 are "seeds of grain" or "cereals"(9: 198), whereas gāḥē 穀禾 has no entry in HDC. This is incomprehensible if we take nabāt to mean «plant» as is usually done.

*| 78.16

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67
78.16 wa-jannātīn 'al-fā'ā
78.16 以及茂密的園圃。
78.16 將禾、
與繁茂之園。

78.16 and gardens of dense
vegetation
78.16 and gardens dense(ly
covered with vegetation).

78.16 grain and lush gardens.

Note the sudden appearance of the conjunction yījī 以及 'and' in Mā, corresponding to Arabic wa 'and' (in contrast to the clausal instances of wa above).

| 78.17 |

78.17 'inna yawma l-faṣlī kānā
miqātā
78.17 判決之日，
確是指定的日期，
78.17 分明之日、
確是已定之期。

78.17 surely the day of
separation was an appointed
time
78.17 The day of judgement is
indeed a fixed date,
78.17 The day of demarcation
is indeed a time already fixed.

Kānā 'be', see discussion.

| 78.18 |

78.18 yawma yunfaṣū fī l-ṣūrī
fa-ṭa'tūna 'afwājā
78.18 在那日, 
號角將被吹嘯，
你們就成群而來：
78.18 當鳴角之日、
爾等紛紛而至、

68
78.18 the day the trumpet is blown, and you come in troops 78.18 on that day, the bugle horn will be blown, and you will form groups and come; 78.18 On the day when the horn is blown, you will arrive in succession,

Ma dissolves the relative clause and makes a coordinated clause: "on the day, when [...] [...]

Ma adds the future marker jiānɡ 將 where Arabic has a perfect verb. This is the first of three verses in Mā which all have jiānɡ 將.

Is the passage from 78.17 onwards relative to yawm...?

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*| 78.19

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78.19 wa-futiḥati l-samā‘u fa-kānat ‘abwābā 78.19 天將被開辟，有許多門戶；

78.19 and heaven has been opened and become (like) gates 78.19 heaven will opened, up as individual gates;

78.19 (and) heaven will open [=with] many gates;

The metaphor of heaven opening up like gates is implemented by Wáng, but not by Mā who prefers to see the gates as attributes of heaven or as independent entities (depending on the reading of yōu as «have» or «be there»).

Mā adds xīduó ‘many’.

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*| 78.20

----------

69
78.20 wa-suyyirati l-jībālu fa-kānāt sarābā

78.20 and the mountains have been moved, and become vapour

78.20 The mountain ranges will be moved and become imaginary images; All the mountains will move [or: be moved] and become shining images [or: shadows].

Ma again adds the future marker jiāng. Further, both translators take kānā to mean «become». Ma: biānchéng 变成 'change into'; Ma: chéng 成 'become'.

Note that even though this verse and the preceding are exactly parallel in the Arabic original, the parallelism is not carried over into Chinese.

*| 78.21

78.21 'inna jahannama kānāt miršādā

78.21 and surely jahannam [=hell; Gehenna] has become [or: is] a place of ambush

78.21 hell is indeed waiting, 78.21 Hell is indeed a place one has to pass through;

For perfect kānā in general statement, see discussion.

The translators employ the same term for «Hell»: huǒyù 火狱. The expected, general word for «Hell» would be dìyu 地狱, so it may be that this term was chosen for its clear reference to huǒ 火 ‘fire’. All the references in HDC under huǒyù 火狱 are of a modern date, and the meaning is given as "hell of raging fire" (lièhuǒ chīshèng de dìyu 烈火熾盛的地獄 HDC 1:1720). It does, however, occur in the sūtra 普曜經卷第七 (Taisho 186 p0525b10). The Fōguāng has no entry for the word. That they should choose an explicit reference to «fire» is natural: Hell, or jahannam (sometimes rendered in English as ‘Gehenna’ according to its Hebrew counterpart), is in the Qur’ān
generally described as a very hot place, hence its other common designation nār (‘fire’). This contrasts with Buddhism, where there are cold hells as well as hot hells, not only one very hot hellfire (Fōguāng 2311). See also 78.23.

Another old pre-Buddhist term for the underworld in Chinese is huángquān 黄泉 “The Yellow Springs”. [CH 1979: 4701]

In this verse, hell is described as a mírsād, “place of ambush”. Both translators change the perspective of this description somewhat. Mā portrays hell as “waiting” (sīhòu-zhe 俟候著), thereby personifying hell (a case of fictio personae, prosopopoeia? Lausberg 1971: 411-413). In Wáng it becomes “a place one has to pass through” (bì jīng zhì dì 必經之地), and there is no trace of metaphor.

*| 78.22

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>78.22</th>
<th>li-l-țāgīna ma‘ābā</th>
<th>78.22</th>
<th>it is the place of return of the rebellious;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>78.22</td>
<td>a place of return for the insolent [or: rebellious]</td>
<td>78.22</td>
<td>(it) is the place of return of all those who rebel [or: are insolent][or: turn their backs away].</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This phrase, which stands in apposition to Jāhannān ‘hell; Gehenna’ in the preceeding verse, has been converted into an independent clause in both Chinese versions.

*| 78.23

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>78.23</th>
<th>lābiṭīna fi-hā ‘ahqābā</th>
<th>78.23</th>
<th>they will stay in the place of their stay.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>78.23</td>
<td></td>
<td>78.23</td>
<td>彼等年久留居其間。</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
78.23 remaining there for ages they will stay in it for a long time. They linger therein for long years.

Niánjìu 年久 "years long" (Wáng) not in HDC.

In contrast to those unfortunate enough to end up in the Hell that is presented to us in the Qur'an, the denizens of the hells of Buddhism have an opportunity to escape the torments. In Buddhism the hells belong to one of the Six Paths (liù dào 六道; or liùqù 六趣, sometimes the number is given as five), or destinations in the cycle of reincarnation, among which which the Path of Men réndào人道 and the Path of the Heavens/Gods tiàndào 天道 also belong. Into which Path one is reborn, depends on one's actions in earlier lives (karma), so the Paths are instrumental in the process of retribution. Far from being a transition point in a cycle of rebirths, Hell in Islam is a place of literally eternal torment for its inmates.

*| 78.24

78.24 lā yağūqūna fī-hā bardan wa-lā șarābā

他們在其中不能睡眠,不得飲料,

彼於火獄中不得晝涼爽、與飲料。

78.24 tasting therein neither coolness nor drink

They cannot sleep in it, do not get (any) drink,

In hell they will not be allowed to taste coolness and drink;

Mā has chosen the reading «sleep» over the more common reading «coolness». Thus shuimián 睡眠 ('sleep'), which agrees with the Jalālayn commentary.

*| 78.25

78.25 ʾilā hamīman wa-ğassāqā

只飲沸水和膿汁。

78.25 惟有沸水、與熾煬.
78.25 save boiling water and pus 78.25 they only drink boiling water and pus. 78.25 there is only boiling water and pus;

Mā repeats yín 'to drink'

================================================================================

*| 78.26

78.26 jazā'an wifāqā 78.26 That is a very appropriate reward. 78.26 this is (precisely) a fitting reward.

78.26 as a suitable recompense

bāchāu HDC 2: 1159

================================================================================

*| 78.27

78.27 'inna-hum kānū là yarjūnā hisābā 78.27 They did not indeed hope for a reckoning 78.27 They certainly do not fear a clean reckoning [or: squaring accounts]; 78.27 Indeed they do not hope for a clean reckoning;

Mā translates là yarjūnā "they do not hope for" as bú pà 不怕 "do not fear". This follows the Jalālān commentary.

Jalālāyn: "do not fear"
Baydāwī: no gloss, but grammatical explanation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>78.28</th>
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78.28  wa-kadzabū bi-'āyi-tā-nā  78.28  78.28
kīgdābā                    他們曾否認我的跡象。  彼等以我之顯蹟為虛妄、為虛妄。

78.28  and they regarded our  78.28  They have denied my  78.28  they have taken my clear
signs as false          signs,                     [or: revealed] signs [or:
                                                   tracks] as baseless, as
                                                   baseless.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>78.29</th>
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</table>

78.29  wa-kulla šay'īn  78.29  78.29
'tahṣaynā-hu kitābā       我曾將萬事記錄在一本天經裡。  我曾記錄之。

78.29  and everything we have  78.29  I have recorded all  78.29  I have recorded all
computed in writing       matters in a <volume of>   kinds of things [or:
                                                   heavenly scripture.        businesses];

In this verse, Wáng’s translation exhibits a repetition of the phrase wēi xùwàng 為虛妄 “as baseless”. Presumably this is motivated by the presence of the absolute object (also called ‘cognate object’, ‘cognate accusative’; cf. Badawi et al. 2004: 145, Wright 1933: II, p. 53). Kīdžabān ‘lying’, which acts as an intensifier to the verb kadžaba ‘regard as false’ earlier in the verse. In any case it is probably not a printing mistake, for an analogous element is found in Wáng’s Modern Chinese translation.

In 78.28 and 78.29 Ma again feels the necessity to mark the clause as past explicitly. Wang does so only in verse 78.29. Is that because kadžaba ‘regard as false’ is a verb expressing an attitude, whereas 78.29 would be understood as a future intension without the temporal adverb cēng 曾?
78.30 fa-ḏūqū fa-lān nazīda-kum 'ilī 'aḏābā

78.30 （將對他們說：）「你們嘗試吧！我只增加你們所受的刑罰。」

78.30 taste! we will not add anything other than chastisement

78.30 -[I] shall say to them:-] "<You> taste this! I shall only increase the punishment which you undergo [or: suffer]."

78.30 you may taste it; I (will) not increase for you anything at all but punishment.

Mā does not trust his readership to identify who is saying what to whom on The Day of Judgement, so he adds an explanatory parenthesis at the beginning of the verse: jiāng dui tài mān shuō 將對他們說: "(he) will say to them". One suspects that part of the reason for this addition is the abrupt change of time.

Ma signals the imperative statement through the sentence-final particle bū. Wang again employs the modal particle qī.

| 78.31

78.31 'inna li-l-muttaqīna mafāzā

78.31 敬畏的人們必有一種收穫，必獲幸福。

78.31 surely for the godfearing there is a place of safety [or: achievement]

78.31 The reverent will certainly have <a kind of> gain, certainly obtain happiness;

mafāz has been understood either as «a place where one obtains what one wants» or «a place of escape» (and hence of «safety»), these two meanings being derived from the corresponding two senses of the verb fāza. Ma's
translation as sho'huwā is also supported by Lbān al-ʿArab (5.392a), which maintains that mafāz is an action noun rather than a noun of place in this passage. Wang goes straight for «happiness» (xīngfú 幸福), which is, presumably, what one wants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>78.32</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>78.32 hadā'īqa wa-ʿaʾnābā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78.32 gardens [and] grapes</td>
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</tbody>
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<tr>
<th>78.33</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>78.33 wa-kawāʿība ʿatrābā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78.33 and full-breasted (women) of equal age</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Even though kāʿīb (pl. kawāʿīb, 'full-breasted (woman)') is often linked to a noun like jāriyya ('maid; (slave) girl') or fatāt ('girl'), it does not automatically imply «young women» (LA 1.719a, Baydāwī). Both translators specify that the full-breasted creatures are shāonū 少女 "young girls" and chūnū 處女 "virgins" respectively. In this they coincide with the commentary of Jalālāyn, which specifies them as jawārī "girls" (pl. of jāriyya, see above).
78.34  wa-ka'san dihāqā  78.34 和滿杯的醴泉。  78.34 與滿酒之盞。

78.34 and a brimful cup  78.34 and full beakers of <springs of> sweet water [or possibly: wine].  78.34 and beakers filled with wine.

The Arabic version of the verse does not say what the cup is filled with, but both translators insist on telling us: for Ma it is filled with sweet water from a spring, and for Wang it is filled with wine. Another case of ellipsis resolved.

Má talks about "abusive language", whereas the original says "nonsense". Aggravation!

78.36  jazā'an min rabbi-ka  78.36 是乃出爾養主、  78.36 那是從你的主發出的報酬

78.36  ‘atā'an ḥisābā  78.36 猶謂與天地萬物、慈主之報酬、
78.36 as a recompense from your lord, and _ a gift, and a reckoning [or: a gift fully sufficient]

78.36 That is a reward from your ruler — an adequate bestowal.

78.36 this ^indeed comes from your rearing ruler, (it) is <like> a reward of the compassionate ruler who reared _the ten thousand [=all] beings and/of heaven and earth, [-]>

|--| 78.37

| 78.37 rabbi l-samāwātī wa-l-’ardī wa-mā baynahu-humā l-raḥmānī lā yamlıkūna min-hu kītābā
| 78.37 他是天地萬物的主, 是至仁的主, 他們不敢向他陳說。
| 78.37 充分之賜福也, 彼等不能對之諱諱。

| 78.37 lord of the heavens and the earth and what is between them is the Merciful [>al-Rahmān], of whom they have no speech
| 78.37 He is the ruler _of the ten thousand [=all] beings and/of heaven and earth, (he) is the most humane ruler, they will not dare to make statements to him.
| 78.37 it is a full bestowal [or: gift], they cannot speak against it.

The syntax of Wang’s translation of these two verses is not very clear. What is the function of the word yōu 猶? It seems plausible syntactically that tāyū tāndi wānwū 調育天地萬物 modifies cāzhū 慈主, which in turn modifies bāochū 報酬. Now yōu 猶 can be a copula-like verb meaning “be similar to”, “be like”. It often co-occurs with the sentence-final particle yē 也, so it would be natural to view the two phrases consisting of the phrase from tāyū 調育 to bāochū 報酬 and the phrase chōngfēn zhīlātcí 充分之賜福 as its complements. That would yield a structure like this (from the beginning of verse 36): [PRO-V-N, V- [ [[V-NP]-N] -N], N-N]-yē]. But one could alternatively take the last phrase plus the yē 也 as an independent explanatory clause added after the preceeding statement: [PRO-V-N, V- [ [[V-NP]-N] -N], [N-N] yē].

But what if yōu 猶 is an adverb ("also", or "still") ?? Could we get something like this: PRO-V-N, [ [[ADV-V-NP]-N] -N] [N-N] yē | ?

The Qur’anic locution rabbi l-samāwātī wa-l-’ardī wa-mā baynahumā (*master of the heavens and the earth and what is
between them") is rendered in Chinese as 天地萬物 ("the ten thousand [all] beings and of heaven and earth") by both translators. So the "between them" part is given a specific interpretation with the age-old Chinese expression 萬物 ("the ten thousand [all] beings").

al-Rahmān is clearly recognised by both translators as a divine proper name, as they make the reference to Allah explicit through the addition of the character 主 "ruler". (See Chapter 5 for a discussion of al-Rahmān.) Syntactically they probably had the option of using some such expression as 至仁至善 至仁的 "The most benevolent one".

Mā turns the figure of speech at the end (لا يلقي النحو كيف "they do not possess speech about him") into non-figurative language.

Mā adds to the verse the notion that only those who "are able" to tell the truth and whom Allah has "specially" permitted will "dare" to speak. This is another example of the process of disambiguation of ambiguous passages through translation.
For a discussion of the translation of *malāk* 'angel' (pl. *malāika*), see Chapter 5.

*| 78.39

78.39  ᵈᵃⁱˡⁱᵏᵃ ˡ-yᵃʷᵐᵘ ˡ-ʰᵃʔ.qq
fa-man šaʾa ttaḵaḏaʾ ʾilā
rabbi-hi maʿābā

78.39  that is the true day and
whoever wants, takes resort to
his lord

78.39  此是應有之日。
意欲之人、
則向其養主取一歸所。

78.39  This is the due day; (as
for the) the willing, they will
take refuge with their rearing
ruler.

*| 78.40

78.40  ʾɪn-nāʾ ʾaŋḍāmā-kum
 ʾaḏābān qarībān yawmu yanzuru
l-maʿrū mā qaddamat yadā-hu
wa-yaqūlū l-kāfīru yā-layta-nī
kuntu turābā

78.40  我的確警告你們一種臨近
的刑罰。在那日，
各人將要看見自己所已做
的工作，不信道的人們將要說：
「啊！但願我原是塵土。」

78.40  我確已警戒爾等以相近之罰責。
是日、
人可親見其雙手送於前者。
眾不信者且曰呼！
願我原屬塵埃也。
unbeliever will say, I wish I were dust, "Ah! (We) wish we were dust to begin with." (I) wish I were dust to begin with.

Note the absence of any perfective temporal or aspectual particle in Mā, although Arabic has perfect tense. This might mean that Mā interprets 'aḏjurnā "we have warned" as «I have warned and am still warning....» The last part of the verse, however, contains two instances of jiāngyào 將要, a standard marker of futurity.

Ma does not seem to trust his readers to understand the metaphor "what his hands have _brought forward [or: accomplished]", so the trope is dissolved and a prosaic "the work he has done" replaces it.

Wáng (comm.) "生前所業者"

Note that the Arabic kāfir "unbeliever" is singular, but still Mā has chosen to express plurality explicitly in his translation.
4.5 SŪRA 81

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic (transcription)</th>
<th>Ma Jian's Translation</th>
<th>Wang Jingzhai's Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

*| 81.1

81.1 ʿidā l-šamsu kuwwirat 81.1 81.1 當太陽摺疊時、
當太陽黯黯的時候,

81.1 when the sun is folded up 81.1 When the sun darkens [? or: dims], 81.1 When the sun is folded up,

The difference in the translation of the verb *kawwara* 'fold' is due to a pre-existing difference of interpretation. ʿidā l-šamsu kuwwirat is either taken literally in its sense of «when the sun is folded up», or interpreted as meaning by means of metonymy «when the light of the sun is folded up», i.e. «obscured from view» (Bayḍāwī).

*| 81.2

81.2 wa-ʾidā l-nujūmu nkadarat 81.2 81.2 當群星墜落時、
當星宿零落的時候

81.2 and when the stars tumble down 81.2 when the constellations of stars fall, 81.2 when all the stars fall,
Ma's interpretation involving the «scattering of constellations» is a different image than the one found in the source text.

| 81.3 wa-’īdā l-jibālu suyyrat | 81.3 | 81.3 當山行動時、
| 當山巖崩潰的時候 |

| 81.4 wa-’īdā l-īsāru ‘ūṭṭilat | 81.4 | 81.4 當懷孕十月之母駝被棄時、
| 當孕駝被拋棄的時候, |

Again Ma's apocalyptic image is different: the mountains "collapse" instead of "move".

It is very proper that the neglect of a pregnant she-camel should be one of the signs of doomsday in an Arabian religion, given the importance of the animal there. In fact, the she-camel (nāqū) is elsewhere in the Qur'an portrayed as worthy of special attention, chiefly in the story of the prophet Sāliḥ, where a she-camel appears as one of God's signs [e.g. Q 7.73-77; 54.23-32]. Wáng comments on this verse, but stresses the neglect of something one is attached to rather than the fact that it is a pregnant she-camel.
81.5 wa-‘iḍā l-wuhūṣu ḥuṣirat
81.5 當野獸被集時、
當野獸被集合的時候。

81.5 and when the savage beasts are gathered
81.5 when the wild animals are gathered,
81.5 when the wild beasts are gathered,

The exegete Bayḍāwī's explanation of this verse is that the seas are heated up or filled with explosions, and then united into one sea as a result. The Chinese translators translate sajjara 'heat up' as pèngpài 澎湃 'surge'. But one would expect many surges, and maybe not only mere surges. The reason for the surge is absent from both Chinese translations.

81.6 wa-‘iḍā l-bihāru sujjirat
81.6 當各海澎湃時、
當海洋澎湃的時候。

81.6 and when the seas are heated
81.6 when the oceans surge,
81.6 when every ocean surges,

81.7 wa-‘iḍā l-nufūsu zuwwijat
81.7 當性命聚合時、
當靈魂被配合的時候。

84
81.7 and when the souls are paired 81.7 when the souls are joined 81.7 when the *souls get together,

The interpretation of this verse has evidently caused problems for the exegetes, as Baydāwī lists numerous possibilities. The main question is, what are the souls paired with?

Lǐnghūn 靈魂 is the current Modern Chinese word for «soul». Note that Chinese religion has various different concepts for different souls.

Wang’s translation of nafs 'souls' as xīngmíng 性命 is very confusing. Xīngmíng 性命 can be a (Confucian?) philosophical term for «all that which a human being is endowed with at birth», and also more concretely «life». Moreover «(inner) nature» HDC 7:477. In some places in his 1946 translation, Wang has xīngmíng for «life», albeit frequently in a translation of tafa‘wāđa "cause to die" (with an expression for «Allāh» as subject). In other places, like here, it is a translation of nafs when it means «individual soul». Wang (1946) uses lǐnghūn 靈魂 to translate ṭū‘ ‘spirit’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>81.8</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>81.8 wa-‘īdā l-maw‘ūdatu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>su‘īlat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

81.8 and when the girl who was buried alive is asked 81.8 when the girl who was buried alive is asked: 81.8 when the girl who was buried alive is asked,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>81.9</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>81.9 bi-‘ayyi ḍanbin qutilat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>「她為什麼罪過而遭殺害呢？」</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

81.9 for what reason she was 81.9 "And what crime did she 81.9 for what crime she was
The presence of the verb wa‘adaٌ "to bury a daughter alive" in Arabic testifies to the existence of this practice among the Arabs of pre-Islamic Arabia. It was considered a shame when a daughter was born instead of a son. [Bowen: "Infanticide", in EQ 2: 511-512] Female infanticide is a known phenomenon in China as well. Islam forbids the practice of burying daughters alive.

Chinese zuì 罪 'crime' is not a specifically religious term. As for Ar. ān, it certainly has strong religious connotations, justifying the translation 'sin' (although the word is also used to mean «guilt», reinforcing the element of subjective sense of an objective error). According to Izutsu "The Qur‘ān applies this word most frequently to heinous sins committed against God", among them (1966: 242) takāfd 『crying lies to God’s signs», kufr 『disbelief, ingratitude» and istikbār 『arrogance». Chinese does not seem to have a specific term for «sin» qua religious offense, zuì 罪 being employed for «guilt», «sin» and «crime» alike.

We note that Mā as usual is more explicit than the source text, here in adding the corner brackets and question mark. But there is something peculiar about it: he seems to be turning it into direct speech, but the girl is still referred to in the third person!

81.10

81.10 wa‘idā l-suḥufu nuṣirat

81.10 and when the leaves [or: books] are laid open

81.10 When the books of merit and error are unfolded, stretched-open [unfolded].

The exegete Baydāwī informs us that what is meant are the suḥuf al-‘a’māl "leaves of works", which are folded up on death and opened up at the hour of the reckoning. He does not bother to explain what exactly they are, so presumably he expected this to be known to his readership.

So, even though it is strictly speaking an addition to the text, the expression gōngguò 功過 "merit and error" (or possibly plural) agrees with the standard interpretation. gōngguò 功過 "merit and error" is a well-established expression in Chinese culture, e.g. in Ancient China there was a gōngguòzhùhuàng 功過狀 recording the faults and
merits of military and civil officials [HDC 2: 769] Moreover it is found in religious literature. [Taishō]

Juànzòng 卷宗 file, dossier (HDC 2: 583).

*| 81.11

| 81.11 wa-ʾidā l-samāʿu kušītāt | 81.11 | 81.11 當穹蒼被剝時、
| 當天皮被揭去的時候, |

81.11 and when the sky is taken off 81.11 when the skin of the sky is taken off, 81.11 when the firmament is peeled [off].

Mā prefers to transfer the metaphor to the subject of the sentence by saying that the sky has a «skin», something only more indirectly present in the original (less blatant) metaphor, where it is rather the sky itself that through the mediation of the verb kašāta 'take off' is seen as a covering that is peeled off. The commentators do refer to «flaying», so Mā's introduction of «skin» is perhaps justified.

*| 81.12

| 81.12 wa-ʾidā l-jaḥīmu suʾirat | 81.12 | 81.12 當火獄烈燃時、
| 當火獄被燃著的時候, |

81.12 and when hell [jaḥīm] is fired up 81.12 when hell has been fired up, 81.12 when hell is burning fiercely.

Jaḥīm 'The Hot Place' is one of the names of Hell. We note again the prominence of fire in the Qur’ānic vision of Hell. Both translators translate this name of Hell the same way as its principal proper name, Jahannam (see notes on Q 78.21). [Gwynne: "Hell and Hellfire" in EQ 2: 414]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>81.13 wa-'īdā l-jannatu</th>
<th>81.13</th>
<th>81.13 當天園已近時。</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'uzlifat</td>
<td></td>
<td>當樂園被送近的時候。</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 81.13 and when the garden | 81.13 when the garden of | 81.13 when the heavenly garden |
| [paradise] is brought     | happiness is brought,   | has _come near [or: been     |
| near                      |                        | brought near]               |

*Lēyuán* 樂園 "garden of happiness" is the standard Christian translation of Gr. *paradiseos* 'paradise' as found in the New Testament (HDC 4: 1294) Abundant in Taisho. Also noted in *Jīn-xiàn-dài Hànyù xíncí cíyuán cídiăn*近現代漢語新詞詞源詞典 (2000) as a new word, based on English 'paradise'.

*Tiānyuán* 天園 "Heavenly Garden" has no entry in HDC.

Not that the translators do not use the old term *tiāntáng* 天堂 (HDC 2:1433; also found as a Muslim term in Tf 282.3) or the Christian term *tiānyuó* 天國 "The Heavenly Country", a translation of the Christian concept "The Kingdom of God" (HDC 2: 1434, only loci).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>81.14 ʿalimat nafsun mā</th>
<th>81.14</th>
<th>81.14</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʿaḥḍarāt</td>
<td>每個人都知道他所作過的善惡。</td>
<td>人皆知其已往所作者。</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 81.14 (then) the soul learns | 81.14 every man will know what | 81.14 only then will man know what he has done in the past |
| what it has presented      | evil and good he has done.     |                                 |

In the translations of this verse, a whole range of processes can be found. Generalisation (*rén* 人 'human' for *nafs* 本身 'soul')
'soul'), explicitation (Mā: specification of what the souls have brought) and resolution of trope ('āḥdara 'present' has become zuw 'do').

| 81.15  

81.15 fa-lā 'uqsimu 
bi-l-kunnasji 

so I swear <not> by the retrograde (planets [or: stars])

81.15 I swear by all the moving stars —— latent, 

81.15 I need not swear by the latent, 

| 81.16  

81.16 al-jawārī l-kunnasji 
81.16 running (to) the covert 

81.16 没落的行星。 

81.16 没落的行星。 

81.16 which are like unmanifested [> invisible] planets.

See discussion on oaths in Chapter 5.

The Jalālayn commentary tells us that the lā is "superfluous".

The commentary of the Jalālayn informs us that "the retrograde (planets [or: stars]) which run (to) the covert" are the five planets, namely Saturn, Juppiter, Mars, Venus and Mercury.

Mā adds zhòng 'all'.

Mā is not very precise in his characterisation of the movement of the planets. Wáng's yǐnwēi 隱微 'invisible' seems more apt as a translation of part of verse 16 than this verse, for here it is the backward movement of the planets that is described.
Mā's ตนเอง 'declining' seems to translate ḫunnas 'running (to) the covert', but it is strange that he should have chosen a word with strong connotations to «decay» and «perishing». Wāq's bīxiān 不顯 'indistinct' underlines the fact that the planets are not clearly visible, if at all.

=======================================================

*| 81.17

81.17 wa-laylī ʿīdh ʿasʿas|a 81.17 81.17
和逝去時的黑夜，誓以夜當其黠黯已釋時，

81.17 and (by) the night when it comes on [or: goes away] 81.17 and the night when it departs,
81.17 swear by the night when its darkness has already been released,

The Arabic word ʿasʿas is one of the famous ṣadād -- words with mutually opposite senses. It can either mean «come» or «depart». This is pointed out by the commentaries and either interpretation is possible. It might seem that each translator has chosen a different one, but it is not certain because Wāq's translation seems to be ambiguous also as to wether the «release of darkness» signifies the beginning or end of the night.

=======================================================

*| 81.18

81.18 wa-l-ṣubhī ʿīdā 81.18 81.18
tanaffas|a 81.18 照耀時的早晨，誓以明時當其發光時，

81.18 and (by) the morning when it breathes 81.18 and the morning when it shines, 81.18 swear by the clear morning when it shines,

We are told by the commentary of the Jalālayn that the meaning of the «breathing of the morning» is that it extends itself until it becomes day. LA 6.237b agrees and gives the synonym taballaja «to dawn».
<table>
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<tr>
<th>81.19</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>*</td>
<td>81.19</td>
<td>81.19</td>
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<tr>
<td>81.19 'inna-hu la-qawlu rasūlin karīm</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>81.19 這確是一個尊貴的使者的言辭,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81.19 it is indeed the speech of a generous [and/or: noble] messenger</td>
<td>81.19 these are indeed the words of an honoured envoy,</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>81.19 this</td>
<td>81.19 this</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>81.20</th>
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<td>*</td>
<td>81.20</td>
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</table>
| 81.20 gī quwwatin 'inda gī l-'arshī makīn|in | 81.20 他在寶座的主那裡, 實是在掌[口]雷]世主之閣下, [-|]
| 81.20 having power, by [=close to] the possessor of the throne, [and] steady [said of the messenger] | 81.20 he is where the owner of the throne is, (he) is one who has power, (he) is one who has [high] standing, |
| 81.20 is really the speech of a strong, powerful, loyal, honoured envoy [-|] |

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<th>81.21</th>
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<td>*</td>
<td>81.21</td>
<td>81.21</td>
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<tr>
<td>81.21 muṭā'in tumma 'amīn</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>81.21 是眾望所歸, 有力、有威者、於該處領命、忠誠責任之言也。</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81.21 is obeyed and-[moreover] trusty</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81.21 is one whom all hope turns to, and moreover one loyal in the keeping of his duty.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81.21 who is _at the imperial-residence of the ruler who controls the 'arṣ [Ar: throne], and who in that place takes (his) orders.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Wáng's use of the traditional term quèxià 闕下 'imperial residence' to express closeness to the divinity borders on cultural adaption. Note that Wáng transcribes 'urš 'throne' in the same verse; the hybridity is obvious.

Wáng's syntax is also rather hybrid. The phrases modifying guāshi 貴使 "honoured envoy" are much to heavy to be fluent Chinese.

Mā uses two four-character set-phrases (chéngyǔ 成語) here:

Zhèngwàng suǒ gōu 思望所歸, lit. "(whom) all hopes turn to", i.e. 'enjoy popular support'
Zhōng yǔ zhīshǒu 忠於職守, "loyal in the keeping of his duty"

It is not clear why he has chosen to use this kind of set-phrases in this verse in particular.

Zānqū 尊貴 'honourable' (Mā) see nQ 96.3.

==================================================================================================

"| 81.22

81.22  wa-mā šāḥibu-kum
bi-majnūnān

81.22  你們的朋友,
不是一個瘋人.
爾等之伴侶非是癲狂者.

81.22 and your companion is
not mad [or: possessed by Jinn]

81.22 Your friend is not a
madman,

81.22 Your companion is not an
insane (person),

The reason for the discrepancy between Wang's bānli 伴侶 'companion' and Ma's pèngyǒu 朋友 'friend', is that the Arabic šāḥib can be understood in either way. We are told by the commentators that the referent of šāḥibukum "your companion" is the prophet Muḥammad.

The statement made about him is probably directed at those around Muḥammad who might be inclined to believe that he was «mad», or rather «possessed by a jinn». The soothsayers (kāhīns) and poets (ṣuʿārā') actively sought out this experience and derived their inspiration from it. [See Izutsu 1964: 169-175] Possession by jinn was not, however, genereally seen as desirable, and the meaning of the word majnūn «possessed by jinn» later shifted to «mad». See also Chapter 5 and nQ 114.6. Possession is a familiar element in Chinese religion [# Paper ]

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92
81.23 wa-qad ra‘ā-hu bi-l-‘ufuqi l-mubīnji
81.23 伊確在清朗之天際見彼矣。他確已看見那個天使在明顯的天邊。
81.23 and he has seen him on the clear horizon
81.23 he has indeed seen that angel on the clear horizon,
81.23 he has indeed seen him on the clear horizon.

81.24 wa-mā huwa ʿalā l-ġaybi bi-ḏanīnīn
81.24 彼非是於目所不見之事懸吝者。他對幽玄不吝教的。
81.24 and he is not niggardly of the unseen
81.24 He is not one who is miserly of what the eye does not see.
81.24 he is not miserly of teaching concerning the mysterious

Wang here employs two different third-person pronouns, ʿīr伊 and bi彼. Both are originally demonstratives, and ʿīr伊 is colloquial and dialectal. Wang probably wants to differentiate clearly between the participants in the event. The Arabic, however, does not do so unequivocally, as the objective pronoun suffix -hu 'him' can be understood reflexively (e.g. Q 96.7).

Ma also joins the disambiguation rush by adding nògě tiānshì 那個天使 "that angel". This agrees with Jalālāyin and al-Bayḍāwī’s commentaries: It is the prophet who sees the angel Jibrīl (Gabriel). But how would we know, were it not for these explanations? Richard Bell in his comments on the sūra maintains that the messenger referred to above in verse 19 was Muḥammad, not the angel; and that later verses 20, 21 and 23 were added to force the reinterpretation of "the messenger" as «the angel». [Bell 1937, II: 638]

Instead of ǧānīn 'niggardly' there is also the reading zānīn 'opinionated'. Both translators have chosen 'niggardly', which according to al-Bayḍāwī is the reading of Nāfī, ʿĀṣim, Ḥamza and Ibn ʿĀmir. Both Bayḍāwī and Jalālāyin take zānīn 'opinionated' as the main reading.

It is interesting that Wang paraphrases al-ġayb 'the unseen' by mù suǒ bā jiùn zhīshì 目所不見之事 "the things the eye doesn't see", whereas Ma renders it by yóuxuàn 幽玄, meaning «mysterious and remote», but which also
has the more specific senses «illusory», «dark» and «the nether world» (HDC 4: 432). _Al-ğayb_ is actually a term in Islam, so it is perhaps slightly surprising that the translations stay at the level of general vocabulary.

| 81.25 wa-mā huwa bī-qawli šayṭānin rājīmān | 81.25  | 81.25  |
| 81.25 and it is not the speech of an accursed devil | 81.25 this are not the words of a banished demon, | 81.25 These are not the words of the banished Šayṭān, |

According to the commentators, the pronoun _huwa_ 'he' now suddenly refers to the Qurʾān, not to Mūḥammad as in the last verse. Interestingly, the Chinese translators were not happy with continuing to use the same pronoun as in the last verse, and both use a demonstrative pronoun for proximate objects.

Šayṭān has no clear equivalent in Chinese religion or mythology. In China there are all sorts of ghosts, spirits and demons, but no personification of _evil_ and temptation in the same way. For the enmity of Šayṭān, cf. nQ 12.5. See also Discussion.

So how do our translators cope with the problem? Wang transcribes _shǎiđān_, while Ma comes up with a feeble _ēmō_ 惡魔 'demon'.

_Rājīm_ 'stoned; banished; accursed' is a standard epithet of _al-Ŝayṭān_. The commentators' gloss is the passive participle _marjān_ with the same meaning, and both Ma and Wang employ the passive marker _běi_ in front of the verb. The translators choose «banished» as their interpretation.

| 81.26 fa-‘ayna tağhabūnja | 81.26 然則, | 81.26 爾等何往乎。 |
| 81.26 然則， | 81.26 爾等何往乎。 |
| 81.26 你們將往那裡去呢？ |
81.26 then where are you going 81.26 this being so, where will you go?

The verb *dahaba* 'go' seems to be a metaphor (analogous to «way»), "as you would say to one leaving the main road: 'Where are you going?'" (al-Bayḍāwī). The metaphor is kept in both translations, just as the «way» metaphor in Q 1.6 was kept.

Ma explicitly translates *fa- 'so' by rā́nīzē* 然則 'this being so'.

*| 81.27

81.27 'in huwa 'illā ḍikrun li-l-ʿālamīn|a 81.27 this is only an admonition for the whole world

道只是對於全世界的教誨——此乃教戒眾世界、

81.27 it is (nothing) but a reminder [?= admonition] to the worlds 81.27 this "indeed" admonishes all the worlds,

*| 81.28

81.28 li-man šā'a min-kum ḍan yastaqīmīn|a 81.28 for those of you who wish to go straight

對於你們中欲循規蹈矩者 的教誨,

81.28 to those of you who wish to go straight 81.28 an instruction for those among you who wish _to follow the compasses and tread (according to) the carpenter's-square [toe the line],

81.28 for those of you who wish to be upright and straight, and that is all.

95
81.29 wa-mā tašā‘ūna ‘ilā ‘an yaš‘a’r Allāhu l-‘ālamīn

81.29 你們不欲循規蹈矩，除非真主——全世界的主——意欲的時候。

81.29 but you will not wish
81.29 and you do not wish to
81.29 Unless you wait the time
(this) unless Allah, the master
of the worlds, wishes (it)
follow the compasses and tread
(according to) the carpenter’s
square [i.e. toe the line]
except when the true ruler ——
the ruler of the whole world ——
wishes.

Dīkr, literally «mention» or «remembrance», in the Qur‘ān often takes on the meaning of «admonition». See also Notes on Q 96.1 [Watt & Bell 1970: 27] This word is moreover central to Sufism, in the sense of «remembrance (of God)».

“All the world” vs. “all the worlds” see nQ 1.2.

The four-character set-phrase (chēngyǔ 成語) used by Ma, xínguīdào 循規蹈矩 "to follow the compasses and tread (according to) the carpenter’s square [i.e. toe the line]" very much denotes conformity relative to some norm, whereas it can be argued that the Arabic verb istaqqāma "to be or walk straight" is much more absolute, involving the notion of "moral uprightness and correctness. This is despite the fact that both expressions involve the notion of keeping a straight course without deviating.

Wang translates very directly: zhèngzhídé 正直者 "be upright and straight".

Note that Ma has two instances of repetition (= repetitio?), first of jiàoxùn 'admonition' and then of xínguīdào 循規蹈矩 "to follow the compasses and tread (according to) the carpenter's square [i.e. toe the line]". These are made in order to fill in the frequent ellipses of the source text. This ubiquitous feature is all the more surprising in Ma's translation as Chinese literature in general abounds in elliptic discourse.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic (transcription)</th>
<th>Ma Jian’s Translation</th>
<th>Wang Jingzhai’s Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>96.1 iqra’ bi-smi rabbi-ka</td>
<td>96.1 你應當奉你的創造主的名</td>
<td>96.1 爾其奉閤養主之名</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>llaḍī ƙalaqja</td>
<td>你義而宣譯。</td>
<td>誦讀之，彼其創造焉。</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96.1 recite in the name of thy lord who created</td>
<td>96.1 You ought to (respectfully) up-hold the name of your creator-ruler and recite,</td>
<td>96.1 you should respectfully receive your rearing ruler’s name and recite it {c: recite the Qur’ān}, he created it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Qur’ān exegete Baydāwī explains the first verse thus: “I.e., read the Koran, beginning with His name [...] or asking for help through it.” It is thus traditionally considered to be the first sūra that was revealed to Muḥammad.

Mā uses the modal verb yīngdāng 應當 (‘should’, ‘ought to’) with the main verb xuāndá 宣讀 ‘read out aloud’ to convey the imperative iqra’. As an imperative statement from God, iqra’ should be considered an order. But by using yīngdāng, Mā has changed the order into a piece of advice to do something on moral or other grounds. Wáng similarly employs the modal particle qí 其. This particle, however, does not imply a stern command; rather it is a suggestion to do something. The particle is generally used to express possibilities, not certainties. Thus this also seems somewhat soft for the Arabic imperative, especially in the case of Allah, who expects to be obeyed. See also discussion in Chapter 5.

Note that Mā has moulded the content of the Arabic relative clause into a nominal attributive, "creation ruler". This corresponds to the solution chosen by Liú Zhī in the 18th century (see Appendix).

Jí 其 [sic] commonly occurs as an addition to bǐ 彼 (GD).
Mā seems to use the particle cēng to make sure that the verse is understood as referring to a specific past action of Allah's, not a general statement about what Allah does. Mā frequently uses cēng in this way. See discussion in Chapter 5.

Note again the use of yōngdāng 應當 ('should', 'ought to') and qí 其 'may; should' to convey the meaning of the Arabic imperative. Cf. 96.1. See discussion in Chapter 5.
| 96.4 | al-lassa `allama bi-l-qalamî | 96.4 | 他教人用筆寫字。 | 96.4 | 是教以筆者。 |
| 96.4 who taught man (b: to write) with the pen | 96.4 He <once> taught man writing characters with a brush | 96.4 he is the one who taught [man] the pen [or: with the pen] |

*Cēng* 曾: cf. 96.2. and 96.5

The meaning of this verse is not clear: did God teach man with the pen (i.e. through writing) or does he teach them to write with the pen? Both translators opt for the latter (with Bayḑāwī), though Wāng finds it necessary to add an explanation in the commentary, as his translation reflects the ambiguity of the Arabic. Mā domesticates the expression perfectly, after removing the ambiguity altogether: man learns to xiēzi 写字 with a bǐ 筆 — "to write characters with a brush".

| 96.5 | al-lassa l-`insāna mā lam ya`lam | 96.5 | 他教人知道自己所不知 | 96.5 | 彼教人以其所未知者。 |
| 96.5 taught man that which he did not know | 96.5 He <once> let man to know that which he did not know. | 96.5 he taught man that which he did not know. |

*Cēng* 曾: cf. 96.2 and 96.4.

Note Mā’s repetition of zhīdào 知道 ‘know.'
*| 96.6

96.6 kallā 'inna l-'insāna
96.6 絕然，
la-yaṭğā
人確是悖逆的，
96.6 but no, man is indeed
insolent
96.6 Not so at all, man is
indeed rebellious,
96.6 certainly, when man sees
that he is already rich,

*| 96.7

96.7 'an ra'ā-hu stağnā
因為他自己是無求的。
96.7 because he sees him(self)
having become rich [or:
self-sufficient]
96.7 Because he himself is
without needs.
96.7 he will inevitably do
evil.

Note that Wâng reverses the sequence of the content of these two verses.

Yaṭğā: This is a verb which occurs frequently in the Qur’ān, and it denotes an action of «tuğvān» (the verbal noun of said verb), implying "an excess in kufr, man's being too puffed up with pride (istikbār) to accept the Truth, and an open hostility against the Apostle and the believers." (Bayḍāwī, translation and discussion Izutsu 1966: 145). Bění 悖逆, as Mā translates, would rather mean to "violate the right way" (XD 57).

Dīng bì wèi è 定必為潰 "he will inevitably do evil" (Wâng) is much too general.

Istağnā has traditionally been understood as meaning either "has become rich" or "has become self-sufficient (sc. of Allāh)"，and each of our two Chinese translators have chosen one of the interpretations; the two meanings are semantically related, as richness implies freedom from want. Wūqū 無求 "without requirements" as an expression has no entry in HDC.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>96.8</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><code>96.8 inna 'ilā rabbi-ka</code></td>
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<tr>
<td>l-rujā</td>
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<tr>
<td>96.8 the return is indeed to your master</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Ma adds `zhī 'only' and wānwā 'all things'. A case of explicitation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>96.9</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><code>96.9 'a-ra'ayta llaḏī yanhā</code></td>
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<tr>
<td>96.9 have you seen (him) who forbids</td>
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<tr>
<th>96.10</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><code>96.10 'abdān 'idā ṣallā</code></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>96.10 a servant when he performs-ṣalāt [sallā]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*| 96.11 |
96.11  'a-ra'ayta 'in kāna ālā l-hudā
96.11 你告訴我吧！如果他是遵循正道的。
96.11 你告訴我吧！如果他是遵循正道的。
96.11 你告訴我吧！如果他是遵循正道的。
96.11 爾曾見之乎、彼若依循指導、彼若依循指導、彼若依循指導、

96.11  have you seen if he is in guidance
96.11  So tell me! If he is one who keeps the right way
96.11  Have you seen him, if he follows the guidance

*| 96.12

96.12  'aw 'amara bi-l-taqwā
96.12  或是命人敬畏的：
96.12  或是命人敬畏的：
96.12  或是命人敬畏的：
96.12  或是命人敬畏的：
96.12  或是命人敬畏的：
96.12  或是命人敬畏的：
96.12  或是命人敬畏的：
96.12  或是命人敬畏的：

96.12  or bids godfearing
96.12  or if he _orders people to revere [or: makes people revere]
96.12  or orders ^reverence^ ,
96.12  or orders ^reverence^ ,
96.12  or orders ^reverence^ ,
96.12  or orders ^reverence^ ,

*| 96.13

96.13  'a-ra'ayta 'in kaḍḍaba wa-tawallā
96.13  你告訴我吧！如果他是否認真理
96.13  你告訴我吧！如果他是否認真理
96.13  你告訴我吧！如果他是否認真理
96.13  你告訴我吧！如果他是否認真理
96.13  你告訴我吧！如果他是否認真理
96.13  你告訴我吧！如果他是否認真理
96.13  你告訴我吧！如果他是否認真理

96.13  [or] have you seen if he denies and turns away
96.13  So tell me! If he denies the truth, (and) has abandoned the truth
96.13  Have you seen him/it, if he does not believe it, evades it, {comm.: what about that?}
96.13  Have you seen him/it, if he does not believe it, evades it, {comm.: what about that?}
96.13  Have you seen him/it, if he does not believe it, evades it, {comm.: what about that?}

*| 96.14

96.14  'a-lam ya'lam bi-'anna ilāha yarā
96.14  難道他還不知道真主是監察的嗎？
96.14  難道他還不知道真主是監察的嗎？
96.14  難道他還不知道真主是監察的嗎？
96.14  難道他還不知道真主是監察的嗎？
96.14  難道他還不知道真主是監察的嗎？
96.14  難道他還不知道真主是監察的嗎？
96.14  難道他還不知道真主是監察的嗎？

96.14  does he not know that Allah sees
96.14  Does he not know yet that the True ruler is one who supervises?
96.14  Does he not know yet that the True ruler is one who supervises?
96.14  Does he not know yet that the True ruler is one who supervises?
96.14  Does he not know yet that the True ruler is one who supervises?
96.14  Does he not know yet that the True ruler is one who supervises?
96.14  Does he not know yet that the True ruler is one who supervises?
96.14  Does he not know yet that the True ruler is one who supervises?
Taqwā ‘fear of God, piety’ and its translations: see discussion in Chapter 5.

For comments on ‘abd “slave”, see Chapter 5.

Mā’s translation of yarā (“sees”) as jiānchá ("supervises") makes Allah into someone rather more bureaucratic than he would seem to be.

Neuwirth, Mekkanische

Verses 9-13 are far from straightforward in Arabic. According to Baydāwî’s (d. 691/1292) analysis, the two last instances of ‘a-ra’ayta “have you seen?” are simply repetitions of the first, which he later glosses as ‘ākbirni “tell me”. Baydāwî then tells us that the conditional clause starting with ‘in ‘if’ is the second object of ra’ayta, and that the apodosis has been elided after the protasis in verses 11 and 12. The apodosis is supposedly indicated by the apodosis of the next conditional construction (verses 13-14). This apodosis is in turn a rhetorical question.

To sum up, following Baydāwî we can paraphrase the whole passage as follows: “Tell me about him who forbids one of God’s servants his prayer, if the one who forbids is in guidance (in what he forbids) or bidding fear of God (in what he bids of idol-worship) as he [himself] believes, or if he is in denial of truth and in aversion from the straight, as you say.”

It is difficult to find the exact syntactical relations between the three instances of na‘ā and the conditional clauses, which themselves are not entirely convincing as such, on account of their lacking and untypical apodoses respectively. The commentators (Baydāwî, Zamaḵšārî (d. 538/1143), al-Jalālayn) solve the issue by seeing the conditional clauses as a continuous sequence introduced and interrupted by parenthetical ‘a-ra’ayta. This is reflected, e.g., in Arberry’s and Sale’s translations (Arberry 1964: 651; Sale p. 585). According to the Jalālān commentary, this ‘a-ra’ayta indicates «wonder» (ta’ajub) in all three instances.

The fact that the passage is obscure is especially evident in Zamaḵšārî’s commentary, where problematic grammatical points that could potentially be raised by a reader are explained and thereby presumably disposed of. Among the questions that Zamaḵšārî anticipates we find the following: “What is semantically connected with ‘a-ra’ayta?”, “Where is the apodosis of the protasis?”, “What is the second ‘a-ra’ayta and its insertion in between the object of ‘a-ra’ayta?”.

In face of such a paragraph, it is tempting to reread the whole passage with an eye for unorthodox solutions. One way of doing this is to adopt the reading ‘an ‘that’ (conjunction) for ‘in ‘if’, possibly with further juggling with the semantics and etymology of the interrogatory particle ‘a. This approach has been suggested by Luxenberg (2000: 285-288).

It is against this chaotic background that we must read the Chinese translations. Mā consistently renders ‘a-
ra'ayta as nǐ gào su wǒ ba 你告訴我吧! "So tell me!", clearly in line with Bayḍāwī's gloss 'a'qibint "Tell me". Mā constructs a conditional clause with two protases, and the apodosis in verse 14 as a rhetorical question, and the interjected 'a-ra'ayta element, just as explained by Bayḍāwī.

Wáng consistently uses the verb jiàn 見 'to see' where arabic has ra'ā 'to see', clearly in the sense of «seeing» or «witnessing». Verses 9 and 10 do not contain any explicit interrogative element, so they may have been intended as a statement introducing the next two clauses, each of which starts with ēr cēng jiàn zhī hū 爾曾見之乎 "Have you seen him [or: it]?

Note that Mā reshuffles the content of verses 9 and 10.
This passage underlines the oral and polemic character of the Qur'ān.

====================================================================

*| 96.15

6.15 kallā la‘in lam yantahi 96.15 絕然不，
la-nasfa‘ā bi-l-nāṣiyātī
如果他不停止，
我一定要抓住他的額髪——

96.15 but no, surely, if he does not stop we shall punish 96.15 Not so at all, if he does not stop, I will surely seize his forelock
{b: the man with} the forelock
forelock by force,

====================================================================

*| 96.16

6.16 nāṣiyatin kādibatin 96.16 說謊者，
kātī‘aţīn
犯罪者的額髪。

6.16 the lying, sinful forelock
6.16 the forelock of the lying, offending (one).
6.16 the forelock of him who is baseless and evil-doing

Arabic here employs a rhetorical figure that would seem to be a synecdoche, where a part (the «forelock»)
stands in place of the whole (the «owner of the forelock»). The synecdoche is dissolved by the translators.

*| 96.17

96.17 fa-l-yad’u nādiya-hJu  96.17  96.17 令彼喚其會場
讓他去召集他的會眾吧！  「之人、」

96.17 let him call on his  96.17 Let him call upon the  96.17 let him call {comm: the
^council^  members of his society!  people of} his meeting-place

*| 96.18

96.18 sa-nad’u l-zabāniya|ta  96.18  96.18 我將召集強悍的天神。
我將喚翟巴尼業。
「驅彼於火獄中。」

96.18 we shall call on the  96.18 I shall call upon the  96.18 I will then call the
zabāniya  brutal/intrepid angel-s.  zabāniya {comm.: to take him
to Hell}

Al-zabāniya occurs only once in the whole Qur’an, and is traditionally taken to refer to the guardians of Hell. Al-
alālāyin identifies the zabāniya as "the tough and severe angels who will destroy him". Wáng not only transcribes
the word and inserts an explanatory gloss in his commentary, but adds an explanation in the translation itself,
namely "to take him to Hell", which is exactly what we are told by Bayḍāwī and the Jalālān. Mā resorts to the
short explanatory translation qiánghàn de tiānshén 強悍的天神,"intrepid [or: brutal] angels". Thus the specificity of
the Arabic is lost in Mā’s translation.

*| 96.19

|
96.19 kallā là tuṯī-hu wa-sjud wa-qtarib
96.19 絕不然。
不要順從他，
你應當為真主而叩頭。
你應當親近真主。
96.19 否否、
爾勿從彼。爾其叩首，
並接近之。

96.19 no indeed, do not obey him and prostrate yourself and draw near
96.19 Not so at all, do not yield to him, you ought to bow to the True ruler, you ought to come close to the True ruler
96.19 No, no, do not obey him; you should kow-tow; and be close to him. {comm: close to the True ruler}

The verb *sajda* (‘prostrate oneself’) is interestingly rendered by the traditional Chinese term *kǒushōu* 叩首 and *kǒutōu* 叩頭, both lit. ‘to knock one’s head (on the ground)’. These two words are treated as synonyms by HDC (3: 73; 3: 74).

The *sajda* ‘prostration’ is an important part of the Islamic ritual of prayer (*salāt*), and the mosque, *masjid*, is the «place of prostration» (both words are derived from the same root, *ṣ-j-d*.) For a full discussion see Chapter 5.
4.7 SŪRA 97

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic (transcription)</th>
<th>Ma Jian's Translation</th>
<th>Wang Jingzhai's Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

*| 97.1

| 97.1 'innā 'anzalnā-hu fi laylati l-qadrjī | 97.1 我在那高貴的夜間確已降示它 | 97.1 我確於蓋德[口雷]夜降之矣。
| 97.1 we sent it down in the night of power | 91.1 I did indeed send down and revealed it in that noble night, | 97.1 I did indeed send it down in the night of qadr. |

For comments on tense and aspect in this verse, see discussion in Chapter 5.

Gaogui de ye 高貴的夜 "noble night" is a one-sided translation of laylat al-qadr (Arberry 1964, p. 652: "Night of Power"). Qadr here means «power» or «divine decree» (LA). Laylat al-qadr is the night in which the Qur'an was taken down from the Hidden Tablet to the Lower Heaven (al-samā' al-dunya), and from there the angel Jibrīl (Gabriel) revealed it unto the Prophet in the course of 23 years. The Jalālayn commentary, however, supports Mā's rendering; it explains: ayī l-ṣarīf al-‘azīm "i.e. the noble and great".

Less specific and fails to convey the ref. to the divineness on the one hand, and on the other the message/decree associated with.

Wáng's transcription of qadr may show that the specificity of the Arabic concept was hard to convey.

*| 97.2
97.2 wa-mā 'adrā-ka mā laylatu l-qadrjī
97.2
97.2
97.2

怎能知道那高貴的夜間
是什么?
夜維何。

97.2 and what
has-made-you-know what the
night of power is
91.2 How can you know what
that noble night is?
97.2 How do you know what the
night of qadr is?

Ma‘adrāka mā laylatu l-qadr is a causative construction along the lines of "What has let you know [i.e. «tells you»] what the Night of Power is?". Both the Chinese versions, however, rearrange the verse: "How do you know what that Noble Night is?" (Mā; Wāng similarly).

A discussion of rhetorical questions and similar phenomena can be found in Chapter 5.

*| 97.3

97.3 laylatu l-qadrī ğayrun
min 'alfī šahrījīn
97.3 那高貴的夜間，
勝過一千個月，
蓋得[口雷]一夜優於千月。

97.3 the night of power is
better than a thousand months
97.3 That noble night
surpasses a thousand months,
97.3 The one night of qadr
is more excellent than a
thousand months.

Note the hyperbole, which is also retained in the translation.
97.4 tanazzalu l-malā'īkatu
wa-l-rūhu fi-hā bīğnī
rabi′-him min kulī 'amrīn

97.4 天使和精神，
奉他們的主的命令，
為一切事務而在那夜間降臨，
因種種事件、於此夜內下臨。

97.4 the angels and the spirit
descended in it with permission
of their lord ḍīn^ every matter
[or: order]

97.4 All the angels and the
spirit on their ruler's orders
for all matters and descended
in that night

97.4 All the angels, and the
rūḥ, received the orders of
their rearing ruler, on many
cinds of matters, [and] came
down in this night.

For a discussion of the translation of malā'ika "angels" and rūḥ 'spirit', see Chapter 5.

Mā's translation of this verse is somewhat confusing. Should we take the phrase wēi yīqiè shīwū 為一切事務
with the preceding verb fēng 奉 'receive [or: respond] respectfully', or should it be taken as an adverbal modifier
to the following phrase after the conjunction ḍīr 而, as the punctuation suggests?

The translators' rendering of ḍīn 'permission as mīng(ling) 命(令) 'order' may be motivated by the Jalālayn
commentary's gloss to the same effect.

==========================================================================

* | 97.5

97.5 salāmun hiya ḍattā
maṭla′i l-fajrī

97.5 其乃平安者、
那夜間全是平安的，
直到黎明顯著的時侯。

97.5 ṭe peace^ it [=the night]
is until the rise of dawn

97.5 那整夜是
peaceful until the time when
dawn appears.

97.5 其乃平安者、
其乃平安者，
直至破曉。

97.5 其乃平安者，
其乃平安者，
直至破曉。
Both translators’ choice of píng’ān 平安 ‘peace’ to translate salām ‘peace’ is reasonable, but judging from the Qur’an commentators, salām ‘peace’ is not used in opposition to «noise», «activity» or «war», but rather in opposition to «evil» (ṣarr) and «disaster» (balā‘), positively glossing salām as ḥayr ‘good(ness)’ and salāma ‘safety, well-being’. Mā chooses to be verbose, whereas Ŏang concisely and aptly renders maţla‘ al-fajr ‘the rise of dawn’ as pòxiào 破曉 ‘daybreak’.

The grammatical reification of “peace” and “safety” of the Arabic is converted into ordinary adjectival predication in the modern Chinese, and thus the metaphor is dissolved: we now have a «peaceful night» instead of a «night» which is «peace».
### 4.8 SŪRA 112

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic (transcription)</th>
<th>Ma Jian's Translation</th>
<th>Wang Jingzhai's Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

*| 112.1

| 112.1 quil huwa llāhu ʿaḥad|n | 112.1 你說：| 112.1 他是真主，是獨一的主；| 112.1 爾曰—彼安拉乎是一。|
|---------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|

| 112.1 Say: He is Allah, one | 112.1 Say: He is the True ruler, (he) is the only ruler. | 112.1 Say — He, Allah, is one. |

Mā Jiān breaks the verse up in two phrases by first saying "he is Allah" and then "[he] the only lord", taking Allāh as the predicate of huwa 'he' and then 'aḥad 'one' as a second predicate. Wáng, however, seems to take huwa together with allāhu to mean "He, Allah" [or: "That Allah"?] , and then using ša 作为 a copula to connect this subject with yi — 'one'. The syntactical structure of this verse has been of some concern to the exegetes. Baydāwī mentions several solutions to the syntactic equation.

Mā adds ša 主, as if the Arabic contained the word rabb 'master'.

*| 112.2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>112.2 allāhu l-ṣamad</th>
<th>jur</th>
<th>112.2</th>
<th>112.2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

| 112.2 Allah the ^Everlasting Refuge | 112.2 The True ruler is what all living beings rely on; | 112.2 Allah is the besought (one). |

---

111
al-Šamad has been understood in various ways. Bāydawī says that it means that Allah is "the lord sought out in need (ḥawā'i)", and the only one worthy of this epithet, for everything is dependent on him, and he is dependent on nothing. Ṭabarī provides us with additional glosses: al-ḥāʾim (‘the lasting’), ʾallaqī li jawfa lahu (‘the one without stomach’, i.e. wo. hunger), "the lord whose dominion never ends" and "the one from whom nothing comes out (yukruj)"

Now Mā makes a whole sentence of the two Arabic words, spelling it out as "the true ruler is the one on whom the ten thousand beings rely." This is already a definite interpretation of the Arabic, thus narrowing the open semantics of the verse, since he chooses «support» above «durability».

Wāng also chooses basically the same interpretation, but his translation is closer to the Arabic. Interestingly he uses a passive construction to bring out the meaning of al-šamad, thus echoing some of the exegetes’ glosses (al-maṣmūḏ ilayhi, passive form) but not the form of šamad itself, which is just a noun.

*| 112.3

112.3 lam yalid wa-lam yūlād 112.3 他沒有生産. 也沒有被生産; 未被産。

112.3 He has not begotten, nor has he been begotten.

112.3 He has not "begotten"; he has not been "begotten".

The agent of the Arabic verb wałada can be either male or female (cf. wālīd ‘father’ and wālīda ‘mother’), which is also true of Chinese shēngchān 生产 and chān 産, both having the generalised sense «produce, bring forth» as well. The Arabic verb specifically refers to "having children", which means that we in English have to choose between 'beget' and 'bear'/'give birth to'. So in this case the English glosses obscure the understanding of the Arabic and Chinese texts.

*| 112.4

112.4 wa-lam yakun la-hu 112.4 112.4
kufuwan 'ahad|un

112.4 No one has ever been like unto him.

112.4 There is nothing that can act as his equal.

112.4 There is no one that is equal to him.

Mā has provided a specific interpretation and consequent rewording, especially by introducing the modal verb կարե կա 'can'.
4.9 SŪRA 114

The last two Sūras of the Qurʾān, namely No. 113 and No. 114, are of a special character. They are not narrative, legislative, or prophetic, but rather calls for Allāh’s protection, cast in the language of magical formulas. These are aptly called al-Muʿawwāgitān “The Two Invocators of Protection”. As there is little that is specifically Islamic in nature, these two sūras may well be older than Islam itself. [See e.g. GdQ I: 108-11.]

Looking at Wang’s translation, the first thing that strikes me is that he has made one long complex sentence of the sūra, twisting the syntactic properties of Chinese to make it possible. The end of the sūra can be analysed syntactically in different ways. One is to take everything verse 4 and 5 together as modifying zhēnì 鎮呢 ‘Jinn’. Another is to take zhēnì 鎮呢 and rénlì 人類 in verse 6 together, taking yù 與 as «and» (this is the solution reflected in the literal translation).

With respect to rhetorical devices, the Arabic text exhibits a nearly perfect epiphorical structure (except verse 4: but this rhymes with the rest of the sūra).

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<table>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*| 114.1

114.1 qul ‘aʿūgu bi-rabbi l-nāṣī | 114.1 你說: 我求庇于世人的主宰， | 114.1 爾曰--
| I take refuge in the master of men | I seek protection with the sovereign of the people of the world, | I say [!] you say [!] -- I [seek protection] with the one who rears mankind,

Zhōuzì 主宰 ‘master’ refers to someone in control, deciding what is going to happen. It moreover has religious overtones, as it can be used to refer to the power of Heaven (or God) above. [HDC 1: 701]

Tīdoyīng 調養 "nurturing" see discussion in Chapter 5.
Shīrēn 世人 "The People of the World" can refer to «ordinary people», and «people (as opposed to ordained monks or priests)». [HDC 1:494]

Neither of the phrases qūbī "seek protection" or qūhū "seek protection" are part of Buddhist phraseology. Compare the Buddhist profession of faith, the sān zīguī "Threefold Refuge" (Skt. triśaraṇa "Triple Refuge"), where Skt. "... śaraṇam gacchāmi" ("I take refuge in... [Buddha, the dharma and the saṅgha]") is rendered as guīning 归命 "(I) entrust (my) life [or: turn towards the orders [of Buddha]]". [Zürcher 1959 I: 164, II: 373]  Qūbī 求庇 "Seek Refuge" has no entry in XD.

*| 114.2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>114.2 maliki l-nāṣjī</th>
<th>114.2 世人的君王，</th>
<th>114.2 掌理人類者、</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

114.2 the king of men 114.2 the monarch of the people of the world, 114.2 the one who supervises mankind,

Jūnwāng 君王 'sovereign': a designation for the Son of Heaven (the emperor) or the feudal lords in ancient China. [HDC 3: 246; Jūnwāng 君王 'sovereign' does not occur in XD.

*| 114.3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>114.3 ʾilāhi l-nāṣjī</th>
<th>114.3 世人的神明，</th>
<th>114.3 人類所拜者、</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

114.3 the god of men 114.3 the god [or: gods] of the people of the world, 114.3 the one whom mankind does-obeisance to,
Shénmíng 神明 'god; spirit' is a generic term for gods and spirits of all kinds, and it is thus somewhat surprising to find this term in reference to Allāh, considering the strict monotheism of Islam and the polytheistic associations attached to shénmíng 神明 'god; spirit' [HDC 7:866; XD 1123].

Wáng's translation of īlāh 'god' as rénlèi suō bàì zhé 人類所拜者 "the one mankind worships" may be an indication of the fact that he does not find any lexicalised equivalent to īlāh 'god', and so chooses to paraphrase. In the commentary he adds zhēnzhù 真主 'True Ruler' as a gloss, so that there should be no doubt about who is referred to.

*| 114.4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>114.4 min šarri l-waswāsi</th>
<th>114.4</th>
<th>114.4 於暗唆、</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l-ḵannāši</td>
<td></td>
<td>免遭潛伏的教唆者的毒害, 隱伏者、</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 114.4 from the evil of the | 114.4 to avoid to run into the poison of the low-lying instigating one, | 114.4 from the one who is darkly-instigating and low-lying [>creeping], |
| whispering, the slinking |                               |                               |

The verbal noun waswās is derived from the verb waswasa, which denotes the "speech of the soul" [al-Šīhāḥ], but also specifically refers to «enticing», here Satan's attempts at seducing man to do evil. Bāyḍāwī says that the muwaswās 'whisperer' is the one meant, i.e. Šayṭān. This is an instance of antonomasia. See the section on terminology in Chapter 5 for a discussion of terms for Šayṭān.

Wang does not mention Satan anywhere in his commentary on this sūra. He seems to take the instigating agency to be the Jinn, see nQ 114.6 below.

*| 114.5

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</table>

116
114.5 allaḍī yuwaswisu ǧī
ṣu’dūrī l- nāṣi

114.5 who whispers in the breasts of men
114.5 he instigates in the minds [or: breasts] of the people of the world,
114.5 i.e. [the Jinn and mankind ->] (who) instigate in the breast of mankind

Xionghzhong 胸中 'in the mind', lit. "in the chest" (HDC 6: 1251)

*| 114.6

114.6 mina l-jinnati wa-l-nāṣi
114.6 他是属于精靈和人類的。
114.6 鎮呢、與人類之困厄上求謙。

114.6 of jinn and men
114.6 he is one who belongs to the demons [or: spirits] and mankind.
114.6 on [i.e. from] the troubles of [<the instigating]
Jinn and mankind [<-l] seek protection.

The jiinn 'genies' are intelligent, invisible supernatural beings "made of fire"; they can move about swiftly without having to follow a definite path in space and can possess people (esp. kāhīns, soothsayers). Cf. nQ 81.22 and discussion in Chapter 5.

Mā translates jiinn as jīnglǐng 精靈 'ghosts and demons' (HDC 9: 230; other meanings: soul, essence, immortal, clever). Wáng transcribes.

The question of what exactly the phrase mina l-jinnati wa-l-nāṣi "of Jinns and people" refers (back) to has exercised the minds of the exegetes. Bayḍāwī mentions several possibilities,
5 DISCUSSION

Having compared the source and target texts verse by verse, we are now ready to proceed to a discussion of that close reading in the light of the hypotheses and background information presented in the first three chapters. Observations which could not easily be placed directly under a verse or a verse group will be presented in this chapter along with the discussion. The discussion is subdivided into topical sections. The sections progress loosely from narrower linguistic questions toward broader rhetorical and cultural considerations. In order not to make the lists of examples from the Qur'an selections too long, I have frequently just given the sūra and verse number without providing a detailed quote.

5.1 TENSE AND ASPECT

How do the translators deal with the tense/aspect system of Arabic verbs? The question is intriguing because of the stark contrast between Chinese and Arabic in this domain, and also because much attention has been paid to the topic of temporal and aspectual features both in Chinese and Arabic. In spite of this eagerness to explore aspect and tense, the status of Arabic and Chinese in this domain is far from clear: there are diverging views on the inner workings of either system. So a comprehensive comparison against the background of the two systems, which presupposes a synthesis of the efforts made up to this point, would be foolhardy even with the limited corpus analysed in this thesis. What can be done, however, is to look at how the various parts of one of the systems correspond to parts of the other system in the studied selections and vice versa. The series of equivalences may as a result suggest something about the internal structure of the systems. I will also consult other Chinese translations of the

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70 Because of the terminological diversity and often ill-defined concepts in this area of research, a word about the difference between tense and aspect is in order. In accordance with Arin 2003 and Eisele 1999 I one may successfully use a Reichenbachian framework to make the distinction; there events are analysed in terms of the relation between event time (E), reference time (R) and speech time (S). Aspect is primarily a question of the inclusion or non-inclusion of temporal spans in each other, while tense is about the order of E, R and S in time relative to each other. Perfective will be used to denote the aspect where either the initial or end point of E is included in R. Perfect is a relative time relation where E precedes R.
Qur’an in order to make the conclusions more stable.

In Chinese most of the discussion about time and aspect revolves around certain verb suffixes (-le 了, -guo 過, -zhe 著), particles (such as yǐ 已 and le 了), adverbs (céng 曾, yǐ 已), verb complements (qílái 起來, xiàqu 下去) and verbal negations (méiyǒu 没有, wèi 未). These devices are used to indicate aspect and relative tense, while time is encoded mainly by time expressions71.

With respect to Arabic, the discussion has been largely about whether the basic inflectional dichotomy of the verb system72 is mainly one of aspect or one of tense. Unsurprisingly, there is some truth in both, and the matter is much more intricate than originally assumed. Among other things, the interaction between lexical and morphological aspect complicates the issue73.

One of the clearest differences between the Chinese and Arabic temporal-aspectual system is that whereas every single Arabic verb is explicitly marked as being either in its imperfect or perfect form, Chinese verbs are not marked in this way. In many cases, no aspect markers are used (cf. Xūcí lǐshì p. 112). Thus only certain events in a Chinese text are formally marked with respect to aspect and time. Explicit information about time and aspect having once been given, it is readily left out until there is need for a (re) statement. Moreover it has been shown that the meaning and presence of the particle le 了 is highly context-dependent and difficult to predict (Arin 2003).

5.1.1 Q 96.1–5

Turning to Q 96.1–5, we find an alternation between imperatives and perfect forms in the Arabic. First we note that the perfect verb kalaqa 'created' in Q 96.1 occurs in a relative clause, and is not marked for aspect in Wang, so that the time of the event remains grammatically indeterminate. Ma has made a nominal attributive of it, "creation ruler", and so time considerations are neutralised. In Ma 96.2, however, we find the function word céng 曾 which tells us that the creation has occurred at some point in the past74. Q 96.3 interrupts with an imperative plus a circumstantial clause,

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72 Muḍārīf/non-past/imperfect form (lF) vs. mādī/past/perfect form (PfF).
74 For the meaning of céng 曾, see Xūcí lǐshì 111-113. It is used for an event which occurred at some time
and in Ma 96.4 and 96.5 we again find cēng 曾. It is remarkable that Wáng does nothing of the sort in these verses, only in the nominalised clause suǒ wèi zhī zhē "what he has not (yet) known" we find the aspectually loaded wèi 未 'not (yet)', where Ma has no aspect marker at all on the verb zhīdào 知道 'know'. It is furthermore instructive to note that Liú Zhi’s 18th-century translation of the same passage does not contain a single temporal or aspectual particle.

How are we to understand this riddle? In some ways Wáng has taken a more literal approach, since his wèi 未 'not (yet)' corresponds75 to Arabic lam (perfective negator). But why does Mǎ repeat cēng 曾 'once' so many times? That would seem to break with Chinese conceptions of style, and moreover contrasts with Wáng’s non-use of this function word here. Tóng Dàozhāng (1989) does not use any aspect-marks in this passage, but in his Modern Chinese version Wáng introduces cēng 曾 'once' in verse 96.2 and translates lam as yuán 原件 'originally not'. Now as for le 了, Shí Zīzhōu 時子周 and Lín Sōng 陸宋 use it between the verb and object in 96.2, where the object of the verb is polysyllabic (rénlèi 人類 'mankind'). If anything, the picture has become more complicated.

5.1.2 Q 78.8–12

Another striking series of cēng 曾 -particles occurs in Ma 78.8–12. The use of cēng 曾 at first seems to be used to impose past time by "brute force", but we see that Mǎ immediately afterwards dispenses with this in 78.13–15. Ma 78.12 has verbal le 了 as well. Maybe cēng 曾 is not strictly necessary, then (in these cases at least). Lín Sōng in his rhyme translation does not use it in this passage, and Tóng Dàozhāng and Shí Zīzhōu 時子周 use it in different places: Shí has le 了 in 78.12-13, while Tóng has bù cēng 不曾 in 78.8 and 78.12 (at the start of sentences, in a way that the force of cēng 曾 is valid throughout each sentence). Wáng’s Literary Chinese translation does not use aspect markers here, but in his modern translation verbal le 了 turns up in 78.13. We can conclude that a PfF verb in Arabic does not entail the presence of either the particle le

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75 This could however just be a conventional way of saying «didn’t know».
or cēng 曾 in Chinese.

5.1.3 Q 97.1

Let us examine the case of Q 97.1, where God emphatically states that he has sent down the Qur’an in the Night of Power. Arabic has a Pff verb, and since this is the first verse of the sūra, this is the only part of the expression which tells us explicitly that the event took place in the past and has been completed\(^\text{76}\). Now Mā prefixes the function word yī 了 to the verb. Yī 了 frequently turns up in in places where, like here, it clearly cannot be understood as having the full force of «already», but rather indicating the completion of an action by a certain point in time without unduly stressing the point at which this occurs\(^\text{77}\). When this occurs in Mā, it is probably an archaising feature\(^\text{78}\). This use of yī 了 to impose something akin to perfective aspect is a feature of Classical and Literary Chinese\(^\text{79}\).

In order to find out more about this use of yī 了, we can look at other translations of this verse. First we note that Wáng 97.1 has the sentence-final particle yī 了 at the end of the sentence, which is used to impart a perfect aspect on the sentence, giving a sense of completion and highlighting the pragmatic relevance of the change of state which has taken place (Pulleyblank 1995: 118). Its function is in many ways similar to the modern particle le 了 in sentence-final position, and Wang's Modern Chinese translation of the same verse confirms this: we do indeed find le 了 at the end of the sentence.

In Tóng Dāozhāng's translation, however, we find le 了 suffixed to the verb, not at the end of the sentence. So we have essentially three different versions, marking aspect in a slightly different way. But there is more in store for us: Neither Shí Zǐzhōng nor Lín Sōng employ any aspect markers in their translation of the same verse. The occurrence of verbal le 了 and sentence-final le 了 in the translation of the same verse also occurs with Q 78.23, where Wáng's Modern Chinese translation has the sentence-final version,

\(^{76}\) Not counting pragmatic factors, of course.

\(^{77}\) cf. Pulleyblank 1995: 115-118; Xü cí líshi 51b

\(^{78}\) Or at least a marginal feature, for the usage is not mentioned in Xü cí líshi.

and Tông Đạozhâng the other one\textsuperscript{80}. This is significant, for the post-verbal and sentence-final “versions” of the particle have been kept strictly apart by a majority of scholars. A recent study (Arin 2003), however, comes to the conclusion that the functions of the two versions may be intimately connected in form and function. This theory seems to be corroborated by the loci just quoted.

This allows us to conclude that even the absence of other elements which could provide the reader with temporal and aspectual context does not impose the necessity of aspectual or temporal marking in Chinese. Even those translators who chose to mark the event, did so in different ways. Now either they do not read the Arabic in the same way (unlikely), or Chinese actually doesn't require such marking.

5.1.4 Q 78.27–29

Q 78.27–29 is a flashback\textsuperscript{81} justifying the fate of the rebellious described in the preceding passage. The flashback is staged in the past (relative to the time of speaking)\textsuperscript{82}, and one would expect some device in the Chinese translation to impose past time on the scene. But neither Ma nor Wang do this in Q 78.27. Only in Ma 78.28–29 and Wang 78.29 do we find céng 曾. This differs from Wáng's Modern Chinese version (followed by Shi as well), where we have yuán wèi 原未 'originally not yet' before the verb. This again points in the direction that the way the translator goes about the task of setting temporal and aspectual markers is not easily predictable.

5.1.5 Pff in Arabic with Present Time Reading in Chinese

Neither of the translators, nor any of the consulted commentators, seem to have been troubled by the fact that the Arabic Pff kāna "was" occurs in main clauses which emphatically proclaim a general fact. Such usage of the Pff is common throughout the Qur’an (especially with kāna 'to be', which occasionally also means 'to come about',

\textsuperscript{80} Mā has pre-verbal yī 己 here, while Wáng has sentence-final yī 友. This makes the case of Q 81.23 exactly parallel to 97.1 with respect to these four translations.
\textsuperscript{81} Rückblende — see Neuwirth 1981: 191, 217.
\textsuperscript{82} In Q 78.27 we have a Pff verb (kāna "be") followed by an Ipff verb (yarjūna “hope for”), an analytic verb form which is usually employed to express a durative or progressive event in the past; here, however, it seems to be used because the Pff rajū is not current (Reuschel 1996: 219–222).
'become'; Q 78.17, 78.21 et simil., Q 12.7 ?)\textsuperscript{83}. They have simply formulated general timeless statements in Chinese.

Another interesting example of a PfF interpreted as a generally valid statement is 'āmanā in 2.183. The verb 'āmana 'believe' here is inchoative, something which is common with the PfF for a certain class of verbs whose lexical aspect is stative. In this case one would expect le ㄛ in Chinese, but Mā excludes any explicit inchoative reading by leaving the verb unmarked (possibly because it is in a modifying clause).

5.1.6 Future time

Both translators use future time markers such as jiāng(lái) 將（來）and qiē 且; e.g. Q 96.18, 78.4-5. In these two cases the Arabic future marker sa- is present, but there are other cases where Mā and Wāng employ future markers after having identified a verb as having future time reference without any narrow future marker, drawing on grammatical and pragmatic context. We may mention Ma 78.19-20 (PfF), Q 78.40 (yawma clause with IpF), Ma 81.26. It is clear that future time marking does not automatically mimick the Arabic, but rather follows the demands of the target language.

5.1.7 Summary

It is symptomatic that Mā's use of cěng 曾 in 12.6 seems necessary to enforce a past reading whereas in 12.10 it seems to be quite redundant. There are few clear conclusions to draw, but a few points may be suggested: that the two tense/aspect systems are incommensurable and that it is not possible to predict the occurrence of tense/aspect marking in Chinese on the basis of the Arabic with any simplistic model. That applies especially to past events; future time marking in Chinese is much easier to follow. There is also support for the interchangeability or close relatedness of sentence-final le ㄝ and verbal le ㄝ in some contexts. Finally note that the quote-introducing verbs shuō 說 'say' and yuē ㄓ 'say' are never marked for tense and aspect (e.g. Q 12.10;

\textsuperscript{83} This usage may have the following explanation: something «has become so by nature», and therefore «is so» (Wright 1967: 266). Also Reuschel 1996: 93-106.
sūra 12 in general).

5.2 HIGH-STATUS PRONOUNS

Allāh often refers to himself in the plural (e.g. Q 12.3, 78.9, 97.1). Chinese fails to transport this *pluralis majestatis* of the Arabic in spite of the fact that Literary Chinese abounds in high-status vs. low-status first person pronouns and quasi-pronouns⁸⁴. The reason for this may be that high-status first person designators in Literary Chinese seem to connote political rather than spiritual superiority. For example, while the first emperor of China reserved pronoun *zhèn* 聞 'I' for himself, Confucius, who was regarded as a sage, never used any high-status pronoun in reference to himself (but it may be argued he did not regard himself as a sage). On the other hand, in popular literature, sages and immortals do not emulate the first emperor of China by monopolising the use of any first-person pronoun. Wáng is acutely aware of how odd it would be to use plural in Chinese to translate the divine "we": in the statement of principles in his translation we find him saying that this would lead to the blasphemic misunderstanding that Allāh is not one!⁸⁵ This is evidently a form of incommensurability between Arabic and Chinese, but is in many ways more than compensated for by the occurrence in the Chinese translations of morphemes like *cì* 賜 'give' (the giver must be of higher status than the receiver; Q 78.37)

5.3 IMPERATIVES

The Qur'ānic text abounds in imperatives. This is natural not only because we are dealing with a religious document where the power relationship between God and his creatures is significant and His will is a serious matter, but also because the Qur'ān is in many ways the transcript of oral discourse. And then there is a number of imperatives of the verb *qāla* 'to say' which occur in the text to have us understand that it is not God who says what follows after it, but that it is the representation of the speech of another

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⁸⁴ Examples of low-status quasi-pronouns in Literary Chinese are *chén* 臣 "(your) subject", used by a minister to his ruler, and *qìè* 奴 "(your) slave [f.]", used by women. (See Pulleyblank 1995: 77.) In Modern Chinese "polite-speak" we find traditional terms such as *bùcài* 不才 "incompetent" > *lǐ* [humble], and *érwèi* 二位 "both of you two [honorable].

⁸⁵ Gǔlán yǐjīǔ fǎn lì 古蘭譯解凡例 in Wáng 1932, p. 3.
party. (E.g. Q 112.1). Finally the entreaties directed toward Allāh by his creatures are also frequently phrased with imperatives.

Arabic possesses an imperative mood for the second person, which is inflected according to number and gender. It is used to express order, injunctions, requests and other speech acts involving situations where the speaker of the utterance expresses the desirability of an action by the (person referred to by) subject of the verb. Prohibitions are expressed by the negative particle lā 'not' followed by the dependent form of the imperfect verb (traditionally called subjunctive). Orders and requests to the first and third person are given by the conjunction lī- 'to' followed by the apocope of the imperfect (traditionally called jussive).

Now Modern Chinese can express imperatives in various ways. A request verb or a sentence-final particle is often present, serving to soften the force. A bare imperative without any of these devices is an order or a rude request. The subject may be specified if required. (Yip&Rimmington 2004: 359-364.) But in spite of the fact that there are many imperatives in the Qur'ān excerpts we are studying, there is not one bare imperative in my extract from Mā's translation, even though God's imperatives are frequently quite blunt. Instead he mostly resorts to constructions with modal verbs like dāng 當 and yīngdāng 應當, both 'should' (96.1, 96.19) but note that the colloquial děi 得 is not used). It is worth mentioning that the use of a modal verb in this fashion necessitates explicit expression of the subject.

In other cases the pattern is [Subject - verb - ba 吧 | (e.g. 78.30, 96.9). One occurrence of a third person command is rendered as ràng 讓 'let' and the particle ba 吧 (96.17), and another simply yīngdāng 應當 'should' (2.185b). Other verbs for 'let' include jiào 教 'teach; tell' (Ma 2.186) and lǐng 令 'order' (Wang 2.186).

It is interesting to note that in Mā 2.187c a series Arabic imperatives has been rendered employing a modal verb of possibility, kěyǐ 可以 'can'. Although permission from someone more powerful than oneself may in certain circumstances imply an order, it is a subtle change of focus. Maybe he wanted to mitigate the directness of the verse: "So now have-intercourse-with them [f.pl] and seek what Allāh has prescribed [<written] for you and eat and drink [...]''. Actually there is an instance of a shift in the opposite direction as well: In Mā 97.4 Arabic 'iḍn 'permission' is rendered as mǐnglíng 命令 'order' (and similarly in Wáng)\(^\text{86}\).

In Literary Chinese, the subject of imperatives may be expressed without implying

\(^{86}\) Note that there is no shift in Q 78.38.
special emphasis87. One way of expressing the imperative in Literary Chinese is to use the modal particle qí 其: "A frequent usage is in imperative sentences in which qí 其 apparently has the effect of softening the command into a wish or exhortation." (Pulleyblank 1995: 123) Wáng Jingzhāi makes abundant use of the particle qí 其 in his translation of Arabic imperatives (e.g. 2.187c). But if indeed it has a softening effect, it is curious that divine decrees should be thus softened, e.g. Wang 96.1. In other places he uses the modal verb dāng 當, like Mǎ does.

In Literary Chinese, prohibitions are commonly expressed by wù 毋 (無) and wù 勿. (Pulleyblank 1995: 138) There are three instances of wù 勿 in my selection from Wáng, twice with an explicit subject (12.5, 96.19), and once without (12.10).

Búyāo 不要 'don't' is found several times in Mǎ. This is the normal way of expressing a prohibition in Modern Chinese. All instances state the subject as well. The more colloquial contraction bié 別 'don't' does not occur. In Wang 2.187d and 2.187e we find bù dé 不得 "may not". In two places we have imperative readings of Arabic verbs in the imperfect. Ma 78.38 (bù dé 不得) and Wang 78.24.

There are at least two cases where we have an imperative stripped of particles and modal verbs: the translation of the Qur'ānic injunction qul 'say', prefixed to 112.1 and 114.1, nǐ shuō 你說 and ěr yuē 爾曰, both "<you> say".

In my material there is one occurrence of qǐng 請 'please' ['<ask permission to'], in Ma 12.12 when Yūsuf's brothers ask their father to let Yūsuf go with them. The Arabic has a simple imperative verb, 'arsil-hu "send him". (Interestingly, Wáng 12.12 uses qí 其, but in his Modern Chinese translation, he has only subject plus verb.)

In Q 1.6, both translators introduce qiú 求 'ask; beg; demand' to paraphrase an imperative of entreaty, ihdi-nā "guide us" (unto the straight path). This would seem to indicate that in the case of a plea, Chinese requires a verb specifying the modality. In modern Chinese, the alternative would be reduplication (Y&R 2001: 364), but this may be seen as too colloquial in a sacred text. As a matter of fact, duplication is suspiciously absent from my material.

It is significant that there are no instances of a verb standing on its own without expressed subject or modal markers. Was it deemed too uncouth or rather

87 Pulleyblank 1995: 14, 138; may be left out in Modern Chinese when not required, Y&R 2004: 360.
incomprehensible in the context of such a lapidar text?

5.4 FORMAL "EQUIVALENCE"

When one reads Wáng's and Mā's translations, one's attention is immediately drawn to the fact that the adverb què 確 'indeed' crops up everywhere (Q 97.1, 12.4, 12.6 etc.) This seems to be the result of the automatic application of the perceived equivalence Ar. 'inna = C. què 確 'indeed'.

'inna is a sentence modifier which introduces independent sentences with emphasis or focus on the subject. It often does not have a formal equivalent in an English translation of the sentence, although an ad hoc translation such as 'indeed', 'verily', 'truly' etc., is often used to represent it in translation, although this is a very crude measure. The reason for the automatic equivalence Ar. 'inna = C. què 確 'indeed' could be similar solutions in the English translations consulted by the translators. Undoubtedly this density of què 確 'indeed' contributes to the foreignness of the Chinese translations.

On the level of terminology, this kind of equation is much easier to justify, and is quite frequent, e.g. 'Allāh = zhēnzhù 真主 "True Ruler". But in some cases this leads to awkwardness. Even if ittaqā means «to fear God; be pious», its semantic roots are somewhere in the region of «guard oneself against (God through faith)», a reading the Jalālayn commentary adopts in 2.183. Mā in the same verse sticks to his established equivalent jīngwèi 敬畏 'revere'.

5.5 SYNTACTICAL COMPLEXITY

The fact that Chinese does not easily accept certain types of syntactical construction makes one curious as to how this is dealt with in translations from languages where such features are prevalent. The phenomena in question are especially nesting and right-branching constructions. Moreover, the complexity of a phrase modifying a head

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88 Badawi et al. (2004: 320) on Modern Standard Arabic; but it seems to hold for Classical Arabic as well, cf. Wright, Grammar: 1.284-5 (§362) and "Grammar" in EQ. 'Inna is in many ways a presentative particle comparable to Hebrew hinnē.

noun is grammatically and (even more so) stylistically restricted. These phenomena are especially striking when translating relative clauses into Chinese from most Indo-European languages.

As for Arabic, it is right-branching (when transcribing from left to right) not only with respect to relative sentences, but also with respect to other modifiers in a noun phrase, such as adjectives and nouns. Chinese is exactly the opposite: always left-branching. Left-branching languages create difficulties for the speaker who wants to build his utterance as he goes along without having to plan the construction. In general Chinese shows a marked tendency toward co-ordination (parataxis) rather than subordination (hypotaxis). Arabic is clearly much more prone to parataxis than the languages following the tradition of Latin, but subordination still seems to be more common than in Chinese.

The syntax of the Qurʾān, in any case, in many places markedly paratactic, and Chinese being itself inclined towards parataxis, one would not expect problems on this account. However, when we examine the material studied in this thesis, we find that syntax does cause problems or major restructuring in some places.

Relative clauses in the Arabic regularly re-appear as post-posed paratactic phrases or clauses. This has the somewhat disturbing consequence of elevating information from a side thought to an equal element in the sequence of thought. E.g. Q 2.185a, 96.4, 114.5.

In Q 78.2-3 our translators choose different strategies: Wang opts for changing the order of the presentation of information to be able to keep the syntactical subordination (where the modifier must precede the head in Chinese). Mā prefers to keep the order, but has to add the information of the relative clause in the form of an additional clarificatory statement. Similarly in Q 78.18 In Q 1.7 we find that a combination of nesting, co-ordination and subordination in the same verse has prompted Mā to recast the verse in unambiguous Chinese syntax by sacrificing the poetic conciseness of the verse through repetition. Wang keeps much closer to the syntactical form of the original, but the syntax is obscure.

Another instance of obscure syntax in Wang occurs in his translation of Q 78.36-37
A problematical example involving parenthesis is found in Q 96.9-13. It appears that the syntactic disorderliness is caused by rhetorical complexity.

The most extreme example of twisted syntax must be Wang’s translation of sura 114. The long sequence of phrases in apposition and relative clauses seems to be the culprit here.

These findings are especially interesting with regard to hybridity. Natural diction in any language relies to a very large extent on the ease of syntactical parsing. Here we

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91 Harbsmeier (1998: 172) points out that parenthesis was not common in traditional Chinese writing.
have seen that the alien syntactical structure of the Qur'anic text leads either to the adoption of this structure in the Chinese, thereby making it less fluent and natural, or to a restructuring of the Qur'anic information flow. We may further note that the differences in syntactic structure are vastly detrimental to the preservation of rhyme and rhythm.

5.6 PUNCTUATION AND GRAPHICAL DEVICES

The Qur'ān in its extant form is divided into chapters (sūras; pl. suwar) and verses (‘āyat lit. 'signs'), but the chapters are not further subdivided, and there are no other punctuation marks. Each sūra has a name and a number, and the verses within each sūra are also numbered.

The absence of punctuation in the Qur'ān is in itself not surprising. Punctuation in the modern sense did not become common in Arabic before modern times. In addition to the subdivision of the text into verses, various grammatical and rhetorical devices, such as conjunctions and parallelism, rhyme and cadences perform functions similar to punctuation marks. Especially rhyme and cadence is instrumental in shaping the structure of the text: even if there were no verse separators, one would in most cases know the end of the verse by the sound of it.

The absence of punctuation has however not prevented translators of the Qur'ān from punctuating their translations. The Chinese translations are no exception to this. With respect to the two translations studied here, Mā uses standard modern Chinese punctuation, whereas Wang uses an elaborate punctuation system, which seems to be based partly on traditional practices, Western punctuation and his own innovations.

It is worth noting that Classical and Literary Chinese texts were in general not punctuated, and that Chinese until this day is written in scriptura continua without

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92 This is only true if we do not count signs used to disambiguate dots and indicate vowels. These were absent from the earliest manuscript and were later added (often in colour) to ensure correct reciting. In addition, there are various marks indicating larger divisions (such as juz'; part) and where to do prostrations. There is no clear word spacing, but since Arabic letters have variant forms according to where in a sequence they are, the beginning and end of words is usually evident.

93 Cf.Neuwirth 1981: 167-168. Early Qur'ān manuscripts frequently do not mark each verse, but only every fifth or tenth verse. One should also not forget that the Qur'ān was and is primarily a text to be recited.
spaces between the words. Stylistic and grammatical devices such as parallelism and clause-final particles have traditionally contributed to the correct parsing of texts. From Han times onwards we there is ample evidence that punctuation was not unknown to the Chinese, consistent punctuation of text just never became general practice, partly due to view that punctuation was vulgar: if you were cultured, you knew how to parse correctly (Harbsmeier 1998: 175-181).

The reading aids provided in Wáng's translation are significant. Not only does he use different marks for commata, cola, and sentences, but he also tells us what is a person's name, a place name (both known traditionally) or a transcription of an Arabic concept. We are even told which pronouns refer to Allah, and which refer to Muhammad. Western punctuation is also present, e.g. the exclamation mark in Wang 78.40 (Ma has more exclamation marks: 78.4, 78.5, 96.9). There are no question marks (in my selections at least), for a very good reason: sentence-final particles such as hū 乎 are used to mark questions. Wáng moreover provides a detailed key to his punctuation system94.

An interesting feature in Ma's punctuation is that he has used corner brackets to mark direct speech embedded in the main stream of discourse. In my material that especially occurs in sura 12 (the story of Yūsuf). Note that Wáng does not use quotation marks or any equivalent device to mark direct speech.

Like Wang, Ma also sometimes encloses explanations and other additions in brackets (round; e.g. 12.7). In 2.186, Ma seems to have mispunctuated.

It is obvious that the punctuation of a translation of an ancient unpunctuated text reflects the way one parses and interprets the original. But it also profoundly modernises the text. In a translation without rhyme and cadence punctuation becomes a necessity: the text would be very difficult to read without punctuation. Punctuation is moreover explicitation, since there is less room for the reader to parse at will.

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94 Biāohào yòng lǐ 標號用例, at the end of the front matter of Wang 1932.
5.7 RHETORICAL DEVICES AND FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE

There can be no doubt that the Qurʾān is a rhetorically loaded document. Not only in the sense that the text of the Qurʾān is full of tropes, but also in the sense of rhetoric as the art of persuasion and its place in a discursive context. This is firmly rooted in the oral character of the Qurʾān (see the section on orality). In the later scholastic treatment of the Qurʾānic text, rhetoric became important in connection with the doctrine of ḥijāz, the imimitability of the Qurʾān. Obviously it is of the greatest interest to find out how the Chinese translators of the Qurʾān dealt with the rhetorical devices of the source text.

The study of rhetoric was not institutionalised as an independent discipline in pre-modern China, but we find treatments of rhetorical subjects spread across Chinese literature, and a terminology of rhetorical devices was developed (Kao 1986: 122-123, 130-136).

In the following I will look at specific rhetorical devices occurring in my Qurʾānic material and examine what the Chinese translators have made of it. I have used classical terminology throughout, with reference to Arabic and Chinese terms where possible and appropriate. As my guideline to classical rhetoric I have adopted Handbuch der Literarischen Rhetorik by Heinrich Lausberg.

(For a discussion of ellipsis (and brevitas), see the section on explicitation below, 5.8)

5.7.1 Parallelism, Isocola, Figures of Repetition

Parallelism is a major stylistic feature of the Qurʾān95, and is characteristic of the early texts96. It is interesting to see that although parallelism (isocolon, Lausberg 1973: 359) is the master figure of traditional Chinese literature (Kao 1986: 128), significant instances of parallelism in the source text are not reproduced by the Chinese translators.

Good examples of this are Q 81.1-14 (isocola except for two verses), 78.19-20 and 78.32-34. In some instances some of the grammatical, syntactical or semantic structure is kept and the rest ignored (Q 78.8-11, Wang 114.1-3).

Finally there are instances of successful re-creation of parallelism: 78.6-7, Ma 114.1-3.

Re-creating isocola in Chinese is difficult because of the frequent need to recast the verse syntactically, and also because the meaning of an Arabic word may have to be rendered periphrastically in Chinese (diffusion, cf. Fawcett 1997: 47-49), sometimes incorporating commentary-level material.

The marked repetition of a verse in 78.4-5 is reproduced faithfully (repetitio, epainalepsis).

96 E.g. compl. id. 94.5-6, isocolon 88.12-16, repetition in oaths 91.1-3. Neuwirth,"Rhetoric” in EQ: p.469.
And then there is the case of the introduction of a new figure of repetition not present in the original: in 1.7, Mā creates an epiphoric structure in an attempt to produce a more readable syntax.

There are more examples of introduced repetition in Mā, e.g. Ma 78.1 (with marked dramatic effect!). Wâng repeats gûlân 古蘭 "Qur'ân" in 2.185.

5.7.2 Dialogue–like Figures and Polemics

Figures of speech in which the message is brought across by means of a staged dialogues\(^\text{97}\) is a common feature of the Qur'ân, and may also be seen as one of the aspects of its orality. The participants in the dialogue are most often the implicit author (Allâh), Muḥammad, the believers, and various persons and groups occurring in Qur'ānic narrative. Often they are rather anonymous and one has to infer the speakers and addressees from pragmatic clues. This dialogue technique tends to be didactic or polemic in nature\(^\text{98}\), and the polemics tend to be directed at pagans, Jews, Christians, and recalcitrant Muslims\(^\text{99}\). In my material, the whole passage 96.9-18 may be considered a specimen of this kind of discourse.

Looking at the translations, we find that the questions and answers have been preserved, and this kind of discourse is seemingly acceptable.

Very often, we find rhetorical questions\(^\text{100}\), e.g. Q 78.1, 78.6, 96.14, 97.2

The rhetorical question markers nándào 難道 and qì 奚 both occur\(^\text{101}\).

The rhetorical questions in 96.9 96.11, 96.13 have however been turned into imperatives by Mā, following a gloss by Baidâwî. See the section on Exegesis.

The word kallâ occurs in the repeated statement in 96.6-7 is rendered as quèrán and jué bu rán.

We may conclude that these structures were adopted into the target texts without any significant problems. This is in accordance with the fact that rhetorical questions and similar phenomena have been current in the Chinese literary tradition\(^\text{102}\).

\(^{97}\) Cf. subiectio; Lausberg 1973: 381


\(^{99}\) Kate Zebiri: "Polemic and Polemical Language" in EQ 4: 114-124

\(^{100}\) Cf. Abdul-Raof 2001: 118; Neuworth 2004: 469 (EQ)

\(^{101}\) Nándào 難道: 78.6, 96.14; qì 奚: 78.6.

\(^{102}\) Cf. the indigenous Chinese term shèwèn 設問 Kao 1986: 130, subdivided into tiwèn 提問, a question format with answer, for exposition purposes, and jìwèn 激問, a question like an exclamatory expression.
5.7.3 Metaphor

Metaphors occur abundantly in the Qur'ān, and are an important part of the text. The importance of the metaphor was recognised by Arab rhetoricians and grammarians (known as majāz	extsuperscript{103} or isti‘āra), and was subject to much classification and discussion. The occurrence of perfect metaphors in the Qur'ān was further seen as one of the proofs of its inimitability	extsuperscript{104}.

In many places the Qur'ān attributes human attributes to Allāh, and depending on theological inclination one may choose whether or not to see these attributions as metaphors	extsuperscript{105}. Such anthropomorphism conflicts with the concept of a God who is totally aloof of his creation. A mild case occurs in Q 96.14, where Allāh is portrayed as «seeing» what people do. Wáng translates literally, but Mā has jiānchá 監察 'supervise'.

When translating, it is not easy, and often not even possible, to use a similar metaphor in the target language. Abdul-Raof attributes much of the difficulty in Qur'ān translation to the metaphor (2001: 96, 147-150). Especially Mā shows a tendency toward keeping the basic sense expressed by the metaphor without trying to re-create the trope (e.g. Q 12.9, Ma 78.19, Ma 97.5, 78.14, 78.40). This has been noted by Abdul-Raof with respect to other Qur'ān translations as well (2001: 121).

In one place, Mā re-creates a metaphor by shifting the focus of the trope from one word to another (Mā 81.11).

In some places Wáng leaves the metaphor in the text, but explains it in the commentary. E.g., Q 2.187a "they [f.pl] are clothing to you and you are clothing to them [f.pl]." is explained as follows: “此喻夫婦接近、如身之於衣也。” [This is a metaphor for the intimacy of husband and wife, it is as (the relation of) the body to clothing]." The commentary to Wang 78.13 also gives the "solution" to the metaphor.

The metaphor in Q 81.26 ("Where are you going?") is kept by both translators; this remind us of the preservation of the metaphor of the «path» (dào 道 «way» in Chinese) in Q 1.6 and elsewhere. A universal metaphor?

	extsuperscript{103} Majāz seems to be a term for figurative language in general, as opposed to ḥaqīqa 'reality'. Heath EQ, p. 384
	extsuperscript{105} Peter Heath, "Metaphor", EQ 3: 384-388. A famous example is the throne verse, Q 2.255.
Abdul-Raof found instances of metaphors employed in the target text where none was present in the translation (2001: 122). The case of almost lexicalised *fictio personae* in Ma’s translation of Q 78.21 (“Hell is indeed waiting”) may be a similar example in my material. In 78.10 the metaphor *libās* 'garment' (said about the night) is translated with a different metaphor: *wéimù* 雨幕 'curtain'. Was the original metaphor felt to be too daring?

The verb *istaqāma* in Q 81.28, where “being straight” is a metaphor for “right behaviour,” is rendered as with a four-character set phrase by Mā, viz. *xiānguī tāojū* 循规蹈矩 “follow the compasses and walk according to the square”, thereby employing different (although related) metaphors to bring across the effect. We might talk of ‘dynamic equivalence’ after the manner of Nida106. Wáng upholds the original metaphor with *zhèngzhí* 正直 'be right and straight'.

5.7.4 Metonymy

Metonymy occurs frequently107. Called *kināya* by the Arab grammarians, and known as *duìdài* 对代 in China108.

The synecdoche "forelock" for "the man with the forelock" in Q 96.16 is not kept in the translations, and the predicates «lying» and «sinful» are instead nominalised to signify the possessor of these qualities. Abdul-Raof claims, however, that synecdoche is not widely used in the Qur’ān (2001: 119).

In Q 96.17 *nādī* 'council' is used to mean the «members of the council». This shift is normal procedure in most languages, but the translators react by explicating the meaning. Mā translates by *huìzhòng* 会眾 (no marking), Wáng adds *zhī rén* 之人 "the people of" in corner brackets.

"In Yūsuf and his brothers" receives a marked explanatory addition in both translations, so that the meaning becomes clear for the Chinese readers: "In [the story of] Yūsuf and his brothers". (Q 12.7)

In Ma 81.1 we meet what we might call "translation by metonymy": "when the sun is folded up" is rendered as "when the sun darkens" (effect for cause). This reading is supported by the exegete Baydāwī.

Baydāwī identifies *ḥudūd* Allāh "Allāh’s limits" in Q 2.187e as a metonymic expression for «Allāh’s laws». Both translators resolve the trope (see nQ 2.187e).

The metonymical *waswās* "whispering" for «whisperer» (*muwaswis*) in Q 114.4 is not kept in any of the two translations. This reading was probably regarded as so fixed that to keep the trope would be misleading.

We can conclude that many cases of metonymy are not carried over into the translations, without discrediting the principle of metonymy (cf. the example of Ma

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107 cf. Abdul-Raof 2001: 122–123
108 A kind of *jièdài* 借代 (Kao 1986: 133).
81.1 mentioned above).

5.7.5 Oaths

Oaths are used throughout the Qur’ān, especially in the early sūras\footnote{See Hawting: "Oaths" in EQ 3: 561-566. Cf. Abdul-Raof 2001: 87-88.}. Many different objects and phenomena are conjured in the oaths, frequently powerful natural phenomena. They are purely literary devices devoid of legal meaning, and are there to emphasise and affirm the truth and divine nature of the revelation\footnote{Now in Ancient Greece oaths generally included the following three elements: "(1) a solemn declaration of truth or of promise, (2) an invocation of god or gods to guarantee such a declaration, and (3) a religious sanction (independent of human justice) in the form of a curse, in case the person taking the oath perjures himself." [Piscia 1970: 3] Note the strong connection to religion: One swears by a god, and by invoking him, he becomes the witness and sanctioning agent of one’s pledge. It seems that much of this can be applied to the notion of «oath» in the Middle Eastern and European sphere after Antiquity as well. The oath played an important role in Arabia at the time of the appearance of Islam, that much is certain. Alliances, for example, were held together through an oath. Directly relevant to the issue of the oath in the Qur’ān is the fact that the speech of the soothsayers of Ancient Arabia often contained oaths. They used a genre called saj’, which is rhythmic and rhymed (though categorised as nātir ‘prose’ by the Arab rhetoricians). Large parts of the Qur’ān are undoubtedly very closely related to saj’, and so one has to examine the oaths in the Qur’ān against this in mind [Stewart 1990]. Are they perhaps only there to embellish the text? Or is there a deeper meaning connected to religion or perhaps superstition? [EQ, ibid.] Oaths also occur in a moral and legal context in the Qur’ān, both oaths between men and between man and God. Oaths have to be honoured: Q 5.91 [penance for broken oaths] Curiously enough, God sees it fit to swear by himself, as in Q 4:65 and Q 16:63 [EQ, ibid., p.561]. Significantly, this also occurs in the Old Testament [Giesen 1981: 19-20].}. Often a series of oaths is used to build up tension an pose an enigma to be subsequently resolved\footnote{111 Neuwirth 2004: 464.}

The oaths are highly formulaic in nature\footnote{112 Neuwirth 2004: 464.}. Sometimes a verb of swearing\footnote{113 There are several words for ‘to swear’ and ‘oath’ in Arabic, and the lexicon Lisān al-‘Arab links them all to the ideas of «allegiance» and «alliance», thus underlining the moral and legal application of oaths. This connection is paralleled in the Chinese cultural sphere, where shì 誓 ‘swear’ (also noun ‘oath’) is to pledge solemnly, often in the context of allegiance.}. is explicitly present, such as in Q 81.15 (‘uṣimu "I swear") or commonly only one of the prepositions used for swearing: bi-, ta- or wa-, all translatable as ‘by’ in this context. For the puzzling negative lā ‘not’ in some oaths, see below.

Mā and Wāṅ both translate using the character shì 誓 ‘swear; oath’. But this seems primarily to be an oath of allegiance, as opposed to an oath of emphasis\footnote{114 Where is the witness and the sanction? The only example I have been able to find so far is duī tiān fāshī 對天發誓, lit. "to express an oath facing heaven" and shìtiān 誓天 "to swear (by) heaven" [HDC 8: 569; 11: 212]. shì 誓 ‘swear; oath’ does however occur in a Chinese religious context, e.g. the Bodhisattva vow, dāshī 大誓 or dāshīyuàn 大誓願 "the great vow".}. Neither
Classical nor Modern Written Chinese encourage or even allow the insertion of oaths like the ubiquitous ma ton Dia in Plato and in Greek comedy\textsuperscript{115}. The oaths certainly belong to the hybrid elements of the translation.

A further problematic point in the Arabic is the fact that the oath formulae often contain a negative, as in this verse (lā 'no; not'), which should not necessarily be taken at face value\textsuperscript{116}. The Jalālān commentary tells us that the lā is “superfluous” (zā'ida). Wáng (81.15), however, happily translates the negative, and ends up with wǒ wú xū shí yì yīnwēi zhě 我無須誓以隱微者 "I have no need to swear by the latent". Obviously 須 is inserted to salvage the meaning of the sentence.

\section*{5.7.6 Other Rhetorical Devices}

\textit{Euphemism} occurs in the Qur'ān and is known as ḥišma in Arabic\textsuperscript{117}. A famous example is hayta laka “come on” said by Potiphar's wife to Yūsuf in Q 12.23, encouraging him to go to bed with her. In my material we have rafaṭ 'obscenity' for «sexual intercourse» in Q 2.183. This usage later became lexicalised (through this passage?), and it is not too surprising that the translators simply translate with terms meaning «intercourse».

\textit{Hyperbole}\textsuperscript{118} occurs in Q 97.3, where laylat al-qadr is proclaimed to be better than a thousand months. The translators render this without muttering. Hyperbole was common in common in China with numbers: the use of wàn 萬 'ten thousand' to mean «all» is ubiquitous and lexicalised\textsuperscript{119}. Aḥsan al-qaṣaṣ in Q 12.3 may also be a hyperbole which the translators adopt in silence.

Mā employs four-character set-phrases (chéngyǔ 成語) in his translation. Three examples of this have been noted in my material: Ma 81.29, and two in Ma 81.20.

\textit{Rhyme} occurs throughout the Qur'ān at the end of verses, both as an integrated part of the syntactic and semantic structure and as parenthetical clausalae\textsuperscript{120} (or cadences) rounding off longer verses\textsuperscript{121}. Neither of our two translators try to impose rhyme on the

\textsuperscript{115} Christoph Harbsmeier, personal communication.
\textsuperscript{116} Bergsträsser 1914: 58; Bell & Watt 1970: 194; Baydāwī on Q 56.75ff.
\textsuperscript{118} Abdul-Raof 2001: 117. Another example occurs in Q 7.40.
\textsuperscript{119} Cf. Kao 1986: 133.
\textsuperscript{120} Cf. Lausberg 1973: 483ff.
\textsuperscript{121} Neuwirth 1981: 157-174.
target text, but the more recent translation by Lín Sōng 林松 has undertaken this
difficult work (1988). The rhytmical properties of the cadences in my selection from
sūra 2 are also ignored by the translators.

The clearest case of antonomasia is maybe the way rabb 'master' and other attributes
such as al-Rahmān 'the Merciful' is used to refer to Allāh. This usage is universal in the
Qur'ān, although there are distinct preferences in the different periods.\(^\text{122}\). The Devil has
also got his share: waswās 'whispering' in reference to Šayṭān (Q 114.4). The different
appellations of Allāh are faithfully reproduced by the translators, though sometimes
also introduced, as in Q 1.3, where the translators are not satisfied to let the attributes
stand alone, and have thus dissolved the antonomasia.

5.8 Ellipsis and Explicitation

It has often been said that translations have a tendency to be more explicit than their
source texts, and this is something readily observable in my data. Some have even
termed this tendency a “law”\(^\text{123}\). Since Chinese language use is known for its tendency
to leave things unsaid or implicit, this is a surprise. In the following I will discuss the
background and then some of the instances occurring in my texts.

Strictly speaking, ellipsis occurs when one leaves out a part of the sentence which is
required to make the sentence semantically and syntactically complete\(^\text{124}\). It is
however not so easy to define completeness criteria, especially since completeness is
very much dependent on pragmatic factors as well. So the term will be used loosely to
cover phenomena where things "are not fully spelt out", even though this is often only so
for a particular reader or listener. Ellipsis is fairly frequent in the Qur'ān (cf. Abul-

5.8.1 Ellipsis and Implicitness in Chinese Language Use

Among the Chinese conventions of language use is the tendency to leave implicit much of

\(^{122}\) Forms involving rabb 'master' are frequent in the early Meccan sūras, while Allāh is typical for the
Medinan period. For al-Rahmān, see Jomier 1957.

\(^{123}\) The law of explicitation (Chesterman 1997: 71).

\(^{124}\) Lausberg 1973: 346. In cases where one is leaving out content rather than form, Classical Rhetoric
talks about *figurae sententiae per detractionem*, such as reticentia, percurrso and praeretitio (Lausberg 1973:
435ff).
what members of other major language communities would expect to be explicitly stated. Many foreigners learning Chinese have complained about its elliptic nature. "Whatever the audience can understand from the context is preferably omitted in literary style. Explicitness is felt to be vulgar." (Harbsmeier 1998: 144; cf. p. 97)

Now of course ellipsis is not a phenomenon confined to Chinese, on the contrary it is a component of all language use. Although the grammatical structure of a language makes it more or less prone to ellipsis, the extent to which ellipsis is allowed to develop its potential depends on the conventions of the language community (such as stylistic norms), which of course change over time. Moreover, what ellipsis leaves implicit, remains for the interpreter of the expression to grasp, which is more demanding the less knowledge he has about the cultural and specific context of the expression. "In Literary Chinese the subject is normally unexpressed in declarative sentences: (a) when it is understood from the context (b) when it is indefinite, and (c) when it is impersonal (that is, when it is to be understood as the environment or the world in general), [...]" (Pulleyblank 1995: 13)126.

This tendency to express oneself elliptically is not only valid for Classical Chinese and Literary Chinese, but for Modern Chinese as well127. Especially one may note the sparing use of pronouns128.

5.8.2 Ellipsis in the Studied Qur'ān Passages

Now both Wáng Jingzhāi and Mā Jiān's translations show exactly the opposite of what one would expect considering the Chinese cultivation of elliptic discourse. They mostly try to be explicit, and much more explicit than the source text at that. The examples are numerous, and many were noted above in the section on rhetorical devices. Below the reader will find additional examples, and since the explicitating additions frequently have exegetical relevance, many cases will be discussed in the section on exegetical choices below. Cf. also the section on normalisation.

We can note cases where the Qur'ān is elliptic, but the translators choose not to be. For example, they make it clear that the "seven strong ones" in Q 78.12 is a reference to the heavens.

Likewise they specify what the "brimful cup" in Q 78.34 is filled with. In Q 12.4 the verb ʿaʿā 'see' is used elliptically to mean «to see in a dream». Both translators supply the missing information, Mā without marking the addition. Note also 2.184a.

125 Harbsmeier 1998: 143-150
126 But not necessarily in imperative sentences. Note that Classical Chinese does not even have a third person pronoun for the subject position. If emphasis is needed, demonstratives are used.
128 Y&R 2004: 377. Interestingly, there was much debate about how to deal with the translation of pronouns in Bible translation. Many translators felt that they could not ignore the demands of Chinese style, whereas others insisted upon literal faithfulness to the source text (Zetzsche 1999: 36-37, 64, 79, 105, 225, 314, 327). The alternative to using a pronoun is either to leave it out on the grounds that the reference is pragmatically retrievable, or to repeat the expression it refers to.
In many cases, however, the source text is arguably not particularly elliptic, but the translators still choose to explicitate and disambiguate, often dissolving figures of speech as they go along (see section on Rhetorical devices above). In 78.19 Ma tells us that the gates of heaven will be «many» on the Day of Judgement. In Q 12.8 both translators achieve a more natural target language formulation by being more specific about how Yūsuf’s father relates to Yūsuf.

The explicitation may lead to a complete rephrasing, as in Ma 78.9 and 78.11, where he reformulates the verse in much more explicit terms, commentary-like. In Q 78.37 something similar happens, and both translators convert a metaphorical expression into non-figurative language as well.

Explicitation can be commentary-like and incorporate elements from Qur’ān commentaries with or without marking the addition. E.g. Mā’s translation of Q 2.184a, where the juridical consequences of the verse are inserted into the verse from the commentaries: the faithful are told that they are to "mend the fast according to the number of missing days", whereas the Arabic just has the elliptic "then a number of other days".

Then there are cases where the explicitation results from a desire to attain cohesion and coherence, so that the text becomes more readable. E.g. in Wang 12.5 and 12.13 we find that a name has been added to make it clear who is referred to. For a full discussion, see the section on normalisation below.

Sometimes the target language forces the translator to be more explicit than the source text because of syntactical and semantical constraints on the structures and expressions chosen.

Or, in other words, if you have started to express yourself in a certain way, you have to continue in the same manner to be coherent. Examples: Q 1.7 (suǒ shǒu 所守), Wang 2.185c (gǎnxìè 感謝), 12.8 'brothers', Wang 2.185a (repetition of gǔlán 古蘭 in brackets, relative clause). In Wang 81.17 we find a repetition of shī yī 誓以 "swear by", which occurred in Wang 81.15; the repetition reminds the reader of the syntactic context of what follows.

As noted above, the tendency to explicitate is symptomatic for what has disparagingly been called 'translationese' (Levý 1969: 110-122; Chesterman 1997: 71; Fawcett 1997: 100).
5.9 RELIGIOUS CONCEPTS AND TERMINOLOGY

I have chosen to comment at some length on some of the lexical choices of the translators, especially with regard to religious terminology and concepts which are difficult to translate. Shorter comments of a similar nature have been left in the notes, but will be included in the following discussion. The reader is also referred to Appendix B, which is a limited concordance to the translation of Arabic terms in the translation selections studied in this thesis. It is moreover instructive to compare the usage of terms which are shared by more than one of the religious traditions in China to their usage within the other traditions.

In order to introduce a historical dimension to the discussion, I have compared the terminology used in the two Chinese translations studied here with sections of Liú Zhi's Tiānfāng zhìshēng shìlù 天方至聖實錄 A True Record of the Arabian Prophet [lit. Perfect Sage]. It was written in the early 18th century and has been one of the most influential Muslim Chinese works in traditional China.

5.9.1 Mosque and Prostration

The words sajada and masjid 'mosque' are derived from the same Arabic root, s-j-d with the basic sense of «prostration».

The verb sajada" prostrate oneself" in Q 96.19 has been translated as kǒushòu 叩首 and kòutóu 叩頭, both lit. 'to knock one's head (on the ground)'. These two words are treated as synonyms by HDC (3: 73; 3: 74), and the meaning is explained as follows: "To kneel down and knock one's forehead on the ground. In old times a piece of etiquette of the most solemn kind." Or, in a word, 'to kowtow'. Kǒu 叩 is found in Tiānfāng as well (Tf

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129 Many key terms in the Qur'ān have been thoroughly analysed by Izutsu Toshihiko (1966, 1980) in terms of semantic fields. I have found this gold mine helpful more than once in the course of this study.
130 The sajda 'prostration' is an important part of the Islamic ritual of prayer (salāt), and the mosque, masjid, is the «place of prostration». This prostration involves kneeling down and bowing forwards until the forehead touches the ground (E under the headword sajda), and thus seems to correspond rather nicely to kǒushòu 叩首 and kòutóu 叩頭 'to knock one's head (on the ground)'. The term contrasts with rak'a, which only involves bowing from an upright position. (Roberto Tottoli, "Bowling&Prostration", EQ 1.254-5; cf. EI 8.406 under rak'a.)
131 Cihāi 1979 reports one source as distinguishing between kǒushòu 叩首 and kòutóu 叩頭, where the former only means to «raise one's joined hands to the forehead», while the latter corresponds to the definition given above. The source quoted is 名義考, 卷六 (p. 1661)
In Q 12.4, Yūsuf tells his father that he saw the sun, the moon and the stars prostrate themselves before him. Here, the translators do not use kòushōu 吭首 and kòutóu 吭頭. Mā has jūgōng 鞠躬 'bow to' and Wáng has bài 拜 'pay obeisance to'. At first the reason may seem to be that the translators want to differentiate between bowing to Allāh and bowing to a human being. But that explanation works only in the case of Mā, for Wáng uses bài 拜 'pay obeisance to' elsewhere in cases where Allāh is the object of obeisance, e.g. 114.3; cf. also lìbài 禮拜 'worship'. Possibly the translators did not want them to bow as low to Yūsuf as to Allāh (i.e. with the head touching the ground).

In the translation of masjid 'mosque', lit. «place of prostration» (Q 2.187d), the semantic element of «prostration» is absent in Ma (qīngzhēnīi 清真寺 'pure and true temple; >mosque') and at best indirectly present in Wáng (mòsīzhídé 模斯志德, transcription of masjid)\(^{132}\). It is significant that the traditional Muslim Chinese term for «mosque», which is the one Mā has chosen, involves the character sī 寺 'temple'. This usage is also found in Tiānfāng\(^{133}\).

**5.9.2 Guidance onto the Straight Path**

In Q 1.6 we read ihdī-nā l-ṣirāṭa l-mustaqīm "lead us (onto) the straight path". The translations are zhènglù 正路 and zhèngdào 正道. The expressions are largely synonymical (both mean "right way"), but dào 道 'way' has a long history as a central philosophical and religious concept in China. In addition to its general sense, dào 道 has come to mean both «the Way» in the sense of «the right way of leading one's life» (with the extension «teachings») and has also been used about an underlying cosmological principle with metaphysical properties, "the Dao". If Mā uses a different word for «way» here (lù 路) in order to avoid all the cultural senses and connotations of dào 道, that contrasts with his adoption of this very term in the translation of allāḏīna 'āmanū "[...] who have believed[I]" as xīndào de rènmèn 信道的人們 "the people who believe in the way", where dào 道 has to be understood as «Islam»\(^{134}\).

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\(^{132}\) Cf. the transcription given by Gladney (1991: 407); màisijíde 麦斯吉德.
\(^{133}\) Tф 775.1; Tf 137.5, 140.8, 137.6, 142.7.
\(^{134}\) An alternative understanding is possible, taking dào 道 to be a suffix analagous to its role in zhīdào 知道 'know' and shuōdào 說道 'talk'.
In line with this, we find xīndào de rénmen 不信道的人們 "the people who do not believe in the way" for al-kāfīr "the unbeliever" (Mā 78.40).

It is worth noting that both dào 道 and lù 路 occur for «Way» in Liú Zhi's Prophet biography. In Tf 811.7-8 the expressions zhènglù 正路 (Tf 735.9) and zhèngdào 正道 (Tf 20.7) both occur135.

The phrase zhèngdào 正道 "right way" itself has a long history as well, and has in general been used to mean «the right way to act»; significantly, it can also mean «thoroughfare». In Buddhism it is also technically defined as the way followed by The Three Vehicles136.

It is significant that the metaphor of the «way» or «path» works similarly in both cultures. Is this a universal phenomenon?

Note that the character dào 道, used in the translation of ihdi-nā "lead us" in Q 1.6, is probably etymologically related to dào 道 'way' and used to be written in the same way in ancient texts. Dào 導 'guide' is used throughout in both translations for the cognates of hadā 'guide'.

The word zhèngdào 正道 "right way" turns up again in Mā's paraphrastic translation of hudā 'guidance' (2.185a, 96.11) and yarṣūdhā "are rightly guided" (2.186): 遵循正道 "follow the right way". Wang 2.186 has huò zhèngdào 獲正道 "obtain the right way".

While the path is mustaqīm 'straight' in Arabic, it is zhèng 正 in Chinese. «Zhèng 正» is that which is «right», «upright», «correct» and «orthodox»; so the connotations are appropriate. But in 81.28, where the corresponding verb istaqāma 'be straight occurs, Mā translates with the four-character set-phrase xùnqū dào jū 循規蹈矩. Wáng, though, keeps the connection, and translates zhèngzhí 正直 'be right and straight'.

The opposite of «hudā 'guidance'» is «dalāl 'error'». The concept occurs twice in my material and is translated by Mā as mìwù 迷誤 'be at fault'. Wáng does the same in his translation of Q 1.7, but translates mìwù 謬誤 'error' in Q 12.8. The variation does not seem to be significant, although the component of «losing one's way», present in both in the meaning of dalāl and the morpheme mí 迷 'err; lose one's way' is absent from Wang's choice for Q 12.8.

5.9.3 Messengers

There are basically two types of messengers occurring in the Qurʾān: the angels and the Prophet Muḥammad. Both are Allāh's messengers. In Arabic, Muḥammad is

135 Israeli contrasts lù and dào as being mundane and philosophical-religious respectively. (1997: 99)
commonly referred to as *al-rasūl* "the messenger".

*Rasūl* occurs in Q 81.19, traditionally interpreted as a reference to the angel Jibrīl. The translators render it as *shī* (zhē 使(者) 'envoy; messenger'.


This is an ancient word which was originally used for various deities connected with the sky. Later it was used to refer to the God of the Zoroastrians. It was also adopted by Catholics for the «angels» of the Bible (CY1979: 2804). The Islamic use of this term is attested in *Tiānfāng* (Tf 35.2, 134.4, 134.5). The choice of *tiānshén* 天神 may have been aware of the proximity between the Qur’ānic and Christian concept of angels and thus chosen accordingly. The use of the same term in Mā 81.23 (an addition by Ma referring back to 81.19) could be motivated by the desire to avoid any confusion with the Messenger (*al-rasūl*, Muḥammad).

Wáng opts for *xiānshì* 仙使, lit. "messenger of transcendent being".

This is surprising in so far as the only two senses given by HDC are as follows: 1) "messenger of a transcendent being (*shénxiān* 神仙)" and 2) "a honorific designation for the emperor's envoy" (HDC 1:1142). It not clear why Wáng would want to use a term that is burdened with all these senses; but in terms of its components, *xiānshì* 仙使 does refer to both «supernatural beings» and «messenger», which is clearly true of the angels.

It is interesting that neither of the translators is tempted to use the Buddhist term *fēitiān* 飛天, and this is surely to mark a clear difference from that competing tradition through terminology. The *fēitiān* 飛天 are deities commonly depicted in Buddhist murals or stone carvings as hovering in the air (HDC 12:691). The non-use of this term may be seen as resistance to cultural adaption.

Note the difficulty the translators have in finding an autonomous Islamic term for «angel».

### 5.9.4 Soul and Spirit

*Jīngshén* 精神 'spirit' translates *rūḥ* 'spirit', a common way of referring to the angel Jibrīl. Transcribed as *lūhā* 魂哈 by Wáng, Shí Zīzhōu and Lǐn Sǒng also transcribe in their translations. Tóng chooses the Christian term *shènglìng* 聖霊 'Holy Spirit'.

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137 Probably itself a loanword from Ethiopic, and may have been influenced by the Jewish version of the concept [Jeffery 1937: 269].
138 Note that Protestants adopted *tiānshì* 天使, clearly an etymology and explanatory translation of the Greek *aggelos* 'messenger'.
139 Jīngshén 精神 'spirit' [HDC 9: 221]: 1. original..... (opp. body) 2. consciousness 3. gist, essence 4. energy, constitution 5. vitality 6. state of mind; mien 7. elegant demeanour 8. cleverness 9. magical power
140 Cf Strandnaaes 1987: 94, 136
*Línghūn* 靈魂 is Mā’s translation of *nafs* 'soul' (Q 81.7), where Wáng has the rather cryptical *xìngmìng* 性命 'soul' (see nQ 81.7). To confuse matters even more, Wáng (1946) uses *línghūn* 靈魂 to translate *ruî* 'spirit'. Note that the occurrence of *nafs* 'soul' in Q 81.14 is replaced by the more general *rēn* 人 'human being'.

### 5.9.5 Retribution, Sin and Merit

As noted in nQ 81.9, the notion of «sin» is not clearly distinguished from the notions of «crime» and «guilt» in Chinese\(^\text{141}\). But the concept of significant consequences — after death — of one's actions in life, is certainly shared by the two systems and acts as an incentive toward moral behaviour in both cultures. But whereas the consequences in the Chinese system tend to be various and often temporary (e.g. the Buddhist concept of Hell), in Islam there is only the stark dichotomy of heaven and hell, of reward and punishment, absolute in its finality.

The concept of accumulating merit (and its opposite) seems to be present in both cultures, and the reference in Q 81.10 to leaves containing a list of good and bad actions is readily dealt with. Mā translates by means of an indigenous religious term; Wáng just says *juànzōng* 卷宗 'files', explains their folding at death and unfolding at resurrection in his commentary, but does not consider it necessary to say more about the presumably known phenomenon.

The fact that *yawm al-dīn* "The Day of Judgement" (Q 1.4) has been translated as *bāoyīngrì* "the day of retribution" points to an adoption of the cyclical concept of «retention» found in Buddhism into the linear Qur'ānic concept of time\(^\text{142}\). Elsewhere, Mā’s introduction of the word *shàn bào* 善報 "positive retribution" into the text (2.184b) also points in the direction of a restatement of certain Qur’ānic ideas in indigenous terms. More generally the word can mean «response» [HDC 2:1160], so the concept is

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\(^{141}\) Zuì 罪 "sin" is a Buddhist term which comes close to «sin». Note however that the definition in HDC (8.1032) is operational: "指應當收到報應的罪惡 [denotes crimes which should attract retribution]". Zuì 罪 is clearly a more general term than 'sin' (HDC 8.1031)

\(^{142}\) I.e. the idea that what you do in this life has consequences for your next life in the cycle of rebirth.

The word *bāoyīng* 報應 was originally used about the mirroring relation between events on *earth* and events in the sky. There was a belief that the state of the empire on earth would be presaged or accompanied by signs in the sky, as for example when a change of dynasty occurred.
maybe less specifically Buddhist than it appears at the first glance.

The concept expressed by dīn, a component of yāwm al-dīn "The Day of Judgement", is a complex semantic composite\(^1\), the most important specific senses in the Qur'ān being «religion» and «judgement», as in this phrase. The Day of Judgement is the day when man, after death, will be resurrected and held responsible for his past actions, and God will justly judge him and administer punishment or reward.

Summing up, a term with significant Buddhist connotations has been used to translate a key concept in Islam. Since Islam excludes cyclical rebirth, the term is radically transformed with respect to possible implications as understood by the uninitiated reader of the Qur'ān in Chinese\(^2\).

Closely connected to the theme of reward and punishment is the notion of paradise and hell.

Paradise (al-janna "The Garden") is mentioned in 81.13, and is rendered as lèyuán 樂園 'garden of pleasure' (Mǎ) and tuānyuán 天園 'heavenly garden' (Wáng). The latter is not found in HDC, so we may wonder if this isn’t Wáng’s creation. As for lèyuán 樂園, it is the standard Christian word for «paradise», and although it is listed as a new word by jīn-xiàn-dài Hányǔ xīncí cìyuán cídàn 近現代漢語新詞源詞典 (2000), it occurs in Taisho and must be older.

The two terms for hell occurring in my material, Jannah (78.21) and jahīm (81.12) are rendered by the traditional Chinese term huóyù 火獄 'hell', lit."fire prison" (see nQ 78.21 for details).

5.9.6 Believers and Unbelievers

The basic moral dichotomy in the Qur’ān is that between the kāfir 'unbeliever' and the mu'min 'believer'. Although the standard translation of kāfir is 'unbeliever', it obscures the fact

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143 It is useful to know something about the history of the word dīn in Arabic in order to understand the Qur'ānic use of it. After a bit of digging, we find in pre-Islamic literature at least the following senses: «custom, habit», «restitution», «obedience» and «subduing authority». (The fact that the two last senses are in a certain sense opposites should not startle us, as this is by no means the only case and it is worth observing that «obedience» and «authority» can be seen as two aspects of the same phenomenon.) [LA; Izutsu 1964: 221. For a thorough analysis of the semantic field of dīn, see ibid. 219-229]

Now the most common and important specific senses of dīn in the Qur'ān are «religion» and «judgement». So how do these senses relate to those already mentioned a few lines above? It is possible, as Izutsu Toshihiko does, to derive the almost technical Qur'ānic usage from the pre-Islamic ones [Izutsu 1964: 225; 229]. On the other hand comparative philological data point to the interference, to say the least, of the Middle Persian dēn 'religion' and the Hebrew dīn 'judgement' (Aramaic/Syriac dīnâ), the very two senses we find in the Qur'ān.

The phrase yāwm al-dīn 'The Day of Judgement' is mirrored in the Hebrew expression yōm ha-dīn (Aramaic yōm dīnâ), which has the same meaning, and which probably was its model. [Jeffery 1938: 131-133]

that the concept of «kufr» (kufr is the corresponding verbal noun) has «ingratitude» as one of its basic components. In other words, the kāfir is someone who reacts with ingratitude to Allāh's mercy (nhāma). In this concept, «Unbelief» was originally only a corollary of this response to the divine mercy; (a term closer to «unbelief» is «takṣīf 'crying lies to', see section on Allāh's signs). This explains why the original antonym to kufr was šukr 'gratitude', and only later 'imān 'belief; faith'. Mu'mīn 'believer' is the active participle of the verb 'āmana 'believe'. (Izutsu 1964: 230-233)

The translators have translated kāfir 'unbeliever' as bú xǐndào de rén 不信道的人 'a man who doesn't believe in the way' (Mā) and bú xīn zē 不信者 'unbeliever' (Wáng; Q. 78.40). This obviously does not reflect the element of «ingratitude».

Mu'mīn 'believer' does not occur in my Qur'ān selections, but in Q 2.183 we find yā 'ayyu-hā llaḏīna 'āamanū "o you who have believed[l]". Wáng has translated using the hybrid mūmīn 穆民, which probably originated as a transcription of Arabic mu'mīn 'believer', with the superimposed reading mū 穆 - mín 民 'people', where the first element is an abbreviation of either Mūhānmūdē 穆罕默德 'Muhammad' or mūsīlīn 穆斯林 'Muslim'. This term goes back to early Qīng 清 times at least; we find it in Tf 281.2 [com.]. Mā, on the other hand, produces an expression which is exactly parallel to his translation of kāfir 'unbeliever': xǐndào de rénmen 信道的人們 "the people who believe in the way" (though the latter has the plural suffix -men).

Wa-l-yu'mīnū bī "and let them believe in me" (2.186) is translated as jiào tāmen [...] , xǐnyáng wò 敎他們[...],信仰我 "let them [...] (and) believe in me" (Mā) and lǐng bìdēng guīxīn wò 令彼等歸信我 "let them believe (firmly in) me"

In the section about guidance we have already noted that Mā's translation of 'āmana 'believe' in 2.183 incorporates the concept «dào 道 'way'» (q.v.). But one important question remains: given that faith (with belief at its heart) is not central to Chinese religion, how can the Chinese equivalents adopted by the translators express it? Significantly, under the entry xīn 信 in GD we do not find the sense «believe in». The core meaning of xīn 信 is «trust». No doubt xīnyáng 信仰 is used in this sense in Modern Chinese, but the question of how and when this usage originated is still left unanswered.

Yàtjà — 'be rebellious' (in want of a better gloss; Q 96.6)— is one of the unbeliever's modes of behaviour, and is a kind of blind and haughty rebellion against the Truth.

(Bayḏāwī, translation and discussion: Izutsu 1966: 149). Ma translates it as bêni 悖逆, "violate the right way" (XD 57); Wáng has dīng bì wēi è 定必為惡 "(he will) inevitably do evil", which is very general. Here we see a tendency to generalise a specific term (see the section on normalisation).

«Gratitude» appears in Q 2.185e in the form of taškurūn "you (may) thank" and is straightforwardly translated as gānxìè 'feel grateful; thank'. It also sneaks into Wáng's translation of ʻalā mā hadā-kum "because he has guided you" in the same verse, which becomes yī 「gānxìè」yǐndāo ěr [...] 以「感謝」引導而 [...] "[...] because of 「thanking」for guidance".

The concept of «taqwā 'guardedness; fear of God», also embodied in the cognate verb ittaqā 'guard os. against, fear; be pious', has seen a progression from the original meaning of «guarding oneself against something by putting something between oneself and the feared entity» to the weakened and shifted religious meaning of «fear of God» and finally «piety». The participle muttaqī 'godfearing' came to be almost synonymous to muslim and mu'min 'believer' in reference to the adherents of Islam. For a detailed semantic analysis, see Izutsu 1980: 234-239.

The translation jīngwèi 敬畏 'reverence' only covers the «awe» aspect, and does not take «guardedness» into account (Both transl. 2.183, 2.187e; Ma 96.12, 78.31). In 96.12 and 78.31, however, Wáng has jīngshèn 敬慎 'reverent caution', where the «caution» element is crucial in getting closer to the Arabic (HDC 5: 489). The expression of the concept of «taqwā 'fear of God'» in Chinese seems to have caused some trouble, and the translation is certainly not transparent.

5.9.7 Allāh's Signs: Revelation

Allāh reveals himself to mankind through his signs, his 'āyāt. Theses signs may be linguistic or non-linguistic, which is reflected in the fact that the technical term for a verse of the Qur'ān is precisely 'āya (pl. 'āyāt)⁴⁶. The translators' choices of Chinese terms corresponds to this duality: for the linguistic type we have jié(wén) 節(文) 'verse (text)' (Ma 12.1; sūra headings, both transl.), and for the signs in general we find jīxiàng 跡像 'sign' (Ma 2.187, 12.7, 78.28), biāozhēng 表徵 'symbol' (Wang 12.7) and xiānji 顯蹟

⁴⁶ Analysis in Izutsu 1964: 133ff.
'clear imprint' (Wang 2.187, 12.1, 78.28). Although Wang renders 'āyu in 12.1 with a general term, he adds the other alternative in his commentary.

Revelation in its "linguistic" form is called wāhy, the original meaning of which was «to communicate silently», "inspiring the meaning in the recipient", so to speak. The cognate verb 'awhā occurs in Q 12.3, which Wang renders by mòshì 默示 'inspire silently or secretly'. That comes very close to the original meaning of wāhy, but arguably does not convey its function as a terminus technicus for «revelation». Ma's translation of the same verb is much more conventional, qīshì 敦示 'inspire; enlighten' (XD). Now this is a terminus technicus (in spite of its slightly different lexical core meaning), precisely what one would expect of a scholar of religion.

The Qur'ān in itself is of course the revelation par excellence. Qur'ān148, which etymologically speaking means something like «lectionary», is transcribed by both translators, but Ma also adds jīng 經 'scripture'. One wonders if this is only a strictly conventional clarification, or if doesn't also lend some of the status of the Chinese Classics (also jīng 經) to this alien scripture.

The Qur'ān is said to be "sent down" by Allāh, which is another term for revelation, 'anzala 'send down'. It is traditionally rendered by jiàng 降 'send down' (Tf 21.2), also used by Wang (Q 97.1, 12.2). Ma in the same places adds shì 示 'show; express' to obtain jiàngshì 降示 'express by sending down', a term which crops up in Muslim texts but does not seem to be a general Chinese word (e.g. no entry in HDC).

5.9.8 Worlds and Creatures

«Shìjiè 世界 'world'» was not a current concept in pre-Buddhist Chinese and the multiplicity of worlds, as it appears in the Qur'ān (Q 1.2, 81.27, 81.29) was not a common concept in pre-Buddhist China, and it never became current outside narrow Buddhist circles until modern times149. Ma consistently translates 'ālamān "worlds [oblique case]" as quán shìjiè 全世界 "all the world", ignoring the multiplicity. Wang has zhòng shìjiè 眾世界 "all the worlds", which is plural.

147 Cf. what is said in the Tiānfǎng about Mohammad's reception of the revelation: shèng mò shì qí yì 聖默識其義 "The sage [-Prophet] silently understood its meaning." (Tf 277.4).
148 Q 2.185 and Q 12.2.
Note that the traditional Chinese phrase 天地萬物 "all the things (beings) of heaven and earth" occurs in the translation rabb al-samāwāt wa-l-’ard "master of the heavens and the earth" (Q 78.37). Wànwù 萬物 "all things (beings)" is also Liú Zhì’s equivalent for ʿālamīn in Q 1.2.150

With respect to the creatures inhabiting the world, we may note the following (for angels, see the section entitled Messengers):

Ṣaṭṭān can be used generically or specifically, much like 'devil' in English. For Ṣaṭṭān (Q 81.25), the tempter and enemy of mankind, we find ūmō 惡魔 'demon' (Ma), and the transcription Shādān 色但 (Wang).151 Ūmō 惡魔 'demon' does not seem to have been used to refer to a specific arch-demon in Chinese before its adoption for «Devil» by Christianity.152 Ṣaṭṭān has no clear equivalent in Chinese religion or mythology.153 Both translators take Ṣaṭṭān in 12.5 to be a generic reference, to judge by the fact that Wáng has not transcribed, but that is disputable, considering the epithet rājīn 'accursed'.

Jīnna (pl. of jīnnī俊)154 in Q 114.6 is transcribed as zhēnī 鎮堵 by Wáng and translated as jīnghóng 精靈 'ghosts and demons' by Mā.

In Q 114.3 a generic term for «god», īlāḥ, is used in reference to Allāh. One notes that whereas Mā has no scruples in using the traditional Chinese term shēnming 神明 'god', Wáng carefully paraphrases: rănleǐ suō bài zhé 人類所拜者 "the one whom mankind does obeisance to".

5.9.9 Master and Sustainer of All Creation155

Allah is ubiquitously referred to as rabb 「master」156, which expresses the notion of

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151 Cf. Transcribed by Nestorians as shata. # Ref
152 Cf. FG under ūmō 惡魔.
153 There is a king of the underworld, Yānwáng 閻王 King Yama, but he is deprived of metaphysical significance beyond being the chief administrator of the Underworld. His full name is Yamarāja 閻魔王 [CH 1979: 2018; 265], and is ultimately derived from Hindu mythology through Buddhism.
154 The jīnn 'genies' are intelligent, invisible supernatural beings. They are held to be made of fire, and can move about swiftly without having to follow a definite path in space. The pre-Islamic Arabs held the jīnn to be powerful beings, that required their share of man’s attention in order not to "misbehave". Moreover, they were believed to have special knowledge of al-gayb, the things that are hidden from the view and thought of mankind. This characteristic is also prominent in the ability of the jīnn to possess a man and inspire him. Mediums possessed by spirits is a familiar phenomenon from traditional Chinese religion, and has very old roots (Paper 1995: 111-124).

Although the jīnn are not insignificant in the Qur’ān and the Islamic view of the world, they are have lost much of their power as compared to their standing in the pre-Islamic period. As all creatures they have to submit to God’s will, and the Qur’ān vehemently denies that they know anything about hidden matters: the knowledge of these are the prerogatory of the omniscient and omnipotent Allāh. Despite this, plachation of jīnn by means of sacrifices has been known to continue up to modern times, indicating the awe they are held in by some people.

[jacqueline Chabbi: "Jinn" in EQ III: 43-49]
156 Rabb is conventionally translated into English as 'Lord', presumably following the example of Bible translation, and thus successfully communicating the religious overtones (probably even the right ones at that). But there is a catch: 'lord' strongly suggests «aristocratic nobility», Ar. rabb does not. The latter is strongly tied to «ownership» and by extension «control», for which reason 'master' or 'owner' would be the proper gloss, although this carries with it a loss of precisely the religious
God as "master, sustainer and owner of his creation"^157. The standard translation of rabb into Chinese is zhù 主 'ruler; owner' (see below for enumeration of senses). Zhù 主 occurs in the Tiānfāng (everywhere), and so this usage dates back to the beginning of the 18th century at least, but is probably much older.

There is a strong link between «rabb» and «upbringing» and «rearing»^158, a fact which has motivated Wáng's translation of rabb as yāngzhù 養主 "Rearing Ruler" in many places (e.g. Q 96.1, 12.6 ) and as zhù 主 "ruler" qualified by tiáoyǎng^159 調養 'nurture' (Q 1.2).

It is thus tempting to gloss zhù 主 as "ruler" in the English literal translations in order to underline the curtailing of Allah's omnipotence by considering him a mere «ruler», although this doesn't do justice to the fact that the semantic range of zhù 主 is much wider than «ruler»: it refers to «being in charge» in general, and may specifically refer to a «husband» or «family head», «owner» or «host», and the idea of a «principal agent» in general, and as such is more appropriate as a translation of Ar. rabī 'master' than Eng. 'ruler' would be. Nevertheless, zhù 主 and rabb do actually share the sense of «ownership», even if it may not be as central to «zhù 主» as it is to «rabb». So I retain 'ruler' as a literal gloss^160. [HDC 1:693.]

That the depiction of the Master and Sustainer of all Creation should borrow terms and figures from the realm of human governance is not in itself surprising, and we do find Allāh described e.g. as malik 'king' (Q 114.3) and even al-malik al-ḥaqq "the true king" (Q 25.26), which comes pretty close to the Chinese term for Allāh, zhēnzhū 真主 "True Ruler"^161. Still it is difficult to avoid the impression that the Chinese translators have contributed to the imagery of imperial power in the depiction of divine omnipotence. In addition to zhù 主 and Zhēnzhū 真主, terms such as jiàng 降 'send down', fèng 奉 '(respectfully) take (up)', cì 赐 'bestow', èn 恩 'grace' and zhōng 忠 overtones that 'lord' preserves. Since the purpose of my retranslations is to exhibit the semantic and syntactic baseline of their source texts, not all the possible or intended associations, I choose 'master'. The guess that 'master' is an appropriate gloss is proven right by the fact that Arab lexicographers felt the need to point out that since rabb was used about God, slaves and servants should no longer refer to their master as rabī "<my> master", but rather as sayyidī "<my> MASTER"^2. In other words, the tendency to reserve certain constructions with rabb for its reading as «God» is a secondary development. [LA 1.399-400].

^157 Calderini: "Lord", in EQ 3: 230
^158 E.g. the fact that certain verb forms of the same root are interchangeable with the (presumably etymologically related) verb rabbā 'rear; raise'. [LA 1.401a]
^159 As for tiáoyǎng 調養, HDC lists two senses: 1. «take good care of oneself when recuperating from an illness» and 2. «cultivate oneself [one’s characters, skills etc.]». Neither sense seems to fit exactly (HDC 11: 309), but I translate tentatively as 'nurture'.
^160 It follows that I render zhēnzhū 真主 as "True Ruler" instead of "True Lord".
^161 Cf. Q 3.28. See "Kings and Rulers" in the EQ (2.90-95), by Louise Marlow.
'faithful (to the emperor)' all underline hierarchies well known under heaven. Wáng's use of quèxià 闕下 'imperial residence' is symptomatic. Similar examples abound in Tiānfāng.

5.9.10 Worship and Service

In the Qur‘ān Allāh is the Master, and so it easily follows that human beings are his servants or slaves, in Arabic: 'abd (pl. 'ibād). This is an intimate cognate of the verb 'abada, which means «to serve», but since it is used (almost?) exclusively about service to supernatural beings, its meaning is closer to «worship».

The translators have rendered 'abd as pǔrén 僕人 (2.186 and 96.10)

LA 3.270b gives two meanings of the word 'abd 'slave': 1. «human being (as someone who is subject to the authority of his creator)» and 2. «slave» (defined as mamlūk 'slave'). But LA quotes several views to the effect that 'abd ought not to be used about one's slaves, to avoid blasphemy. Confer similar restrictions on the slave's use of rabb 'master' in reference to his master (cf. the section on rabb)

Pú 僕 etc. HDC 1:1668 ff Orig. a kind of slave, but later used for any servant.

XD 987 states that pú 僕 is the antonym of zhā. In Tf we find both pú 僕 (Tf 24.1, 24.8) and the expression zhènhū zhǐ nú 真主之奴 "The True Ruler's slaves" (Tf 812.9).

'Abada 'worship' (Q 1.5) is rendered as chōngbài 崇拜 'worship; adore' (WL) by Ma 1.5 and as bàì 拜 'pay obeisance to' by Wang¹⁶².

One of the central acts of a Muslim's worship is ṣalāt 'ritual prayer'. The corresponding verb ṣallā 'to perform ritual prayer' occurs in Q 96.10 and is translated as lìbāì 景拜 'worship', another traditional Chinese term. Its use in an Islamic context as early as the Ming dynasty is attested in Tiānfāng¹⁶³.

Bàì 拜 'pay obeisance to' also occurs in 114.3 in Wáng's paraphrase for 'ilāh 'god', rén suǒ bàì zhē 人所拜者 "the one to whom people do obeisance".

Dà'wā which means «(call of) prayer» denotes another way for man to communicate with his creator. Mā uses the standard general Chinese equivalent for 'pray' to translate this word and its cognates, namely qídào 祈祷, which is in itself an old indigenous religious term (Ma 2.186). Wáng is more literal, translating it as hū(yù) 呼 (顰) 'call', which is an etymologising translation, since the basic meaning of dá'ā is «to call». The use of yù 'appeal' 風 is paralleled in Tf 632.4.

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¹⁶³ Tf 134.6, 137.6, 280.3.
5.9.11 The Basmala—Formula.

The formula bi-smī l-lāhī l-Rahmānī l-raḥīm — "In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the merciful", called basmala, is a common invocation found in the Qur'ān and widely used in Muslims' everyday language all over the world.

The first part of the Arabic —bi-smī l-lāh "in the name of God"— is construed as follows by the exegete Bayḍāwī: "The meaning [of bi-smī l-lāh] is [']being blessed in [or: through] the name of God —exalted be he—, read[!]".

Both translators add the verb fèng 奉 «(respectfully) up-hold», thus compensating for this idiomatic invocational formula ¹⁶⁴ which presumably has no exact Chinese equivalent ¹⁶⁵. This use of fèng 奉 is apparently related to its occurrence in the collocation fèngming 奉命, 'to receive (&: obey) orders', but the exact nature of this relation is not clear.

Several native informants glossed fèng... de mìng 奉...之名 as yǐ...de míngyì 以...的名義 "in the name of" ¹⁶⁶, which is similar to what we find in Ma 96.1: fèng... de míngyì 奉...的名義.

The whole phrase al-Rahmān al-raḥīm is translated by Wáng as pǔ cí dú cí 普慈獨慈 "the generally compassionate, uniquely [or: specifically] compassionate". Bayḍāwī says that al-raḥmān refers to Allah's mercy for the believers and unbelievers in general ('āmmatan) in this world and the next, while al-raḥīm refers to his mercy for the believers specifically (kāṣṣatan). This might be the reason why Wáng uses pǔ 普 'general' and dú 獨 'specific; alone' in his translation. It is however far from plausible that this motivation would be recognized by Chinese readers uninitiated to the

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¹⁶⁴ The Arabic construction bi-smī l-lāh "in the name of God" is by the exegete Bayḍāwī construed as follows: "The meaning [of bi-smī l-lāh] is [']being blessed in [or: through] the name of God —exalted be he—, read[!]"

¹⁶⁵ The chanting (and veneration?) of names is however by no means alien to Buddhism: in the practice of niānfó 念佛 (lit. "read [or: remember] Buddha", Skt. buddhānusmṛti), the devotee recalls a Buddha's name mentally, visualises the Buddha's body and merit, or calls out the names of the Buddha (Fōguāng 3208). This reminds one of ḍikr, 'remembrance (of God)', a common practice among Muslims throughout the world, especially among Sūfis. This last fact is of significance in China, since Sufism has traditionally played an important role in Chinese Islam. On is also reminded of nāmó 喃無 'salute (Buddha)', derived from Skt. nāmas 'reverential salutation', which is in some ways similar to the invocation under discussion.

Though there has been a wide use of negative taboos for names in the Chinese tradition ever since Warring States times, notably a taboo on the use of the current emperor's given name, the positive veneration of a metaphysically significant name, as celebrated in the Bible, seems to be alien.

¹⁶⁶ In the sense of "on behalf of".
explanation just mentioned. The lexical meanings of dú 獨 ('specific; alone', a central concept in philosophical Daoism, are no significant help towards a precise understanding of the phrase dúcí 獨慈 "specifically loving", which one suspects would have sounded quite outlandish.

5.9.12 Allāh

Mā uses the Chinese expression Zhēnzhū 真主, lit. 'true ruler', for Allāh (e.g. Q 1.1). It is interesting to note that the Wáng opts for the transcription of Allāh, thus retaining the profoundly alien character of Allah as a central feature. By contrast Mā uses a term which has accumulated various senses in the centuries preceding these translations. It seems that the danger of translating Allāh as Zhēnzhū 真主 "True Ruler" is that it makes Allāh look like a mundane ruler rather than an almighty, transcendent God. For within the context of traditional Arab philology the word Allāh is perceived as unique, more like a proper noun. But zhǔ 主 is also used to translate Ar. rabb 'Master' (q.v.).

In any case, the term Zhēnzhū 真主 'True Ruler' is not new. It dates back to the early 18th century at least, since it is ubiquitously employed in Liú Zhi's 劉智 biography of the Prophet Muḥammad (e.g. Tf 20.8, 21.5). But it is of much older vintage, even in a religious sense. Zhēnzhū 真主 'true ruler', occurs at least twice in Chinese Nestorian texts.

What was the semantic motivation for adopting this term in an Islamic context? There are other possibilities, however. On one hand, the presence of zhēn 真 'true' may have something to do with the common Muslim Chinese expression qīngzhēn 清真. Qīngzhēn 清真, lit. 'pure and true', is very frequent in Chinese Islam. It refers to «ritual

167 But note that the co-existence of loan-word (transliteration) and indigenous word is not an unusual thing even for such words as Allāh. E.g. the parallel use of گُد 'God' and Allāh in Persian.
168 There are hypothetically relevant lexical senses of zhēnzhū 真主, lit. 'true ruler', to be found: 1. «emperor ordained by heaven» 2. «someone actually in charge» [HDC 2:141]. If these senses are the basis of the sense of «Allah», it is rather prosaic etymology. See however the following discussion.
169 See, however, the discussion on rabb 'master' above.
170 The first occurrence is in the famous inscription on a stele found in Xi'an outlining the dogmas and history of Nestorianism in China. In this inscription, the Christian God is referred to once as wūyuán zhēnzhū 無元真主 'true ruler without beginning' [Saeki 1932: CT p. 1], and once as 詩曰 真主無元 [Saeki 1932: CT p. 8]. The Nestorians did by the way use other terms for «God»: Fō 佛 'Buddha' (sic!) and yishēn 一神 "one god" [Standaert, Handbook, Vol. I, p. 37].
purity» and «authenticity» in religion, and is used in many contexts simply to indicate that something is Islamic171. Raphael Israeli (1997: 90-91) traces zhēn 真 'true' to Daoist and Buddhist sources and asserts that the connotations deriving from this interfere with the concept of « Zhēnzhǔ 真主».

It is significant that Muslims were apparently never tempted to use tiān 天 'heaven' to translate Allāh. This differs markedly from the Christian case172.

**Allāh’s Mercy and Blessing**

*Al-Raḥmān* "the Merciful" and *al-raḥīm* "the merciful" are two of the foremost of Allāh’s attributes. Together with related attributes, such as ḍafīr 'forgiving', they underline the conception of Allāh’s mercy in spite of his stern warnings of threatening punishment on the Day of Judgement. We shall now take a closer look at the semantic fields linked to raḥma and the terms used to translate it. For the sake of clarity, it is imperative to define some artificial semantic labels allowing us to avoid ambiguity. Thus the following definitions:

\[
\begin{align*}
|m\text{ercy}| &= \text{the action that A forgoes her right to do B harm and may even be good to him, while B is in the power of A, and in spite of the fact that B does not deserve anything good from A} \\
|pity| &= \text{A's condescending feeling of tenderness aroused by the suffering of B.} \\
|empathy| &= \text{A's ability to feel or her attempt to feel what B is feeling.}
\end{align*}
\]

171 For zhēn 真 'true', see Israeli 1997: 90-92. Qīngzhēn 清真 is on the one hand a reference to dietary prescriptions (mainly the prohibition of pork) and bodily cleanliness, but on the other hand it is also a reference to the perception of being distinct from and purer than the others, qīngzhēn 清真 being a symbol of the way of living of Muslim Chinese. In the sense of representing what is lawful and not forbidden, it corresponds to the Arabic ḥalāl. But since the semantic domain of the concept is much wider than ḥalāl, Dru Gladney has suggested that a closer correspondence might be Ar. ṭahāra, «ritual or moral purity» [Gladney 1998: 25-29] (#C HD). The importance of this term can be seen clearly from its occurrence in some of some words central to Muslim life in China: qīngzhēn fānquān 清真饭馆 'halāl restaurant', qīngzhēnsī 清真寺 'mosque', qīngzhēnjiào 清真教 'Islam', qīngzhēnyān 清真言, lit. "The Pure and True Words", ṣahāda. Cf. also zhēnjīng 真经 lit. "The True Scripture", i.e. 'the Qurān'. [Gladney 1991: 410-411].

172 The Catholic missionaries arriving in China in the second half of the 16th century, beginning with Matteo Ricci, adopted the existing Chinese expressions tiān 天 'Heaven' and Shàngdì 上帝 'The Sovereign Above' to translate «God». This occurred in the course of a general strategy to make Christianity palatable to the Chinese by adapting the exteriors of the religion to the Chinese environment. Later, however, there arose a dispute among missionaries of different orders, known as the Rites Controversy, in which the soundness of such an approach was called into question. In the end the pope had to intervene, and he rejected the adoption of tiān 天 'Heaven' and Shàngdì 上帝 'The Sovereign Above' and decreed that the rival term tiānzhǔ 天主 "Heavenly Ruler" be used instead. [Standaert, *Handbook*, Vol I, p. 37]
|sym-pathy| = What A is feeling when he is suffering because he identifies with B's suffering.

When we examine the semantic range of «raḥma» (glossed as 'mercy'; raḥma is the abstract noun corresponding to the adjectives raḥmān and raḥīm) as it appears in the famous lexicon Līsān al-ʿArab, we find various expressions used to gloss its meaning: maḏfira «forgiveness»; ūtf, «emotional inclination»; and šafaqa, «solicitude».

Looking at the terms used as epithets, we find that Al-Raḥmān "the Merciful" always occurs as an epithet of Allah in Arabic174, and is accordingly also employed as an alternative divine proper name beside Allāh. It is often defined as «possessing the ultimate degree of raḥma 'mercy'». As for raḥīm, it also means «merciful». It is, however, not only used about God, and when it is, a distinction is commonly made between them: When God is called raḥmān, it is taken to refer to the universality of God's mercy in this world, whereas in the case of raḥīm the reference is to God's exclusive mercy toward the believers in the hereafter175.

Both Wáng and Mǎ use the word cǐ 慈 in their translations of the basmala formula:

Originally, cǐ 慈 denoted «the love and care of someone of a higher status or older generation for someone of a lower status or younger generation», and was used especially to refer to the parents' loving care for their offspring. The word could also specifically mean «loving mother».

[---HDC 7: 646.] This Confucian family-orientated concept, which was already generalised by the Daoists to refer to a metaphysical concern for all existing things, was further universalised by the Buddhists to refer to deep emotional empathy for all sentient beings. It was used to translate the Sanskrit term maître 'benevolence', derived from Skt. mitra 'friend'). Bēi 悲, the original meaning of which «sadness», is an necessary component of cǐ 慈, according to the Fōqūāng. Bēi 悲 «sadness; compassion» translates the Sanskrit term karunā ('compassion'; derived from karuna 'mournful; compassionate'), and expresses the feeling of [sym-pathy] at the suffering of other beings176. [---Fōqūāng 4873a; 5457b.]

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173 Ad šafaqa 'solicitude': The (modern?) meaning of Fīrūzbādī or Tāj al-ʿāris. The latter work, however, does give riqa 'delicacy; softness; weakness' and raḥma 'mercy' as synonyms. [Lane's lexicon]

174 It is probable that the word is an old borrowing from Old South Arabian (a sub-group of South Semitic), but the ultimate source is likely to somewhere in the Jewish or Christian environment, e.g. from Hebrew or Syriac. Note that even some early commentators reportedly thought the word was of Hebrew origin as opposed to raḥīm, e.g. as quoted by Bayὁwī (Jeffery 1938: 140-141)

175 See Bayὁwī's commentary on this verse (exegete, d. 691/1292). He points out that the increase in the structure of the word raḥmān (i.e. the extra letter, nūn, i.e. n, when the word is written in the Arabic script) indicates an "increase in meaning": quantitatively, because Allah is raḥmān of both Believers and Unbelievers in this world, but raḥīm exclusively of the Believers in the next; qualitatively, He is raḥmān of this world and the next, and raḥīm in only this world, because there are despicable (haqīra) as well as majestic (jāhila) blessings (nuʿam) in this world, whereas there are only huge blessings in the next.

176 Note that 'pity' can have very negative overtones in English, expressing something rather akin to «contempt»; this is not the case with bēi 悲 'sadness; compassion' or cǐ 慈 'loving care'
It is clear that the Chinese concept of cí 慈, as coloured by Buddhism, involves very deep [empathy]. Now can the same thing be said about the sememe «rahma 'mercy'» in the Qur'an? We have seen above that «rahma» is associated with the concern for someone's well-being through emotion ('atf, šafaqa) and a lenient attitude to offenses and sins (ma'jira: «forgiveness»), which may be emotionally motivated. It seems natural that a concern for someone else's well-being should involve some kind of empathy, for how could one otherwise know how the other feels? On the other hand, one may feel that one knows best what is good for the other; and surely God would know that, especially the omniscient God of the Qur'an. So the question of God's [empathy] and | sym-pathy] remains open177.

One thing, though, can be clearly stated. God's «rahma» is not unconditional. God never tires of repeating and emphasising that man is dependent on him. Without God's «rahma», man perishes [see Q 18.57; 24.14, and that man does not necessarily have any claim to God's «rahma»; the presence of divine guidance itself is a case of «rahma». Considering the fact that «rahma» is not unconditional, and that there is an enormous imbalance of power between the giver and receiver, we do indeed approach the concept of [mercy]. The imbalance of power and the lack of control the object of «mercy» has over its occurrence, opens up the semantic field of «grace (as favour)» as well.

It seems that the specific semantic features «undeservedness» and «leniency» are not central, nor maybe even present, in the semantic range of cí 慈. These two features are closely connected to the concept of «generosity» and «forgiveness», which would tend to be expressed differently: kuān 寬 'be lenient' and shè 慎 'remit'; yòu 宥 'pardon'.

Mā introduces the word rèn 仁 'humaneness; kind-heartedness; goodness' as an epithet of Allāh in his translation of the formula under discussion.

Now rèn 仁 is a concept whose core meaning is «humaneness», and it is considered an eminent virtue in Confucian thought. Central to the concept is kind-heartedness motivated by an aversion to the suffering of others (see Mengzi 1.1.7; 7.2.31), and as an attitude directed towards moral behaviour this can be called 'benevolence'178. Its natural opposite is cán 殘 'cruel, unfeeling' «Rén 仁 » is interpersonal, and is moreover an indispensable quality in a «person of superior character» (jūnzi 君子; e.g. Mengzi 1.1.7), and one gets the impression that the quality of «rèn 仁 » is more often ascribed to a morally superior man. [See in general HDC 1:1095.]]179

177 Raphael Israeli emphasises that cí can mean «the Barge of Compassion» in Buddhism in addition to the core meaning. (1997: 93).
178 An example from Confucius' Analects: "樊遲問仁。子曰：'愛人。' " - "Fán Chí asked about rèn 仁. The master said: '(It is to) love [āi 愛] others." [Lùn yǔ "Analects", LY 12.22].
179 Raphael Israeli argues that the adoption of this Confucian term to describe Allāh was part of the
So how does rén 仁 'kind-hearted' work as a translation of Raḥmān 'Merciful'? Again we face the issue of [empathy]: if one is kind-hearted, one surely has empathy. But the existence of a divine [empathy] in Islam is, as we have seen above, far from guaranteed. That is not to say, however, that there is no semantic overlap between «raḥma» and «rén 仁 ». [Mercy] may originate in «kind-heartedness»; but this is not necessarily so. Especially one would hesitate to apply the quality of «kind-heartedness» to the God of the Qur'ān: He is very strict and not very lenient (beyond this life, at least) as far as the punishment of idolaters and hypocrites is concerned: they will burn in hell forever in the next life.

A related concept is «niʿma 'blessing'». In Q 1.7 Mā translates 'anʿama 'bless' by yōuzhù 祥助 'help', a word he has just used in the translation of istaʿāna 'to ask for help' above (1.5, q.v.), thus undermining the difference between the two concepts in Arabic. This contrasts with Wáng, who has shǐēn 施恩 'bestow favours'.

The Arabic verb 'anʿama has often been translated as 'to favour'. That is, however, in some respects inaccurate, as the focus is not on the «goodwill» of the subject, but on the concrete «act of giving something pleasant», which in a religious context is well rendered in English by 'to bless so. with sth.', cf. Arberry's translation of this verse: "[...] the path of those whom Thou hast blessed [...]" [Arberry 1964: 1]. It also refers to God's helping hand.

Faḍl seems to be the nearest equivalent to the concept of divine grace in the Qur'ān, if «grace» is defined as "undeserved favour or unmerited remission" [Mir: "Grace", in EQ: 344-345]. So while niʿma (verbal noun to anʿama besides 'inʿām) denotes the gift and the act of giving something good, faḍl is the disposition leading to such act (this meaning of faḍl derives from the sense «bounty», in turn derived from the basic meaning «super-abundance»).

Ēn 恩, which appears in the translations of niʿma and its cognate 'anʿama (Q 1.7, Q 12.6), basically means «generous acts of favour» and «the emotional attitude that motivates such acts». Furthermore, its semantic reach has also been extended to the «feelings of gratitude» that are associated with acts of favour. [HDC 7.493; 7.497 under ēnhuí 恩惠]. According to what has been said above, ēn 恩 would seem to be more appropriate as a translation of faḍl than of 'anʿama 'bless'.

Interestingly, Liú Zhì in the 18th century chose to use fū 福 'bliss; bless' instead of ēn

attempt to find and emphasise similarities between Confucian and Islamic wisdom (1997: 92-93).
5.9.13 Transliteration

Transliteration is a very visible case of foreignising, and it is reasonable to examine the possible motives for transliterating certain terms. The first thing to note is that Wáng transcribes a lot more than Mā does. While both translators transcribe proper names, the names of the sūras and the mysterious letters, Wáng additionally transcribes the following terms: Allāh (1.1), qadr 'power' (96.1), Qur’ān (12.2), Šaytān (81.25, *12.5), ārš 'throne' (81.20), al-zabāniya 'the guards of Hell' (96.18), al-rūḥ 'the spirit' (97.4).

Hybrids containing both transcription and translation are ālābōwén 阿拉伯文 for ʿarabī (Wang and Ma 12.2), māmūn 穆民 'Muslim/believer' for allaḏīna 'āmanū (Wáng 2.183), and Gūlānjīng 古蘭經 for Qur’ān (12.2).

5.9.14 Conclusions

The analysis of religious terminology in my data allows several observations. Both translators use a fair amount of traditional Muslim Chinese terms, and so strengthen the continuity of Islamic literature. Wáng includes more traditional terms and phrases than Mā and shows a marked tendency toward borrowing, which can also be seen as a traditional feature, since we find many loan-words in the Chinese Muslim lexicon.\(^{180}\)

Mā Jiān clearly standardises the terminology by ensuring that they conform to the current Chinese standard terms\(^ {181}\) (frequently in disyllabic form), and crucially, that the usage is acceptable; e.g. xīnyáng 信仰 'believe', ēndiǎn 恩典 'grace', zànsòng 贊頌 'praise', qídào 祈祷, lǐnghún 靈魂 'soul', jīngshēn 精神 'spirit'. Wáng strives after formally equivalent terms (but still keeping tradition firmly in focus), while Mā prefers current terms and avoids obsolete ones.

There is both closeness and distance to Chinese Christian terms. Good examples of similarity are the use of zhǔ 主 'ruler' to refer to God, Mā's terms for «angel», tiānshēn 天使

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\(^{180}\) See Wang 2001 and glossary in Gladney 1991. Liú Zhī's Tiānfēng is replete with transcriptions.

\(^{181}\) In many cases also in the sense that they are the standard translation equivalents of certain "Western" terms, e.g. jīngshēn 精神 'spirit'.

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天神 and «paradise» 乐园. Differences are many, e.g. the non-use of 天 'heaven' for Allāh. Buddhist, Confucian and Daoist elements crop up in many places, but are not too obtrusive. Cf. 報應 'retribution', 仁 'humaneness', and 慈 'loving care; compassion'. We are clearly dealing with a process of semantic layering, of superimposed terminologies which mutually influence each other and co-evolve in time.

These are cases of mild domestication. Another example of a very mild form of domestication occurs in the translation of Q 96.4, where Allāh teaches man "to write characters with a brush". The mild domestication is caused by the nature of the vocabulary, and it is natural to use this for something which in the original must mean something like «write letters with a reed-pen».

Finally I will try to say something about the tricky question of whether or not cultural adaption has taken place. It is clear that any translation involves cultural adaption to some extent, because languages are not structured the same way either on the level of content or expression. In the case of Arabic and Chinese, which are hugely dissimilar, one would expect a high degree of adaption, meaning shifts which expose incompatibilities between the two languages. The case of quèxià 闕下 'imperial residence' in Wáng 81.20 borders on cultural adaption. Cultural adaption clearly occurred in traditional Chinese Islam. Examples from 天方 are 天命 'heavenly mandate/order; fate' (Tf 277.7), 神人 'spirit man' (for «angel»; Tf 275.5).

5.10 EXEGETICAL CHOICES AND INCIDENTS

In the Introduction I expressed the hypothesis that the exegetical choices of the translators would have an effect on the target texts. In this section I investigate if my data reinforce this hypothesis or reject it. In concrete terms I will look at the exegetical significance of choices made by the translators with respect to terms, glosses, additions and variant readings. Occasionally I will refer to Wáng's commentary.

Exegesis is vital to any scriptural religion, for it has a direct effect on both theological system and religious practice. It is also all the more necessary in the case of the Qur’ān, where the overall picture is often lost in rhetorical detail and the series of different
interconnected occasions of revelation. So if the translations really change the picture of Islam as it emerges from scripture, one would expect to find exegetically significant differences between the source and target texts.

One of the first striking points to note, is that in both translations brackets \footnote{182} are used to mark stretches of text as an addition made by the translator. These additions are explanatory additions made by the translator in order to facilitate the reading of the text, they complement the text so to speak. This is a common feature of Qur'ān translation\footnote{183}, but seems to be conspicuously absent from Bible translation.

So we can readily identify a concern with the sacredness and inviolability of the Qur'ānic text, which motivates the translator to mark clearly what he has added. This naturally arises from the dogmas of the inimitability (‘ījāz) of the Qur'ān and its status as the Word of Allāh. This has led to the traditional Muslim scepticism to Qur'ān translation, which was ultimately tolerated as a type of exegetical activity. However, the awareness that the translated text would be the only way for most Chinese Muslims to read the text, may have contributed to the wish to make the translation transparent, so that the reader could see the outline of the source text beneath the Chinese surface. Putting additions in brackets is one way of achieving such transparency.

As noted in the Introduction, both translators used the traditional commentaries actively, and used many of the same works. It would certainly be desirable to find out if certain exegetes are preferred and find out more about exegetical consultation in the process of translation, but unfortunately such detailed tracking is beyond the limits of this thesis, and would necessitate a larger corpus of text. Instead I have restricted myself to see what can be learned from selected cases occurring in my material. I have tried to collect the most striking cases of exegetical significance, but the selection is somewhat subjective and cannot claim to be exhaustive.

For a treatment of the exegetical significance of terminological choices, see the section on terminology.

\subsection*{5.10.1 Variant readings}

\footnote{182} Wang uses corner brackets and Ma round brackets. \footnote{183} E.g. the translations by Pickthall, Sale, Yusuf Ali etc.
Starting with variant readings, we may note the following cases:

In Q 1.4 both translators have read ǧalik 'owner' rather than ǧalik 'king' (same consonantal text), i.e. they have chosen the reading of al-Kisāʾī and ʿāṣim [Al-taysīr] This is the reading in the Ḥafs ʿan ʿāṣim reading, as opposed to the Warsh ʿan nāfī reading.

Ad Q 81.24 the commentators tell us that some reciters read ẓanīn 'opinionated' instead of ẓanīn 'miserly'. This variant is ignored in the translations, where the Egyptian edition is followed.

Q 12.12 yartaʾ wa-yalʾaḥ rather than the variants nartaʾ wa-nalʾaḥ or even nartaʾi (Baydāwī).

The text used was probably the reading of Ḥafs ʿan ʿĀṣim, used in the famous Egyptian Qurʾān edition. This is the most common reading in the modern world, and moreover both translators spent some time studying in Egypt, which makes it likely that they would choose that reading.

5.10.2 Explanatory Additions in Brackets

Sometimes explanatory material is clearly marked with brackets.

—In Q 2.187c the believers are told to seek what Allah has destined for them, and our translators add the explanation that it is children that the believers should seek. This agrees with Baydāwī and the Jalālān commentary, although the latter also adds a second alternative: "[seek] the intercourse which he has permitted".

—In Mā 12.8 and 12.14 qiǎngzhù duō 強壯的 "strong" is added in brackets in order to make it clear why being a band is an advantage to Yūsuf’s brothers.

—Wang 96.18 adds the explanation "to take him to Hell", which agrees with the Jalālān commentary.

—Wang 2.185a has zhēnwěi 真僞 "true and false" in corner brackets, an extension to the translation of fūqān ‘distinction’. This is in agreement with Jalālān.

5.10.3 Unmarked Explanatory Additions

—Q 2.184a Wang follows Jalālān with insertion of the negation lā 'not' before yuṭīqūna-hu.

—Ma 2.185a has zhēnwěi 真僞 "true and false" in corner brackets, an extension to the translation of fūqān ‘distinction’.

—Ma 2.186 你就告訴他們 "so tell them" added, in accordance with Baydāwī (against Jalālān).

—Wang 12.12 Specifying «eating fruit» as the source of enjoyment.

—In 78.12 both translators add the word tiān 天 "heaven", to enable the reader to know what the sabʾan šidādan are: "seven strong [heavens]".

—In 81.23 Mā identifies the rasūl 'messenger' as "that angel". That is an interpretation.

—Ma 96.4 adds xiēzi 寫字 "write".

—In 78.33 both translators in accordance with the commentators stress the youth (Ma) and virginity (Wang) of the "full-breasted ones of equal age".

Wang 12.8 and 12.14
5.10.4 Ignored Exegetical Positions

—An exegetical translation of tattaqūna in Q 2.183 would be "be guarded against" rather than "revere", if one chose to follow Jalālayn. None of the translators did this, however.

5.10.5 Exegetical Substitution

These are cases where the translators substitute a distinct interpretation for a more indeterminate or ambiguous expression.

—Ma 2.184a substitutes a definite ruling for an indeterminate direction: yī suō quē de rishū būzhāi 依所缺的日數補齋.
—In Q 2.187e the translators follow Baydāwī (against Jalālayn), who glosses ḥudūd 'limits' as 'āhkām 'rulings', and hence use terms meaning «rules of law».
—Mā substitutes ēyán 惡言 'abusive language' for lağw 'nonsense' in Q 78.35.
—There are numerous definitions and interpretations of the word al-ṣanad (Q 112.2), and since there are many conflicting opinions, the translations are usually paraphrases of some kind, reflecting exegetical material. Ma: wānwū suō yǎnglái de 萬物所仰賴的 "the true ruler is the one on whom the ten thousand beings rely." Wang: bèī qū zhě 被求者 "the besought one"
—Q 114.3 contains the word 'ilāh 'god', which is a generic term. It is often applied to what the Qurān portrays as false, pagan gods, but here it is used in reference to Allāh (probably a contraction of al-‘ilāh "the god", i.e. "God"), and so the issue becomes complicated for translators. Ma translates it as shén 神明 'god; spirit', a term potentially confusable with (a) pagan (Chinese) gods and spirits, and (b) other terms involving shén, such as jīngshēn. Wang clearly does not seem to trust the Chinese vocabulary on this point, and paraphrases [人類]所拜者 "he, whom [mankind] worships".

5.10.6 Two Controversial Terms

As a matter of interest, one is tempted to test if there is any exegetical involvement from the translators on one or two topics which are sensitive issues in the discussions about Islam in the modern world. When looking at the translation of jāhada 'strive' (the verb which jihād[^184] 'striving' is derived from), I find that it has been consistently translated as fèndōu 'struggle'.

With respect to Q 4.34 which permits wife-beating, Ma translates 可以打她的, but Wang is much more severe and translates 責打她們 "punish them [f.pl] by flogging". This seems to indicate that there is not a tendency toward liberal, humanist Qurān exegesis[^185]. But on the other hand there is no special emphasis on jihād qua "Holy War" either.

5.10.7 Summary

Shortly summarised we may say that there is ample evidence of the translators

[^184]: Not everyone is aware of the fact that "Holy War" is not a primary meaning of jihād. E.g. the inner struggle against evil impulses is also «jihād».
[^185]: Humanist exeges tend to stress that the beating is to be done lightly and only as the very last resort.
letting explanatory material, some of it with exegetical significance, into the text without marking it as such. In numerous cases they nevertheless opt for bracketing the explanatory expressions. Their exegetical choices show conformity with two of the most widely used traditional commentaries, Bayḍāwī and Jalālayn, and cannot therefore be called independent or original. But to be sure there is a selection of material from these traditional commentators, e.g. Q 2.183 was not translated in accordance with the explanation of Jalālayn. The translators do not always agree on if or how to add exegetical material.

5.11 NORMALISATION, NEUTRALISATION AND LOGICAL RESTRUCTURING

As we have seen, there is a tendency for the Chinese Qur'ān translations to move in the direction of less symbolic language and a higher degree of explicitness than the source text. The translations also contain marked and unmarked disambiguating additions. Now we also encounter other phenomena which may conveniently be linked. There are instances where a reordering and/or additions have been applied to make the flow of speech easier to follow.

In Ma 12.9 we note the insertion of an explanatory note telling us who is speaking. In Q 78.30, Allāh's sudden address to the prospective denizens of hell is prefixed with a similar explanation: "[I] will say to them:"

Ma's restructuring of the last two cols of verse 12.10 covers up the obscure ellipsis in the last colon. In his Chinese version, the stumbling blocks for the reader have been conveniently removed.

In spite of the complicated syntactical and rhetorical structure, Ma has succeeded in making Q 96.9-14 more readable by substituting 'a-ra'ayta "have you seen" with "So tell me then!" and punctuating carefully. Wang solves the same passage differently (see notes on the passage), adding in two bracketed protases and, crucially, comments amply on the form and content in his intercolumn commentary.

Wang's bracketing of ruórán 若然 in 12.5 and 12.9 is also a clear logical structuring of the text, but in this case not quite a restructuring, since in 12.5 the particle fa 'so' is present and the dependent form of the verb yàkū "(may be) free" in 12.9 provide a partial motivation for them.

The specification of qiàngzhùìng de 強壯的 "strong" in 12.8 and 12.14 makes it much clearer why it is that being a band is an argument in the favour of Yūsuf's brothers.

The translation of suìjīrài "are heated up" in 81.6 as pénghài 幾海 'surge' may also be motivated by a desire to make the imagery conform to conventional models in the target
culture.

If we take these examples together with the observations made about explicitness, the flattening of symbolic language and the modernisation of the text in the form of parsing aids (punctuation; see above), we may talk about a "normalisation" shift occurring during the transition from source to target text. The text has lost something of its singularity. The idiosyncracies of the source text have been reduced, no doubt as a result of (a) remains from the hermeneutical process of understanding (b) the desirability of a readable and accessible text. The translators neutralise potential obstacles and pre-chew the text for the reader so that it becomes logically structured and conforms to target culture expectations of normality. No doubt we may remark that translators who are eager to produce accessible and influential translations so that the message may reach as many minds as possible have good reason to move the text into the golden mean. These findings are in line with what Jiří Levý has to say about translation style (1969: 109-122).

In Q 81.14, generalisation, normalisation and resolution of trope can be found in the same verse.

5.12 INTERTEXTUAL RELATIONS AND RECEPTION

In order to see how these two translations stand in relation to other texts, I have performed two small experiments\(^{186}\). In the first I read passages from Liú Zhi's 17th-century biography of the prophet Muḥammad, Tiānfāng Zhīshèng shìlù 天方至聖實錄, and compared religious terminology used there to the terms used by Mā and Wáng. I also looked at two stretches of Liú Zhi's Qur'ān translation (Q 1 and Q 96.1-5). In the second I searched the internet for debates about the translation of the Qur'ān into Chinese. Both experiments proved fairly instructive, and while they are too restricted to allow broad generalisation, they provide valuable impressions about the nature of the translations studied.

\(^{186}\) The relationship between the Chinese translations and the English translations which were consulted by the Chinese translators should be investigated. Again, this must be relegated to future research.
5.12.1 Liú Zhi's Translation

Turning to Liú Zhi's work, much has already been said above in section 5.9 about religious terminology. While many terms do not coincide one to one, there is still a clear continuity. The specimens of Qur'ān translation by Liú Zhi (see Appendix A) paint a similar picture with respect to terminology. We find familiar terms and phrases such as zào 造 'create', pūcí dácí 普慈獨慈 “universally merciful, specifically merciful”, zhízhâng 執掌 'be in charge of', bài 拜 'pay obeisance to', zhènglù 正路 'the right way' and zhǔ 主 'master'. Then there is a number of unfamiliar terms, such as gêlân 格闢 (transcription of qalam 'pen'), gōngqi公期 (for yawm al-dîn, “the day of judgement) and the opposition between fú 福 'bless' and huò 禍 'harm' in his translation of Q 1.7\textsuperscript{188}. And often we find familiar words or characters in unfamiliar phrasing. But the most striking is the tendency to four-character rhythm in the translation of sūrat al-fātiha (Q 1), which is entirely cast into this rhythm by Liú Zhi. The verses from the beginning of Q 96 does not show the same maked tendency however. The centrality of Q 1 in Muslim ritual may have something to with this, though both passages are of the hymn-type\textsuperscript{189}. In any case, it is clear that the modern translations tie in with the Muslim literary tradition without copying it too closely, and thoroughly modernising the presentation.

5.12.2 Some Readers' Voices

In my second experiment, I ran a into a discussion forum posting on an Islamic Chinese website\textsuperscript{190} that complained bitterly about Mā Jiān's translation. Towards the end of the posting, summing up his view, the author\textsuperscript{191} says:

馬堅翻譯的古蘭經翻譯的太爛了，容易讓人誤解，也許在過去有利與伊斯蘭在中國的發展，但不利與伊斯蘭在當今中國的發展。

[Mā Jiān's Qur'ān translation is too bad, it makes people misunderstand all too easily, maybe it has been good for the development of Islam in China in the past, but it

\textsuperscript{187} It is not clear to me how this is to be understood literally. «The time of justice»?
\textsuperscript{188} The opposition between these two terms is attested in Classical Chinese literature (Mèngzi, Gàožìhâng; HDC 7: 935). A case of cultural adaption?
\textsuperscript{190} <http://www.islamicnet/> There is a large number of active Islamic Chinese websites on the internet.
\textsuperscript{191} Anonymous. Username on the forum: Yībān 伊殼.
In the posting he complains that Mã often uses “derogatory words” instead of “neutral words”, that the language is old-fashioned and difficult to read, with too many chéngyǔ. His main concern is that non-Muslims may misunderstand, citing examples like wéi suǒ yù wéi “does what [he] pleases to do”, said about Allāh. Although the author does not know Arabic, he thinks that “the Qur'ān can't possibly be like this, can it?” After this criticism of Mã’s translation, he is in for a beating by the people who comment on his posting. They denounce him for attacking one of the most respected personalities among Chinese Muslims, challenge him to do any better. Nevertheless he is not the only one to be dissatisfied with Mã Jiān’s translation. One participant in a web forum asks:

現在古蘭經的漢譯本有沒有翻譯錯誤呢？我覺得讀起來不流暢。
[And are there any translation errors in the Qur'ān translations [we use] now? I don't think they read smoothly.]

It has already been noted that Mã Jiān's translation is the most-quoted Chinese translation of the Qur'ān, and has achieved an almost canonical status. The reactions to the posting quoted above confirm this impression. But clearly there is more to it: not everyone thinks Mã Jiān's translation is a good text. And since the Qur'ān is the best text there is to most devout Muslims, there is a conflict. It seems that we can again conclude that some readers' complaints about the difficulty of the translations (partly resulting from hybridity) does not thwart canonical status. Despite of the canonicity,
there have been more than one Chinese translation after Mǎ published his. Tóng Dàozhāng states in the preface to his translation that he ventures to make a yet another translation because he feels that the Chinese translations made up to that time are not as lucid and easy to understand as the English ones²⁰⁰.

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6 CONCLUSIONS

6.1 THE INITIAL HYPOTHESES

In this final Chapter, I will summarise the results and try to fit them into the larger context. First, where do the loosely formulated hypotheses from Chapter 1 stand in the light of my investigations? Hypothesis (a), which stated that we may expect the target texts to differ significantly from the source text, was confirmed. This is hardly surprising given the inherent problems in translation, especially the fact that languages do not correspond to each other in a simple one-to-one relation. Deviations were found on all levels: semantic, syntactic, rhetorical, pragmatic and exegetical. It should however be noted that there was no evidence of systematic distortion of source text features; rather general tendencies in translation, such as explicitation, normalisation and intellectualisation, were at work, together with the forging of new layers of terminologies which draw on Chinese sources but are recognisably and distinctly Islamic. The fact that there will always be differences between source and target does not, however, prevent a translation from becoming a trusted authority, and the successive efforts of Qur'ān translation into Chinese show that the lack of an achievable perfection does little to deter prospective translators.

Hypothesis (b) was also confirmed. It stated that the target texts would show a high degree of hybridity, which could lead to their rejection by the community of readers. Elements of hybridity are very much in evidence in both translations\textsuperscript{201}, more visibly so in Wáng than in Mā. Scepticism with regard to Mā's translation was expressed by some readers in online Islamic discussion forums, but on the whole Mā's translation has been welcomed by the Chinas Muslims and become the standard translation. One less cautious critic was even heavily scolded for his criticism. So the latter part of hypothesis (b) is partly rejected: hybridity is not an obstacle to canonicity\textsuperscript{202}. This compares well to other famous translations: the Authorised Version of the Bible is also a

\textsuperscript{201} Wáng 81.20 is a case in point. Or the automatic application of què 正 'indeed'. See discussion for examples and details.
\textsuperscript{202} This conclusion contrasts with Israeli 1997, where the translations are not seen to have achieved canonicity, although he concedes that Mā Jiān is more "canon-like" in style. (1997: 102)
hybrid text in more than one way, yet its authority was firm. Despite hybridity, there is another powerful factor working against rejection: continuity. I have shown that there is a significant overlap with traditional Chinese Islamic terminology. This continuity means a certain (albeit limited) degree of unity. Yet this is again offset by the lack of unified terminology in some cases.

In the case of hypothesis (c) matters get more complicated. Its states that a shifted image of Islam emerges from the shifts that occur in the process of transition from one language to another. It is not possible to say anything about the actual image without conducting a survey among informants. Nevertheless something can be said about the nature of shift likely to result from the processes revealed in the course of analysis. For example, there is some evidence that Allāh is presented in Chinese imperial garb. While this tendency is not very marked or strong, it is still there. The question of whether or not such shifts amount to cultural adaption is delicate. My perception is that cultural adaption goes much farther than the shifts we have noted. Both translations are still very recognisably hybrid, and that means that if cultural adaption has taken place, it is not wholesale and might be rather subtle. Although the influence of syncretism is perceptible in the choice of terminology, it is not in any sense dominant.

There is no clear exegetical direction to be gleaned from my material. It is however certain that traditional exegetical works where consulted by both translators, and the information taken from them was variously incorporated into the translation (marked or unmarked) or put into the notes.

Hypothesis (d), which stated that incommensurabilities between the Chinese and Arabic/Islamic conceptual system would be exposed by a close reading, was confirmed in a general sense. Every verse-sextet in the data testifies to the incommensurabilities at hand. But if we wish to go beyond the almost trivial fact that languages are not

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203 The shift toward higher degrees of explicitness is discussed below in Section 6.2.

204 Raphael Israeli, however, makes a point of the occurrence of a major shift away from the original. "The Islamic notions of Allāh and his attributes, the hereafter, and the like, when cast into Buddhist or Daoist moulds, are at quite a variance with what a devout Muslim has in mind when he pronounces the same words or thinks about the same concepts." (1997: 102)

205 There is however no evidence of modernist or science-oriented Qur’ān interpretation, and the little experiment with controversial topics (Section 5.9) showed no evidence of liberal interpretations.

206 Verifiable only in Wang’s case, since I do not have a copy of Ma’s commentary.
structured the same way, and say something about what and how languages are incompatible, it is difficult to give an overall picture and easy to lose oneself in the minutiae of each phenomenon. We have noted, however, the complex relationship between the systems of aspect and tense marking in Chinese and Arabic, and notably that there is no such simplistic rule that a Pff verb in Arabic would result in a Chinese sentence with the particle le 了. Further we found that hybridity did not go far enough to allow Allâh to refer to himself in the plural, and the difficulty of rendering interspersed imperatives without being explicit about either the subject or adding modal verbs or particles. Syntax is a major problem for the translators, everything from the right-branching constructions of Arabic to the frequent use of apposition calls for a certain flexibility in the form of syntactical restructurings.

Hypothesis (e), which postulated significant differences between any two translations, was at least partly confirmed, but unsurprisingly there is no easy answer here either. The overall tendency is that Mā favours readability, while Wang favours some kind of formal correspondence with an apparatus of symbols and commentary to guide the reader in the inevitably more difficult text. However, if Wang's text is more difficult at the surface (e.g. syntax), Mā is more likely to gloss over the difficulties of the source text. It is somewhat ironical that this opposition is characteristic of traditional approaches to translation207. The first obvious difference between Mā's and Wang's translations, the difference in language variety, is not so easy to translate into differences in terms of what restrictions or possibilities each variety presents the translator with. One would perhaps expect the Literary Chinese translation to be more concise and bound to traditional ways of phrasing. Wang's translation is certainly not concise, however. It shows the same tendency to explicitate as Mā's does. Although both varieties have a generous provision of means to express time and aspect, formal aspectual and temporal particles are much more frequent in Mā than in Wang.

Traditional Chinese Muslim vocabulary and phrases show up in greater strength in Wang's translation than in Mā's, while Mā's vocabulary has more in common with Christian Chinese terms than Wang's has. One also suspects Wang of being more wary of the capacity of Chinese words to express Qur'ānic concepts. The many transcriptions

207 Gentzler 2001: 58. More about this dichotomy below.
(Ānlāhū 安拉乎 'Allāh') and the translation of 'īlāh 'god' by paraphrase (rén suǒ bài zhē 人所拜者 "the one to whom people do obeisance") suggest this. The fact that stylistic devices such as four-character set-phrases occur in Mā's "colloquial" translation but are conspicuously absent from Wáng's "literary" translation is significant: it is symptomatic of the difference between the two translations.

6.2 TRANSLATION AS MEDIATION

In addition to hybridity and difference, several other features of the translations are striking. One is the tendency to explicate, or stating explicitly what has been left unsaid in the source text. This takes on various forms: parphrasing, dissolution of symbolic language, intrusion of exegetical material and simply using more concrete terms than the original. Partly the additions are marked, and the translators are clearly aware of the problematic character of these changes. While this tendency to be explicit goes against the grain of Chinese language use, it accords perfectly with findings about translations in general. The reason for this phenomenon is probably that the hermeneutical process of understanding interferes with the formulation in the target language.

Another common feature of translations is intellectualisation and generalisation. Intellectualisation often means the simplification and re-ordering of narrative and argument, reduction of tropes and the interference of commentary in order to make the text more readable. Generalisation is a related phenomenon, where the translator usually replaces specific (especially less known) terms by more general ones. Both were found in the selected passages to a certain degree.

We can see that readability in some sense is a major goal of these translations, though evidently not in the sense of a polished style. Both translators primarily want to

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208 One can infer this from the use of brackets to mark additions, but we also find it said explicitly by the translator in the Statement of Principles among the front matter of Wáng's translation (Gūlán yìjí fānì 古蘭譯解凡例 in Wáng 1932, p. 1). We should also note that the presence of devices to show that a certain part of the text is not a part of the source text reveals a concern with the purity and sacredness of the source text. This attitude is also found in the preface to a much more recent translation (Tòng 1989: 9).

209 Again I can point to Wáng's Statement of Principles, where he states that content, and not good style, is what he aims for (Gūlán yìjí fānì 古蘭譯解凡例 in Wáng 1932, p. 1).
convey the meaning, and often ride roughshod over stylistic features. When that is said, it must be noted that Mǎ achieves a much higher level of fluency in grammar, vocabulary and syntax. The cases where Mǎ gives the impression of distrusting his readers’ ability to comprehend a difficult text are many. Wáng is more literal, at the cost of producing syntactic conundrums. In terms of labels one could see this as a case of dynamical equivalence (Mǎ) against formal equivalence (Wáng), though such labeling oversimplifies the picture.

Even if the interpretation is traditional, the presentation of the text is modern. Especially the pervasive punctuation has a profoundly modernising effect on the translations, making them into something quite different from the source text. Qur'ān translation into Chinese was in itself a modern phenomenon, and is part and parcel of the Islamic revival in China which has been going on since the late 19th century. So modernising is clearly a feature of both translations. But since Wáng is using Literary Chinese in his translation, his project has a profound archaising dimension as well211. Mǎ’s impulse to domesticate is stronger than Wáng’s, who transcribes a lot more. Again, we see that Mǎ produces a more accessible translation, yet it is arguable if he is more exact. Above all, he keeps away from extremes and so ends up with a readable compromise212.

Summing up, zōng ěr yán zhī 综而言之, it is a case of translation as mediation. Hybrid texts are produced in the process of re-presenting the Holy Book of one great civilisation in terms acceptable in the context of another great civilisation, asserting the vigorous existence of entities that are at the same time Chinese and Muslim213. The translations make the Qur'ān available in Chinese, thereby creating new ways one can quote and talk about it in a Chinese context. There are clear indications of active mediation on the part of the translators, who end up normalising, explaining, neutralising and intellectualising the original text. In this way they hide some portion

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211 Ma has not a few archaic features as well, but mostly only such that are a part of Modern Written Chinese. Nevertheless, the archaising elements of his translation are more pronounced than a few set-phrases. Lin Sōng finds that the alternation between colloquial and literary elements is one of the factors contributing to the refinement of diction in Mǎ’s translation. (Lin 2000a)
212 The sense of balance between different techniques and approaches is also noted in Lin 2000a.
213 This accords nicely with Jonathan Lipman’s conclusions in Familiar Strangers (1997: 223-227).
of the hybridity, removing obstacles for the reader. But enough of it remains for it to be instantly noticeable and potentially bothering to readers unwilling to accept too many unfamiliar elements. The process of interaction has so far produced more than ten translations of the Qurʾān into Chinese, and since a definitive translation is improbable, that may not be the end of it.

6.3 PRESENT RESTRICTIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

Finally a word about the restrictions which necessarily apply to the conclusions of this study. The most serious restriction is the limited amount of data. Although it would have been desirable to work with a larger body of selections (other translations, further passages, or both), it has not been possible in this case. Nor can the study claim to be valid for all kinds of Qurʾānic discourse, since the selection of passages did not include all types. So this remains an isolated case study, the conclusions of which, though interesting, cannot be easily generalised. They can however reveal possibilities for further research (see below). Another clear restriction is one of method. I have used the method of close reading of parallel texts, and as such my findings do not allow conclusions to be drawn about the subjective motivations of the empirical translators (as opposed to the translators implicit in the translations) or the responses of actual readers. In these respects, my findings only suggest possibilities\textsuperscript{214}.

There are many more Qurʾān translations in Chinese which deserve to be studied. The many translations of a sacred text from a distant culture provide the ideal set-up for a study of the reception of such translations among different kinds of readers, aiming to find out more about the interaction between a religious community and its sacred scripture. The difference between the Muslim Chinese reception and non-Muslim one is definitely worth exploring. Investigations about the process of canonisation and the differing status of translations is a further fascinating topic, and may prove vital to the understanding of the development of religious ideas. This process of continuous Qurʾān translation can moreover profitably be compared to the translations of Buddhist scriptures into Chinese across the centuries.

\textsuperscript{214} On a more personal note, since this is an MA-thesis, it is unavoidable that the time, resources and amount of experience available to the researcher are limited, and as a result this study cannot claim to have exhausted the topic in any way, not even with respect to the studied passages. There are many sources which have not been used simply because it is difficult to be at home in many fields at once (here especially Chinese studies, Arabic and Islamic studies, and Translation Theory), and use them systematically. This is the personal restriction. I hope to make up for these deficiencies in the future.
APPENDIX A
FRAGMENTS OF QUR'ĀN TRANSLATION BY LIÚ ZHÌ 劉智 (18th Century)

Fātihā (sūra 1)
" [...]若曰[:]
[1.2] 世讃歸主。化育萬物。
[1.3] 普慈獨慈。
[1.4] 執掌公期。
[1.5] 吾惟拜主。惟求主助。
[1.6] 道吾正路。
[1.7] 是夫人路主福之者。非禍之者。亦非迷路。
[Liú:] 此即真經之首章。法體合。之大義也。聖默識其義。" (Tiānfāng 276.9-277.3)

Al-ʾĀlāq (sūra 96)
"[96.1] 汝頌造物主之尊名。
[96.2] 造人自血者。
[96.3] 汝頌至仁主之尊名。
[96.4] 教以格闕。{書寫也[。]}
[96.5] 使人知所不知者。
云云。此真經六千六百餘章。始降第一章也。" (Tf 282.6-9)

Part of shahāda (creed)
萬物非主。惟有真主。 (Tf 278.2-3)
APPENDIX B
CONCORDANCE OF RELIGIOUS TERMS

The glosses are lexical in nature. Only relevant senses are given. Verse numbering refers to the Arabic verse the translations were made from. The entries are arranged according to the root consonants of the Arabic word.

'-y [radicals uncertain]
'ĀYA 'sign, omen; verse'
  xiānjí 顯蹟 'clear imprint'
    Wang 2.187, 12.1, 78.28
  biāozhēng 表徵 'symbol'
    Wang 12.7
  jīxiàng 跡象 'sign'
    Ma 2.187, 12.7, 78.28
  jiéwén 篇文 'verse text'
    Ma 12.1
  jié 節 'section; item; verse'
    Ma in meta-text
    Wang in meta-text

'-l-h
'ALLĀH 'Allah; God'
  zhēnzhū 真主 'Allah' (WL)
    Ma everywhere
  ānlāhū 安拉乎 'Allah'
    Wang everywhere

'ILĀH 'god'
  shěnmíng 神明 'gods'
    Ma 114.3
  ... suǒ bāi zhē ...所拜者 "[he] whom .... worship"
    Wang 114.3 [dots: rénlèi 人類 'mankind']

'-m-n
'ĀMANA BI- 'believe in'
  mūmīn 穆民 [from Arabic *mu'mīn+ 'believer']
    Wang 2.183
  xīndào 信道 'believe in the way'
    Ma 2.183
  guīxìn 歸信 "to ^direct belief" [cont. ~wǒ ~我]
    Wang 2.186
  xīnyáng 信仰 'believe'
    Ma 2.186

'-n-s
NĂS 'people; human beings'
  shírēn 世人 "people of the world"; 'ordinary people'
Ma 114.1, 2, 3, 5
rénlèi 人類 'mankind'
Wang 114.1, 2, 3, 5, 6
Ma 114.6

b-y-n
BAYYINA 'clear sign' ?proof
míngzhèng 明證
Ma 2.185
Wang 2.185

t-w-b
TĀBA 'ALĀ 'turn toward; relent to; allow to repent'
yǔn [rúdèng] huízuì 允[汝等]悔罪 "allow you [pl.] to regret (your) sin"
Wang 2.187
shùnào 處饒 'forgive'
Ma 2.187

j-h-m
JAḤĪM 'Hell' ("The Hot Place")
huǒyù 火獄
Ma 81.12
Wang 81.12

j-z-y
JAZĀ' 'recompense'
bàochōu 報酬 'reward, remuneration'
Ma 78.26, 78.36
Wang 78.26, 78.36

j-n-n
JANNA 'garden; Paradise'
yuán 園 'garden'
Wang 78.16
yuánpǔ 園圃 'garden; orchard'
Ma 78.16
lèyuán 樂園 'garden of pleasure'
Ma 81.13
tiānyuán 天園 'heavenly garden'
Wang 81.13

j-h-n-m
JAHANNAM [one of the names of hell; =Gehenna]
uǒyù 火獄 'fire hell [or: prison]' HDC 7:18 "hell with raging flames and white-hot pans"
Ma 78.21
Wang 78.21

ḥ-l-l
'AHALLA 'make lawful'
zhūn 准 'allow'
Ma 2.187
zhī yú héfā 置於合法 "place within the lawful"
Wang 2.187

ḥ-m-d
ḤAMD 'praise'
zànsòng 贊頌 'praise'
Ma 1.2
Wang 1.2

kə-l-q
ΚΑΛΑΚΑ 'create'
造 zào 'create'
Wang 78.8 [cont. 〜 為 wéi], 96.1
造成 zàochéng 'create'
Ma 78.8
創造 chuàngzào
Wang 96.1
Ma 96.1, 96.2

d-s-w
DA‘Ā 'call; pray; invite'
qídǎo 祈禱 'pray'
Ma 2.186
'hū' 呼 'call out'
Wang 2.186
DA‘WA 'call; prayer; invitation'
qídǎo 祈禱 'prayer'
Ma 2.186
hūyù 呼願 'call; appeal'
Wang 2.186
DĀṬ 'caller; prayer; invitor'
qídǎozhě 祈禱者 'one who prays'
Ma 2.186
hūzhě 呼者 'one who calls out'
Wang 2.186

d-k-r
DAKARA 'remember'
牢記 láojì 'keep firmly in mind' (WL)
Ma 2.63
記憶 jìyì 'remember; recall' (WL)
Wang 2.63

d-n-b
DANB 'sin; guilt'
zúi 罪 'crime'
Ma 81.9
zúiè 罪惡 'crime'
Wang 81.9

r-b-b
RABB 'master; lord'
zhū 主 'master; owner; ruler'
Ma 1.2; 12.6(2), 78.36, 37, 39; 81.29; 96.1, 3, 8; 97.4
zhūzǎi 主宰 'master; ?overlord' [HDC 1:701]
Ma 114.1
yāngzhū 養主 "rearing ruler"
Wang 12.6(2), 78.36, 39; 96.1, 3, 8; 97.4
tiáoyāng ... zhū 調養...者 "the (one who is) rearing...."
Wang 81.29 [dots: zhòng shìjiè "all the worlds"]; 114.1 [dots:
rénlèi 人類 'mankind']
tiáoyāng ... zhū 調養...主 "the ruler who nurtures ...
Wang 1.2 [dots: zhòng shìjiè "all the worlds"]

r-h-m
AL-RAḤMĀN 'the Merciful'
(普) 慈 (pǔ)cí 'generally caring, compassionate'
Wang 1.1
慈悲 cí 'caring, compassionate'
Ma 1.1
慈主 cízhū 'compassionate (&: caring) ruler'
Wang 78.37
至仁的主 zhì rén de zhū 'most benevolent ruler'
Ma 78.37
至仁主 zhì rén zhū 'most benevolent ruler'
Ma 78.38

RAḤĪM 'compassionate, merciful'
(獨) 慈 (dú)cí 'specifically caring, compassionate'
Wang 1.1
仁 rén 'benevolence, humaneness, magnanimity; virtue'
Ma 1.1

r-š-d
RAŠADA 'be rightly guided'
zūnxùn zhèngdào 遵循正道 "keep to the right way"
Ma 2.186
huò zhèngdào 獲正道 "obtain the right way"
Wang 2.186

r-m-d
RAMAḌĀN 'Ramaḍān' [name of the month of fasting in Islam]
Láimáidān 賴買丹 'Ramaḍān'
Ma 2.185
Láimáidānāi 來麥搭乃 'Ramaḍān'
Wang 2.185

ṣ-j-d
SAJADA 'prostrate oneself'
kòutōu 卸頭 'to kowtow' [lit. knock the head (on the ground)]
Ma 96.19
kòushōu 卸首 'to kowtow' [lit. knock the head (on the ground)]
Wang 96.19
jūgōng 捨躬 'bow to s.o'
Ma 12.4
bài 拜 'pay obeisance to'
Wang 12.4

MASJID 'place of prostration; mosque'
móṣīzhìdé 模斯志德
Wang 2.187
qīngzhēnsi 清真寺 'pure and true temple; >mosque'
Ma 2.187

š-k-r
ŠAKARA 'thank; be thankful'
gānxìè 感謝 'feel gratitude [-be thankful]'
Ma 2.185
Wang 2.185

š-t-n
ŠAYṬĀN 'devil; the Devil, Satan'
èmó 惡魔 'demon; the Devil [Christianity]'
Ma 12.5, 81.25
Wang 12.5
Shāidān 色但 'Satan' [transliteration]
Wang 81.25

š-l-w
ŠALLĀ 'perform ṣalāt [=prayer ritual]'
lǐbāi 禮拜 'worship'
Ma 96.10
Wang 96.10

š-w-m
ŠIYĀM 'fasting' [verbal noun]
zhāijìè 卉或 'fasting'
Wang 2.183, 2.187
Ma 2.183, 2.187

ŠĀMA 'to fast'
zhāijié 賁戒 'to fast'
Wang 2.184, 2.185
Ma 2.184, 2.185

Ḍ-Ḍ

ḌALLA 'err; go astray'
mīwù 迷誤 'be at fault' (WL)
Ma 1.7
Wang 1.7

ḌALĀL 'error'
mīwù 迷誤 'fault'
Ma 12.8
miwù 謬誤 'error'
Wang 12.8

Ṭ-Ṭ

ṬAṬA
bēini 悖逆 'be contrary to; revolt' (WL)
Ma 96.6
wélè 為惡 'do evil'
Wang 96.6

Ṯ-b-d

ṯABADA '[serve=]worship' cf. Gottesdienst
崇拜 chóngbài 'worship; adore' (WL)
Ma 1.5
拜 bài 'pay obeisance to'
Wang 1.5

ṯABD 'slave'
[zhòng]pú [眾]僕 "[all the] servant[s]"
Wang 2.186
púrén 僕人 'servant'
Ma 2.186, 96.10
Wang 96.10

Ṯ-d-b

ṯADĀB 'punishment'
xíngfá 刑罰 'penalty; punishment' (WL)
Ma 78.30 78.40
Wang 78.30
fázé 諾責 'punish and accuse' [not in HDC]
Wang 78.40
с-f-w
SAFÁ 'AN 'forgive' ??absolve
shèmiàn 敕免 'remit; pardon'
Ma 2.187
kuānyōu 宽宥 'excuse; forgive'
Wang 2.187

f-d-y
FIDYA 'redemption'
fáshú 削贖 'penance'
Wang 2.184
Ma 2.184

f-r-q
FURQĀN 'distinguishing (between true and false, permitted and forbidden etc.)' [often used to refer to the Qur'ān] ??salvation
fènbié zhēnwéi 分別真偽 "distinguish between true and false"
Ma 2.185
fènbié [-zhēnwéi-] 分別「真偽」"distinguish between [-true and false-]"
Wang 2.185

q-r-`
QUR'ĀN 'Qur'ān' [For etymological speculations, see... ]
Gūlán 古蘭 'Qur'ān'
Wang 2.185, 12.2
Gūlánjīng 《古蘭經》"<The scripture of the> Qur'ān"
Ma 2.185, 12.2

QARA'A 'call; recite; read'
xuǎndú 宣讀 'read out publicly'
Ma 96.1, 96.3
sòngdú 誦讀 'recite'
Wang 96.1, 96.3

q-w-m
ISTAQĀMA 'to be straight, upright'
+xùn-guī dāo-jū 循規蹈矩 "to follow the compasses and tread (according to) the carpenter's square [i.e. to toe the line]"
Ma 81.28
+xìngzhí 'to be straight'
Wang 81.28

MUSTAQĪM 'straight'
+xìng* 'straight; right'
Ma 1.6
Wang 1.6

k-b-r
KABBARA
zànsòng 讚頌 'praise'
Ma 2.185
sòng [Ānlāhū] zūndā 頌[安拉乎]尊大 "praise [Allah's] ^greatness"
Wang 2.185

k-d-b
KADḌABA 'consider [or: call] a lie [or: liar]'
yī...wéi xūwàng 以...為虛妄 'take .... to be baseless'
Wang 78.28
fǒurèn 否認 'deny'
Ma 78.28; 96.13
fǒuxìn 否信 'disbelieve' not in HDC
Wang 96.13

KIḌḌĀB 'lying' [verbal noun]
xūdàn 虚誕 'absurd (&: exaggerated)' HDC 8:828
Wang 78.35
huǎnghuà 謊話 'lie; falsehood' (WL)
Ma 78.35

k-f-r
KĀFIR '(ungrateful) unbeliever'
不信道的人
Ma 78.40
不信者
Wang 78.40

m-l-ā-k
MALĀK 'angel'
tiānshén
Ma 78.38, 97.4, (81.23)
xiānshī
Wáng 78.38, 97.4

m-l-k
MALIK 'king'
jūnwáng 君王 'monarch'
Ma 114.2
zhānglì ... zhé 掌理 ... 類者 '[he] who supervises ....'
Wang 114.2
MĀLIK 'owning; owner'
zhū 主 'ruler; owner'
Ma 1.4
zhīzhāng [bàoyìngrì] zhī zhū 執掌[報日之]主 'the ruler who oversees [the day of retribution]'
Wang 1.4
n-d-r
'ANḌARA 'warn'
jǐnggào 警告
   Ma 78.40
jǐngjiè 警戒
   Wang 78.40

n-z-l
'ANZALA 'send down' [as a revelation, hence the frequent translation 'reveal']
   jiàngshì 顯示 'express by sending down'
      Ma 12.2, 97.1
jiàng 降 'send down'
      Wang 12.2, 97.1

n-ṛ-m
'Nī'MA 'grace'
   ēndiǎn 恩典
      Ma 12.6
ēn 恩
      Wang 12.6
'ANŚAMA 'bestow grace upon'
   yòuzhù 祥助 'help'
      Ma 1.7
shī’en 施恩 'show favour'
      Wang 1.7

h-d-y
HADĀ 'guide'
   yǐndāo 引導 'guide'
      Ma 2.185
      Wang 2.185

HUDĀ 'guidance'
   zhèngdào 正道 'the straight (&: right) way'
      Ma 96.11 [cont: zūnxún 'follow' 遵循~]
   zhídāo 指導 'guidance' HDC 6: 583;
      Wang 96.11
      Ma 2.185
   yǐndāo 引導
      Wang 2.185

w-h-y
'AWHĀ 'communicate (without words); inspire'
   qīshì 敦示 'inspire; enlighten'
      Ma 12.3
mòshi 默示 'inspire silently or secretly' [HDC seems to have a biblical example]
   Wang 12.3

w-q-y
   ITTAQĀ 'to fear God'
       jìngwèì 敬畏 'revere; hold in awe' (WL)
           Ma 2.183, 2.187e
           Wang 2.183, 2.187e
   TAQWĀ 'fear of God'
       jìngwèì 敬畏 'revere, hold in awe'
           Ma 96.12 [as a verb]
   jìngshèn 敬慎
       Wang 96.12
   MUTTAQĪ 'godfearing'
       jìngwèi de rènmèn 敬畏的人們 'reverence, awe'
           Ma 78.31
       jìngshèn zhī rén 敬慎之人
           Wang 78.31
### ABBREVIATIONS AND SHORT REFERENCES

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<td>conv.</td>
<td>conventional(ly)</td>
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<td>EI</td>
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<td>EQ</td>
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<td>Fōguāng</td>
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<td>lit.</td>
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<td>大正新脩大藏經 <em>Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association</em> 簡稱 CBETA</td>
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<td>Xūcī gǔlín</td>
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