

Ivo Spira

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

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PREFACE

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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 Wáng'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 Bayḍāwī's commentary; 'j' Jalālayn)
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 yyyy zzzz [ccc]
_xxxx yyyy zzzz {ccc}
_xxxx yyyy 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'ānic source text. The translations of Mǎ'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 *Mǎ*, which should be understood as referring to Wáng Jìngzhāi and Mǎ Jiān or their translations.

For Arabic I have adopted the German system, with the following modifications: *k* for *ك*, *j* for *ج*, *y* for *ي*. The diphthongs are spelt *ay* and *aw*, and the assimilation of the definite 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-ḍaraba-nī* "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. *'innī*). Elision is not marked.

Arabic phrases are spelt with pausal endings when they are cited out of context. So when the verse reads *al-ḥamdu li-llāhi rabbi l-'ālamīn* I will cite the words from this context as *ḥamd*, *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 population². Islam in China is such an intriguing research topic because it is an opportunity to 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 ways³, and yet China's Muslims⁴ 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:

2 Cf. Allès et al. 2001.

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 *Huí* 回 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 Chinese⁵ 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," analogous 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'ānic 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 information⁶ 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'ānic 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'ānic 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 texts⁷.

⁷ 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 polysystems 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.

⁸ Cf. Steiner 1992: 270-271, 279-280

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 techniques¹⁰. *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 subsystem¹¹ 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 China¹², 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

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. Leïla Chebbi recently kindly pointed several works out to me, among them Lín 1995, Mu 1995 and Li 2000.

works¹³.

One recent work to deal extensively with the general principles of Qur'ān translation¹⁴ is *Qur'ān Translation* by Hussein Abdul-Raof (2001). It concludes that Qur'ān 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'ān translation, in his view, is a kind of exegetical activity and therefore ought to be communicative rather than literal¹⁵. While this work makes important observations on features of Qur'ānic discourse and their relevance for translation, it has a strong apologetic undercurrent¹⁶ and a tendency to assess translation from a normative standpoint¹⁷.

Translations of the Qur'ān into the languages of the world can be conveniently identified in the *World Bibliography of the Translations of the Meanings of the Holy Qur'an* 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'ān 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'ān 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 too short to get hold of it, and so it has not been taken into account here¹⁸.

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'ān 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 (Mǎ and a Tái wān 臺灣 version –

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

14 There is a large body of research on Qur'ān 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.

15 Abdul-Raof 2001: 179-183.

16 Abdul-Raof 2001: 37-39.

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

18 Thanks to Leïla Chebbi for providing me with this piece of information.

Shí Zǐzhōu'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.

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 TRANSLATABILITY²⁰

There has traditionally been much scepticism a from orthodox quarters against Qur'ān translation, an attitude which originated in the dogma of inimitability (*'i'jāz*) 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'ān²¹.

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 first²². Nor are the individual sūras necessarily organic units²³. 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 transmission²⁴.

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.

21 Neuwirth 2004: 461.

22 An exception 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 exegesis²⁵ 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.

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 intended²⁶. Some jurists, notably those of the Ḥanafī school, take a more liberal view. Whatever the dogmatic position, various reports suggest that oral Qur'ān translation²⁷ in the context of commentary has been taking place since the early days of Islam, and it

to apply the term exactly to such works. Moreover, even if the transitory dimension of speech is lost when transcribed, a transcribed stretch of speech is still very different from a text carefully composed in writing. So in this sense we may categorise the Qur'ān as an oral text which is a part of oral literature. The Qur'an is easily recognisable as possessing many of the characteristics of orally performed discourse as seen by Ong (2002: 36-57):

- Additive rather than subordinative (see also the Chapter on syntax and rhetoric)
- Aggregative rather than analytic. Sturdy oak. formulas

Redundancy

- Agonisticality (polemics, violence, polarity)
- Empathetic and participatory

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. (Neuwirth 2003: 470) One can also point to the fact 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)

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

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>>).

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 Maṣṣūr b. Nūḥ in 345/959. It is significant that this was actually a translation of the famous Qur'ān 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 Qur'ān translation is only a translation of the *meanings* of the Qur'ān, 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 number²⁸.

The first translation into a Western language was made in the 12th century, and since then the trickle of Qur'ān 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 Qur'ān translation was conducted expressly for the purpose of refuting the Qur'ān. 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 faithful²⁹.

2.3 THE QUR'ĀN 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 Qur'ān appeared in 1927³⁰, 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 Qur'ān translation³¹.

Paraphrases and extract translations of Qur'ānic passages can be found in the earliest extant Chinese Islamic literature³². Translations of Islamic works naturally also contain such material. But even though Islam has been in China since the Táng 唐 dynasty

28 First extant translation dates from 734/1333. The source for the account in this paragraph is the article under Qur'ān in EI and the Introduction in Binark&Eren 1986.

29 Cf. Abdul-Raof 2001: 19-21.

30 *Lǐ Tiězhēng* 李鐵錚 1927.

31 If nothing else is stated, the basic source of bibliographic information in the following is Binark&Eren 1986.

32 Lín 1988: 7. Jin 1982: 99.

(618-907), the first Islamic works appear in Chinese only in the Míng 明 dynasty (1368-1644), i.e. very late in the history of Islam in China³³. As an example of Qur'ān translation we may mention translations of *sūrat al-fātiḥa* (Q 1), the first few verses of *sūrat al-ʿalaq* (Q 96.1-5) and the *šahāda* (the Muslim creed) in Liú Zhì's ³⁴ famous *Tiānfāng Zhìshèng shílù* 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, Mǎ Fùchū³⁵ 馬復初 (1794-1894) reportedly translated the whole Qur'ān, but only five volumes were saved from fire³⁶. These five volumes were published by Shànghǎi Zhōngguó Huíjiào xuéhuì 上海中國回教學會 in 1927. The title is variously given as *Hànyì bǎomìng zhēnjīng* 漢譯寶命真經 or *Bǎomìng zhēnjīng zhíjiě* 寶命真經直解. 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 century³⁷.

The beginning of the twentieth century saw the publication of two translations of the Qur'ān by non-Muslim Chinese, in both cases secondary translations. The first was *Kělánjīng* 可蘭經 by Lǐ Tiězhēng 李鐵錚 (transl.) in 1927, which was translated from Rodwell's English and Kamoto Ken'ichi's Japanese. The second was *Hànyì Gǔlánjīng* 漢譯古蘭經, edited by Jī Juémí 姬覺彌, which appeared in 1931. Both were largely neglected by Muslims³⁸.

The first complete translation by a Muslim was published in 1932 as *Gǔlánjīng yìjiě* 古蘭經譯解, translated by the al-Azhar graduate Wáng Jìngzhāi 王靜齋. This influential translation was revised and published in successive “editions” in 1943 and 1946³⁹. 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

33 An thorough annotated bibliography of Islamic works in Chinese before 1911 has been written by Donald Leslie (1981).

34 1662-?1736

35 Also known as Mǎ Déxīn 馬德新.

36 Jin 1982: 100.

37 Jin 1982: 98-99 ['eighteenth' must be a mistake]; Farjanel 1908.

38 Jin 1982: 100.

39 In Chinese, they are known as *jiǎběn* 甲本 (1st ed. 1932), *yǐběn* 乙本 (2nd ed. 1942) and *bǐngběn* 丙本 (3rd ed. 1946).

言) and the other two in Modern Chinese (*báihuà* 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, *Kělánjīng Hànyì fùzhuàn* 可蘭經漢譯附傳 by Liú Jīnbīāo 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 *Gǔlánjīng Dàyì* 古蘭經大意. The translator was āhóng Yáng Zhōngmíng 楊仲明. Reportedly a strictly literal translation with a unique style⁴². Jin Yijiu also reports that there were several unfinished and unpublished Qur'ān translations at the time (1982: 100).

In 1958, Shí Zǐzhōu 時子周 revised and published Wáng Jìngzhāi's 王靜齋 translation in Taiwan and published it as *Gǔlánjīng guóyǔ yǐjiě* 古蘭經國語譯解. Jin Yijiu 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 *Gǔlánjīng* 古蘭經 translated by Mǎ Jiān 馬堅. 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 *Gǔlánjīng yùnyì* 古蘭經韻譯.

In 1989, Tóng Dào zhāng 仝道章, a Muslim Chinese American, published his translation, entitled *Gǔlánjīng* 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 xīliú* — *Gǔlánjīng xīnyì* 清真溪流——古蘭經新譯 translated by Shěn Xiázhǔn 沈遐淮, published in Táiběi 臺北 in 1996.

40 *Báihuà* 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.

41 Lín Sōng, "Liú Jīnbīāo de «Kělán Hànyì fùzhuàn» 劉錦標的《可蘭漢譯附傳》", in *Zhōngguó huíhuí mínzú shǐ* 中国回回民族史 (2000), <<http://www.islambook.net/xueshu/list.asp?id=2446>> (10.5.2005).

42 Lín Sōng 林松, "Yángjīngxiū yì «Gǔlánjīng dàyì» 楊敬修譯《古蘭經大義》", in *Zhōngguó huíhuí mínzú shǐ* 中国回回民族史 (2000), <<http://www.islambook.net/xueshu/list.asp?id=2447>> (10.5.2005).

43 The translator, who is a journalist, states this explicitly in the preface (Tóng 1989: 9).

According to Lín Sōng, 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 strait⁴⁴.

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 successfully⁴⁵. 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 清 dynasty (1644-1911) at least, one can also identify caution because of hostility against Muslims as an additional factor⁴⁶.

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 *āhóngs*⁴⁷ 阿訇 in China who pronounce Arabic incomprehensibly⁴⁸. 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 time⁴⁹. The reason for the

44 I have not seen it, so I refrain from any further comments. Lín Sōng 林松, " Shěn Xiázhǔn de «Qīngzhēn xīliú — «Gǔlánjīng xīnyì» 沈暇準的《清真溪流——古蘭經新譯》", in *Zhōngguó huíhú mínzú shǐ* 中国回回民族史 (2000). <<http://www.islambook.net/xueshu/list.asp?id=2454>> (10.5.2005), dated 3.5.2004.

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

46 Chan 1969: 197. Cf. Leslie 1986: 134.

47 Chinese imams. Loan-word from Persian *akund*.

48 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 *jīngtāngyǔ* [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.]

49 In 1862 in Yúnnán 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 time⁵⁰. 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 types⁵¹. Since I have had to restrict rather drastically the amount of text to be analysed, not all types are represented, and some are insufficiently respresented: for example, none of the passages include anything about the prophets sent by Allāh before Muḥammad⁵².

These are the selected passages:

A. Whole Sūras

		<i>keywords</i>	
1.	al-Fātiḥa	The Opening one	hymn
78.	al-Naba'	The Tiding	eschatology
81.	al-Takwīr	The Folding Up	eschatology
96.	al-ʿAlaḳ	The Blood Clot	revelation, hymn, polemics
97.	al-Qadr	Power	revelation
112.	al-'Ikhlāṣ	Sincerity	dogma, Allāh
114.	al-Nās	Men	hymn, invocation

B. Parts of Sūras

2.	al-Baqara	The Cow [183-187]	legislation (fasting)
12.	Yūsuf	Yūsuf [1-11]	narrative, revelation

50 Chan 1969, esp. p. 198.

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 Mǎ Jiān'S TRANSLATION

The most widely used Chinese translation of the Qur'ān today is the translation by Mǎ Jiān⁵³ 馬堅 (1906—1978). It is quoted ubiquitously, not least on the internet, where the text of this translation is readily available on a number of sites⁵⁴. Mǎ Jiān was professor of Arabic at Běijīng University from 1946 until his death. Both the man and his translation has had a great impact on Muslim intellectual life in modern China.

Mǎ Jiān studied for eight years at al-Azhar University in Egypt (1931-1937)⁵⁵ Having completed the draft of his translation between 1937 and 1945, Mǎ Jiān made preparations to get it published in Běipíng [Běijīng] in 1948, but did not succeed. In 1949, 8 “books” were published by the Hésāngwù Printing House of the Běijīng University Publishing Department⁵⁶. The translation was entitled *Gǔlánjīng 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 Mùsīlín* 中國穆斯林 in 1957, but stopped again before completing the 9th book, since Mǎ 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 continuously until his death in 1978. The full translation was published by *Zhōngguó shèhuì kēxué chūbǎnshè* 中國社會科學出版社 in 1981. Mǎ researched thoroughly and the list of sources in his translation includes famous Qur'ān commentaries such as Bayḍāwī, Ṭabarī, Rāzī, and others. Significantly, he also consulted Yusuf ʿAlī's and Pickthall's English translations.

In the preface, Mǎ 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.]⁵⁷

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

53 字子實，號自适。

54 E.g. <<http://www.makuielys.info/modules/quran1/>>, <<http://www.islam.org.hk/cqse/cqse.asp>>, <http://www.glink.net.hk/%7Ehkiya/c_quran.html> (April 2005).

55 The biographical data about Mǎ Jiān have been taken from *Mùsīlínxuézhě Mǎ Jiān xiānshēng* 穆斯林學者馬堅先生, at <<http://www.nxnews.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 Mǎ 1981, p. 4 of the translator's preface.

canonical status⁵⁸. It is significant that it was also published in a bilingual edition by the King Fahd Complex for Printing the Holy Quran in Medina⁵⁹. Lin 2000a, which is a review of Mǎ'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 WÁNG JÌNGZHĀI'S TRANSLATION

Wáng Jìngzhāi (1879-1948) 王靜齋 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 *āhóng* 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 Qur'ān into Chinese, an activity which he carried on for the rest of his life⁶⁰. As mentioned above, Wáng Jìngzhāi published altogether three Qur'ān 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 Wáng's successive translations would reveal much (the last two are in Modern Chinese). I have, however, chosen not to concentrate on Wáng's later translations in order to make room for Mǎ'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 Qur'ān translation. All further references to 'Wáng'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 style⁶¹. Lín Sōng's 林松 review of Wáng's

58 Lín 2000a.

59 Lín 2000a.

60 Source of bibliographical data: Lín 2000b.

61 *Gǔlán yìjiě fānlì* 古蘭譯解凡例 in Wáng 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 *Jūnshìtǎndīngbǎo Sà'ādé gulánjīng dúběn* 君士坦丁堡賽阿德古蘭讀本 (1017 年) "Sà'ādé's [?] Qur'ānic Reading Book (the year 1017 [A.H.?])". Wáng, like Mǎ, has consulted numerous Qur'ān commentaries, *tafsīrs*, *tèfùxīlei* 特富希[口雷]:

- 特富希[口雷] by 嘎錐 *gāzhuī* (=Wang 1946⁶²: *Tafsīr al-qāḍī al-mašhūr bi-'anwār al-tanzīl wa-'asrār al-ta'wīl* 噶追) This is identifiable as the famous Qur'ān commentary *Tafsīru l-Bayḍāwī*: 'Anwāru l-tanzīl wa-'asrāru l-ta'wīl, where *gāzhuī* 嘎錐 is a transcription of *al-Qāḍī* (the Judge).
- 特富希[口雷]、侯賽呢 (?= Wang 1946: *Tafsīr Ḥusayn al-Kāshifī* 侯註) Probably *Tafsīr-i-Ḥusaynī* by Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn Kāshifī Wā'iz.
- 哲拉賴呢, *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* Famous 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: "哲註 *tafsīr al-Jamāl*". If so, *Jamāl* must be a mistake for *Jalālayn*.
- 埋搭[口雷]克 *máidāleikè* 魯侯落白雅呢 *lǔhóuluòbáiyǎní* (=Wang 1946: *rūḥ al-bayān* 魯白). Probably *Madarak's* (d. ca. 1700) *Rūḥ al-Bayān*.
- 魯侯落埋阿呢 *lǔhóuluòmá'āní* (=Wang 1946: *rūḥ al-ma'ānī* 魯埋). *Rūḥ al-ma'ānī* by al-Alūsī al-Baḡdādī.

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 管鑰 *wlsolwl vuron* 穆氏 英文古蘭註釋 [The great Indian Imām Mr. Ahmad Shah's (*yāhāmàidē shāhē*) Key to the Qur'ān,] *wlsolwl vuron* [sic!] and Mr Mù'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

62 Here and in the following entries: information supplied from the index of sources, 註文所採取的經名簡稱對照表, in Wang'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/FIND-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'ān 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 texts⁶⁴. 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 translations⁶⁵ 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 texts⁶⁶ 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 readings⁶⁷.

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-

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

64 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.

65 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 Mǎ'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.

66 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 reading⁶⁸? 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-translation⁶⁹. 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

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 l-Bayḍāwī: 'Anwār al-tanzīl wa-'asrār al-ta'wīl* [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-'Arab* ['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 *Hànyǔ 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 Hànyǔ 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-fātiḥa* "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 Mǎ Jiān 馬堅, a translation from Tái wān 臺灣 of a certain Bai Jianmin [does he mean Shí Zǐzhōu 時子周?], and an anonymous Chinese phonetic transliteration and commentary of the Qur'ān.

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Arabic (transcription)	Ma Jian's Translation	Wang Jingzhai's Translation
* 1.1		
1.1 bi-smi llāhi l-raḥmāni l-raḥīmī	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 [<i>>Raḥmān</i>], the merciful [<i>>raḥīm</i>]	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.

Bi-smi llāhi l-Raḥmāni l-raḥīm — "In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the merciful": this formula, called *basma*, is

ubiquitous in Islam. It stands at the beginning of every sūra (except sūra 9), and constitutes the first verse of *sūrat al-fātiḥa*. 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, Allāh and Allāh's Blessings and Mercy.

On the syntactical side, Wáng articulates the near-synonyms *al-raḥmān* "the Merciful" and *al-raḥīm* "the merciful" by adding contrastive adnominal elements to *cí* 慈 «compassionate». Wáng fails to make it syntactically explicit whether what is *rahmān* and *rahīm* is Allah himself, or his name. Mǎ retains standard Buddhist—but not very currently pre-Buddhist—conjoined complex adnominal phrases.

Neither of the translations reproduce the assonance present in *al-raḥmān al-raḥīm*, but a repeated element is present in both translations.

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

=====

*| 1.2

<p>1.2 al-ḥamdu li-llāhi rabbi l-ʿālamīn a</p>	<p>1.2 一切贊頌, 全歸真主, 全世界的主,</p>	<p>1.2 讚頌按拉乎調養眾世界之主。</p>
<p>1.2 The praise is (due to) to Allah, the master of the worlds</p>	<p>1.2 All praise is-due to the True Ruler, the ruler of all the world,</p>	<p>1.2 [We] praise Allāh, the ruler who nurtures all the worlds.</p>

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 through analysis of this term and its translations, see Discussion: *Rabb*.

Yīqiè zànsòng 一切贊頌 "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 *zànsòng* 讚頌 '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 Mǎ, *quán...zhǔ* 全...主, is a clear case of Europeanized grammar, and moreover it is rhythmically 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.

=====

*| 1.3

1.3
al-rahmāni
l-rahīmji

1.3 至仁至慈的主,

1.3 普慈獨慈之主。

1.3 The Merciful [*>rahmān*],
the merciful [*>rahīm*]

1.3 The most humane, most
compassionate ruler

1.3 The universally
compassionate, the specifically
compassionate.

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) Mǎ renders *al-Rahmān* (not followed by *al-rahīm*) as *zhìrén de zhǔ* 至仁的主 "the most kind-hearted ruler". Wáng's solution in the same verse is maybe the most satisfying: *cízhǔ* 慈主 "the loving ruler".

=====

*| 1.4

1.4 māliki
yawmi l-dīnji

1.4 報應日的主。

1.4 執掌報日之主。

1.4 The owner of the day of

1.4 The ruler [or: owner] of

1.4 The ruler who oversees the

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 Mǎ's rendering: *zhǔ* 主 'ruler; owner' is his usual equivalent for *rabb* ('master', conv. 'Lord'), but there is no mention of *rabb* in the Arabic.

Bàoyìngrì 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 paradisaical 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. '*islām* '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-KisāT and ʿĀṣim and the latter by the rest [*Al-Taysīr fī l-qirā'āt al-sabʿa*, 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 *zhǔ* 主 'ruler; owner', cf. Ma 114.2 *jūnwáng* 君王 'monarch' for *malik*.

Wáng introduces *zhízhǎng* 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 *zhízhǎng* 執掌 'control, direct' occurs in Liú Zhì's translation of Q 1 and so Wáng has probably simply adopted a traditional term.

=====

*| 1.5

1.5 'iyyā-ka
naʿbudu
wa-'iyyā-ka
nastaʿīnju

1.5 我們只崇拜你,
只求你祐助,

1.5 我等惟拜爾、
我等惟求爾助。

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 *'iyyā* instead of attaching it to the end of the verb, which is the default option. This emphasis on "you" is the motivation for Mǎ's use of *zhǐ* 只 'only'. At the first glance, Wáng seems to have done the same thing, using a Classical word, *wéi* 惟 'only be'. Now *zhǐ* 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 Wáng is using it here? [Pulleyblank 1995: 131-132]

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

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*| 1.6

1.6 (i)hdi-nā l-ṣirāṭa l-mustaqīm a	1.6 求你引導我們上正路,	1.6 求爾導我等於正道。
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 *ihdinā* is rendered by means of a paraphrase with the verb *qíú* 求 'ask; beg; demand'.

Mǎ uses *lù* 路 for *ṣirāṭ* , whereas Wáng chooses *dào* 道. One wonders if Mǎ 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 «*ṣirāṭ mustaq īm* "straight path"» and «*hudā* 'guidance'» can be found in Chapter 5.

=====

*| 1.7

1.7 <i>ṣirāṭa</i>	1.7 你所祐助者的路,	1.7 即爾所施恩者,
<i>llaḍīna</i>	不是受譴怒者的路,	非被怒,
<i>ʿanʿamta</i>	也不是迷誤者的路。	亦非迷誤者「所守」之道。
<i>ʿalay-him</i>		
<i>ġayri</i>		
<i>l-maġḍūbi</i>		
<i>ʿalay-him</i>		
<i>wa-lā</i>		
<i>l-ḍāllīn a</i>		
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.

Mǎ translates *anʿama* 'bless' by *yòuzhù* 祐助 '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 *shīʿēn* 施恩 'bestow favours'. See Chapter 5 for a detailed discussion.

Ḍalla 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. *míwù* HDC 10: 822

It is interesting to note that the passive formulation *maġḍūbi ʿalayhim* has been rephrased in Chinese as V-O constructions, namely *shòu qiǎnnù* 受譴怒 "suffer reproof and anger" (Mǎ) and *bèi nù* 被怒 "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.

Mǎ repeats *lù* 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 Mǎ 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.

Further note that the translators introduce copulas (*shì* 是 'be' and *fēi* 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 *ǧayr* 'other than' in Arabic.

4.2 SŪRA 2

Sūra 2, *al-Baqara* 'The Cow', is the longest sūra of the Qur'ān. 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'ān and the import of the laws themselves.

=====

Arabic (transcription)	Ma Jian's Translation	Wang Jingzhai's Translation
* 2.183		
<hr style="width: 10%; margin-left: 0;"/>		
2.183 yā-'ayyu-hā llaḡīna 'āmanū kutiba ʿalaykumu l-ṣiyāmu ka-mā kutiba ʿalā llaḡīna min qabli-kum laʿalla-kum tattaqūn a	2.183 信道的人們啊！ 齋戒已成為你們的定制， 猶如它曾為前人的定制一樣， 以便你們敬畏。	2.183 眾穆民乎、 已對爾等規定齋戒、 即如曾對爾等先人規定之、 庶爾等敬畏。
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 <i>mu'mins</i> [Ar. =believers][!], [!] have <already> established the fast for you, just as once [!] established it for your forefathers, (so that) hopefully you (will) be reverent.

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

Wáng has specified that the verse is addressed to "all" (zhòng 眾) the Believers, and has used the transcription *mù'mín* 穆民, which probably originated in Arabic *mu'min* 'Believer'. It is interesting that one could also re-interpret this as *mù* 穆 *mín* 民 'people', where the first element is an abbreviation of either *Mūhānmòdé* 穆

罕默德 'Muhammad' or *Mūsīlīn* 穆斯林 'Muslim'

Note that the «writing» part of «*kutiba* ^{ʿalaykum} "has been prescribed for you"» is gone in the Chinese versions.

Fasting is nothing new to Chinese culture, and so the words *zhāi* and *jiè* occur in many early Chinese texts, including the combination *zhāijiè* 齋戒 [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 Taosim knows special times for fasting, and the both traditions use the term *zhāiyuè* 齋月 "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]. *Bǎzhāi* 把齋 is a synonym of *fēngzhāi* 封齋.

Dìngzhì 定制 fix or institute rules (HDC 3: 1363).

Shù probably means «hopefully» here. This is a strange usage, but found in HDC 3: 1234.

=====

*| 2.184a

2.184a 'ayyāman ma^ʿdūdātin
fa-man kāna min-kum marīḍan 'aw
^ʿalā safarin fa-^ʿiddatun min
'ayyāmin 'uḵara wa-^ʿalā llaḍīna
yuṭīqūna-hu fidyatun ṭa^ʿāmu
miskīnin

2.184a
故你們當齋戒有數的若干日。
你們中有害病或旅行的人，
當依所缺的日數補齋。
難以齋戒者，當納罰贖，
即以一餐飯，施給一個貧民。

2.184a
是乃計定之若干日。
爾等中染病、或旅行者、
則其他若干日。不能齋戒者、
則當給窮困者一度食物之罰贖。

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,

2.184a So you should fast a
numbered ^few days. Those
<people> 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

2.184a 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].

poor man.

Mǎ chooses to translate *fa-ʿiddatun min 'ayyāmin 'uḵara* "<then> a number of other days" rather freely as *dāng yī suǒ quē de rìshù bǔzhāi* 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 *yuṭīqūna-hu* as "bear it (only with effort)" (like Mǎ 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 *lā* 'not' has been inserted before *yuṭīqūna-hu*.

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

Fáshú 罰贖 to pay a fine of money to redeem sins/crimes (HDC 8: 1039).

Shú 贖 1. redeem sth. pawned 2. cancel, neutralise

=====

*| 2.184b

2.184b *fa-man taṭawwaʿa ḵayran*
fa-huwa ḵayrun lahu wa'an
taṣūmū ḵayrun la-kum 'in kuntum
ta'lamūn|a

2.184b 自願行善者，
必獲更多的善報。
齋戒對於你們是更好的，
如果你們知道。

2.184b
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, Mă states explicitly that to volunteer good leads to an increase in reward, or "positive retribution" (*shànbào* 善報), to use his phrase. (Cf. HDC 3:446)

=====

*| 2.185a

<p>2.185a šahru ramaḍāna llaḡī 'unzila fī-hi l-qur'ānu hudan li-l-nāsi wa-bayyinātin mina l-hudā wa-l-furqāni</p>	<p>2.185a 賴買丹月中， 開始降示《古蘭經》， 指導世人，昭示明証， 以便遵循正道，分別真偽，</p>	<p>2.185a 來麥搭乃月、 是頒降古蘭之月。 「此古蘭是」引導世人者、 且是引導之明證、 與分別「真偽。」</p>
<p>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),</p>	<p>2.185a In the month of <i>Ramaḍān</i>, [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,</p>	<p>2.185a The month of <i>Ramaḍān</i> 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」 .</p>

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 us the month in wich 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*.

Mǎ seems to add *yìbiàn* 以便 "in order to". It is not at all clear that the Arabic preposition *min* 'from' has this meaning here.

Mǎ 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-furqāni* "clear signs of guidance and distinction" which gives the impression that only *yīndǎo* "guidance" modifies *míngzhèng* "clear proofs", whereas *fēnbié* 「zhēnwěi」 "distinction 「between true and false」 " looks strangely isolated. What is the function of the coverb *yǔ* 'with' here?

=====

*| 2.185b

2.185b fa-man šahida min-kumu
l-šahra fa-l-yašum-hu wa-man
kāna marīḏan 'aw 'alā safarin
fa-'iddatun min 'ayyāmin 'uḡara

2.185b 故在此月中，
你們應當齋戒；
害病或旅行的人，
當依所缺的日數補齋。

2.185b
故爾等中其逢此月者、
則令之齋戒。染病或旅行者、
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-l-* followed by a verb in the apocopate is dealt with differently by the two translators: Mǎ uses the modal verb *dāng* 'should', whereas Wáng uses *lìng* 'order; let'.

Ma adds *suǒ quē* 所缺 "the missed" and *bǔzhāi* 補齋 "mend the fast" like above (2.184a).

Mǎ adds .

Wang adds *xiàndìng* "limited" 限定.

=====

*| 2.185c

2.185c *yurīdu llāhu bi-kumu*
l-yusra wa-lā yurīdu bi-kumu
l-ʿusra wa-li-tukmilū l-ʿiddata
wa-li-tukabbirū llāha ʿalā mā
hadā-kum wa-laʿalla-kum
taškurūn|a

2.185c
真主要你們便利,
不要你們困難,
以便你們補足所缺的日數,
以便你們讚頌真主引導你
們的恩德, 以便你們感謝他。

2.185c
安拉乎欲爾等容易、
不欲爾等困難、
欲爾等圓滿數目、
並欲爾等以「感謝」引導
而頌安拉乎尊大。
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 nǐmen kùnnán* as |Neg - V - Obj|. "Your difficulty" is awkward. It would be nice to have a pivot construction with *nǐmen* as the pivot: |Neg - V - Piv - ...|, but then the last element would have to be a verb, which to my knowledge *kùnnán* cannot be. *Biànlì* '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. Mǎ takes them to be clauses of purpose (and thus equivalent to *laʿalla* 'haply', Mǎ: *yìbiàn* 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, *zurīdu* "wants", and so repeats the Chinese equivalents at the beginning of each of the two clauses in question.

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

Note Wáng's phrasing: *sòng Ānlāhū zūndà* 頌安拉乎尊大 "to praise the honourableness-and-greatness of Allāh".

Wang adds *zūndà* 'honourableness and greatness' (HDC 2:1280). Maybe motivated by the «great» component in «*kabbara* 'magnify'». Note that *zūndārén* 尊大人 "honourable and great man" and *zūndàjūn* 尊大君 "honourable and great gentleman" about the interlocutor's father/parents (HDC 2:1280-1281).

Ma adds *ēndé* 恩德 'grace':

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*| 2.186

2.186 wa-'iḏā sa'ala-ka
 ʿibād-ī ʿannī fa-'innī qarībun
 'ujību daʿwata l-dāʿi 'iḏā
 daʿāni fa-l-yastajībū lī
 wa-l-yu'minū bī laʿalla-kum
 yaršudūn|a

2.186
 如果我的僕人詢問我的情狀，
 你就告訴他們：我確是臨近的，
 確是答應祈禱者的祈禱的。
 當他祈禱我的時候，
 教他們答應我，信仰我，
 以便他們遵循正道。

2.186
 我之眾僕問我於爾時、
 我確是接近者。
 當呼者呼我時、我則允其呼籲、
 第當令彼等應我。
 並令彼等歸信我。
 庶其可以獲正道也。

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 ^ʿ*ibād* "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 ^ʿ*idā daʿā-nī* "when he calls me" clearly belongs to the forgoing, not the following.

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

Didang 第當 has no entry in HDC. Cf. *dì* 第: HDC 8:1132. I translate it tentatively as "then" here. [Wáng's Modern Chinese translation has *dāng* 當 here.]

Wáng construes *[fa-l- - V]* with *ling* 令 'order; let'.

Huò zhèngdào 獲正道 / *xún zhèngdào* 循正道: Both translators paraphrase the verb *yaršudūna* "they (may) be rightly guided". Mǎ: "follow the right way"; Wáng: "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.

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*| 2.187a

2.187a 'uḥilla la-kum laylata
 l-ṣiyāmi l-rafaṭu 'ilā
 nisā'i-kum hunna libāsun la-kum
 wa-'antum libāsun la-hunna

2.187a 齋戒的夜間,
 准你們和妻室交接。
 她們是你們的衣服,
 你們是她們的衣服。

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, (and) you are also their clothing;

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

The metaphor *libās* '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 'anna-kum
kuntum taḵtānūna 'anfusa-kum
fa-tāba ʿalay-kum wa-ʿafā
ʿan-kum

2.187b
真主已知道你們自欺，
而恕饒你們，赦免你們；

2.187b
安拉乎已知爾等曾與自身背義。
厥後主允汝等悔罪、
並寬宥汝等。

2.187b Allāh has learned [lit. : known] that you were deceiving yourselves, so he has _turned [>relented] toward you [or: made you repent] and forgiven you,

2.187b The true ruler has (already) learned [lit.: known] that you deceived yourselves, and (he) forgives you, pardons you;

2.187b 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 *tāba* originally meant «return», but here it is used in the sense of «forgive», cf. the paraphrase given in LA 1.233: ʿāda ʿalay-hi bi-l-maǧfira "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.

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*| 2.187c

2.187c <i>fa-l-'āna bāširū-hunna</i> <i>wa-btaǧū mā kataba llāhu la-kum</i> <i>wa-kulū wa-šrabū ḥattā</i> <i>yatabayyana la-kumu l-ḳayṭu</i> <i>l-'abyaḍu mina l-ḳayṭi</i> <i>l-'aswadi mina l-fajri</i>	2.187c 現在, 你們可以和她們交接, 可以求真主為你們注定的 (子女), 可以吃, 可以飲, 至黎明時天邊的黑線和白 線對你們截然劃分。	2.187c 而今爾等其與妻室接近、 並尋安拉乎為爾等所記者。 爾等其食而且飲。 迨黎明之白線、由黑線中、 現與爾等時。
2.187c so now have-intercourse-with them [f. pl] and seek what Allāh has destined [<written] for you and eat and drink until the white thread stands-out-clearly from the black thread from [or: at] dawn,	2.187c now, you may _associate with [or: join] them [f.pl], (you) may seek the (-sons and daughters-) which the true ruler has destined for you, (you) may eat, (you) may drink, until the black thread and the white thread of the horizon at the time of dawn are completely distinguishable to you.	2.187c and now you may get close to your legal-wives, and seek what Allāh has recorded for you; you may eat and also drink; until the white line of dawn appears ^with^ you from among the black lines;

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

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*| 2.187d

2.187d <i>ṭumma 'atimmū l-šiyāma</i> <i>'ilā l-layli wa-lā</i> <i>tubāširū-hunna wa-'antum</i>	2.187d 然後整日齋戒, 至於夜間。 你們在清真寺幽居的時候,	2.187d 然後爾等其圓滿齋戒、至夜。 爾等靜居於模斯志德時、
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ʿākifūna fī l-masājidi

不要和她們交接。

不得與妻室接近。

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 *qīngzhēnsī* 清真寺 (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.

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*| 2.187e

2.187e tilka ḥudūdu llāhi
fa-lā taqrabū-hā ka-dālika
yubayyinu llāhu 'āyāti-hi
li-l-nāsi laʿalla-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
此是安拉乎之定律。
爾等不得侵犯之。
安拉乎如是者、
對眾表明己之顯蹟、
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.

Ḥudūd allāh "Allāh's limits" is a reference to divinely decreed limits which men should not even approach, and much less transgress. Wáng and Mǎ both translate with words meaning «law», leaving the «limits» aside. According to the exegete al-Bayḏāwī *ḥudūd allāh* does indeed refer to Allāh's rulings (*'aḥkām*), but they only do so by way of metonymy. Wáng adjusts the verb translating *taqrubū-hā* 'approach them' to *qīnfān* 侵犯 'violate', so that it fits together with *dīnglǜ* 定律 'law' (this corresponds to the Jalālān commentary's glosses *ta'tadū* 'you violate' and *'aḥkām* 'verdicts'). Mǎ does not make such an adjustment, and has *línjìn* 臨近 'approach'.

4.3 SŪRA 12

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

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Arabic (transcription)	Ma Jian's Translation	Wang Jingzhai's Translation
* 12.1		
<hr style="width: 10%; margin-left: 0;"/>		
12.1 Ā-L-R [letters read as: ' <i>alif lām rā'</i>] tilka 'āyātu l-kitābi l-mubīnī	12.1 艾列弗, 倆目, 拉儀。 這些是明確的天經的節文。	12.1 阿里甫、拉目、 拉一。此是明典之顯蹟。
12.1 <i>alif, lām, rā'</i> ; those are the signs [or: the verses] of the clear book	12.1 <i>ālièfú, liǎmù,</i> <i>lāyí</i> . This is the verse text of the clear heavenly scripture [>Qur'ān].	12.1 <i>alif, lām, rā'</i> ; these are the clear signs of the clear [or: illustrious] volume [or: book, classic].

The first verse of this sūra opens with three Arabic letters, *alif* (') , *lām* (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 Qur'ān exegesis, the meaning of these letters is deemed to belong to those parts of the Qur'ān which are *mutašābih*, 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 Qur'ān is recited.

The translators have differed in their primary interpretation of *'āyāt*, which can be understood either as «signs» (Wáng) or as «verses» (Mǎ). But Wáng adds the alternative in his commentary. Wáng adds the epithet *xiǎn* "clear".

Note that Allāh speaks about himself using a plural pronoun. For a discussion of this ubiquitous pluralis majestatis, see Chapter 5.

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*| 12.2

<p>12.2 'innā 'anzalnā-hu qur'ānan 'arabiyyan la'alla-kum ta'qilūn a</p>	<p>12.2 我確已把它降示成阿拉伯 文的《古蘭經》， 以便你們了解。</p>	<p>12.2 我確已降此亞拉伯文之古蘭。 庶爾等了解也。</p>
<p>12.2 we did indeed send it down (as) an Arabic [or: Arab][or: clear] qur'ān, haply you will understand.</p>	<p>12.2 I have indeed <already> sent it down as an Arabic Qur'ān, so that you (may) understand.</p>	<p>12.2 I have indeed <already> sent down this Arabic Qur'ān; hopefully you understand.</p>

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'. Mǎ also resorts to the morpheme *jiàng* 降 'send down', but expands it to the word *jiàngshì* 降示 'show by sending down'. This is closer to «reveal», and could be an Islamic Chinese coinage (possibly ancient) influenced by *qǐshì* 啟示 'inspire; enlighten'. The concepts of inspiration and revelation are also represented by the Arabic verbs *'alhama* 'inspire' and *'awḥā* '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 *'arabiyyan* "Arab[ic]". They follow the commentators in this reading. Ma also puts the word *gǔlánjīng* 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.

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*| 12.3

<p>12.3 naḥnu naquṣṣu 'alay-ka</p>	<p>12.3</p>	<p>12.3</p>
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'aḥsana l-qaṣaṣi bi-mā 'awḥaynā 'ilay-ka hādā l-qur'āna wa-'in kunta min qabli-hi la-mina l-gāfilīn a	我借著啟示你這部《古蘭 經》而告訴你最美的故事， 在這以前，你確是疏忽的。	我以默示此古蘭於爾、 講解最佳之往史。 前此爾確屬茫昧者。
12.3 we [ʔwill] tell you the fairest narrative by conveying-silently to you this qur'ān, and before it you were indeed one of the heedless	12.3 By inspiring you with this Qur'ān [I] tell you the most beautiful story, [and] before this you were indeed negligent.	12.3 By silently expressing this Qur'ān to you, [I] tell the most excellent ^past history [story]; before this you really belonged to the confused ones.

'Aḥsana l-qaṣaṣ "the fairest narrative" may be a hyperbole; if so, the translators have not attempted to change it.

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 wǎngshǐ 往史 "past history" might be a mistake for wǎngshì 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.

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*| 12.4

12.4 'iḍ qāla yūsufu li-'abī-hi yā-'abat-ī 'innī ra'aytu 'aḥada ʿašara kawkaban wa-l-šamsa wa-l-qamara ra'aytu-hum lī sājidīn a	12.4 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 昔時、 猶思福語其父曰我之父乎、 我確「夢」見十一星辰、 暨日月。我見其拜我。
12.4 At-that-time-when Yūsuf [Joseph] said to his father[:]	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[:]

<p>o my father I did indeed see eleven stars and the sun and the moon, which I saw prostrating to me</p>	<p>did indeed <already> see in my dream eleven stars and the sun and the moon, I saw them in my dream bowing to me."</p>	<p>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.</p>
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Arabic *ra'aytu-hum* "I saw them" can also be used about what you see in a dream, compare the cognate noun *ru'yā* '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 *mèngjiàn* 夢見 'see in a dream' in the last colon.

Interestingly, *sājidīna* "prostrating-themselves" is rendered with *jūgōng* 鞠躬 'bow (to s.o.)' and *bài* 拜 'pay obeisance to' respectively. Why not the more literal and equally expressive *kòutóu* 叩頭 and *kòushǒu* 叩首, both 'kowitz (to s.o.)', which occurs in the translations of Q 96.19?

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*| 12.5

<p>12.5 qāla yā-bunayya lā taqṣuṣ ru'yā-ka ʿalā 'iḳwati-ka fa-yakīdū la-ka kaydan 'inna l-šayṭāna li-l-'insāni ʿaduwwun mubīnḵun</p>	<p>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。」</p>	<p>12.5 耶爾孤伯曰我之小子乎、 勿告爾夢於爾眾兄。 「若然」彼等謀爾。 惡魔實是人類顯著之仇敵也。</p>
<p>12.5 he said[:] o my little-son [diminutive], do not tell your vision [or: dream] to your brothers, then they [may] plot [>devise] a plot for you, the šayṭān [Satan] is a manifest enemy to man</p>	<p>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] demon is indeed an overt enemy of mankind."</p>	<p>12.5 Yaʿquḵb 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.</p>

Wáng translates the diminutive *bunayya* "my little son" by qualifying *zǐ* 子 'son' by *xiǎo* 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 *búyào* 不要 "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 Mǎ and Wáng translate *ṣayṭān* 'Satan; devil' as *è mó* 惡魔, whereas Wáng transliterates it in Q 81.25. See also notes on Q 81.25 and Q 114.4-5.

=====

*| 12.6

12.6 wa-ka-dālika yajtabī-ka
rabbu-ka wa-yuʿallimu-ka min
taʿwīli l-ʾaḥādīti wa-yutimmu
niʿmata-hu ʿalay-ka wa-ʿalā
ʾāli yaʿqūba ka-mā ʾatamma-hā
ʿalā ʾabaway-ka min qablu
ʾibrāhīma wa-ʾiṣḥāqa ʾinna
rabba-ka ʿalīmun ḥakīm|un

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
Yaʿquq̣b [Jacob] as he has
fulfilled it on your fathers of

12.6
你的主這樣揀選你，
他教你圓夢，
他要完成對你和對葉爾孤
白的後裔的恩典，
猶如他以前曾完成對你的
祖先易卜拉欣和易司哈格
的恩典一樣，
你的主確是全知的，
確是至睿的。

12.6 your ruler selects you in
this way, (and) he teaches you
to interpret dreams, he wants
to complete (his) grace toward
you and the descendants of
Yaʿqūb, as he previously <once>
completed (his) grace toward
your ancestors ʾibrāhīm and
ʾiṣḥāq, your ruler is indeed

12.6
爾養主如此選擇爾、
並教爾解語。且完其對爾、
並對耶爾孤伯家族之恩。
即如曩昔對爾二祖、
即易卜拉欣、易司哈各之恩。
爾養主確是洞知、精妙者。

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 *Yaʿqūbs*
clan; (it) is (just) like the
grace in olden times to your
two ancestors, i.e. Ibraq̣hiqm

<p>before [>old] 'Ibraḥīm and 'Isḥāq [Abraham and Isaac], your master is indeed knowing (and) wise</p>	<p>all-knowing, is indeed most farseeing.</p>	<p>and 'Isḥāq; your rearing ruler is indeed profoundly knowing, and ^subtle^.</p>
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Ma interprets 'āl "kin" to mean "descendants", whereas Wang sticks to *jiāzú* "clan"

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

=====

*| 12.7

<p>12.7 laqad kāna fī yūsufa wa-'iḳwati-hi 'āyātun li-l-sā'ilīn a</p>	<p>12.7 在優素福和他哥哥們（的 故事）裡， 對於詢問者確有許多蹟象。</p>	<p>12.7 猶思福與其眾兄「往事」中、 確有對於詢問者之表徵。</p>
<p>12.7 In Yūsuf and his brothers were [>are?] signs for those who ask</p>	<p>12.7 In (-the story of-) Yūsuf and his brothers, there are indeed many signs for those who inquire.</p>	<p>12.7 In 「the past event of」 Yūsuf and all his elder brothers is indeed a sign for those who inquire.</p>

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

<p>12.8 'id qālū la-yūsufu wa-'aḳū-hu 'aḥabbu 'ilā 'abīnā</p>	<p>12.8 當時，他們說： 「優素福和他弟弟，</p>	<p>12.8 彼時、 眾曰猶思福與其胞弟在父</p>
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minnā wa-naḥnu ṣuṣbatun 'inna
'abā-nā la-fī ḍalālin mubīnjin

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。」

面前實較我等有力者、
為可愛也。
我等之父確是在謬誤之中也。

12.8 At-the-time-when they
said[:] Yūsuf 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:
"Yūsuf 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[:] Yūsuf 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 'akū-hu "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 *kānlāi* "as our father sees (it)", and Wang adds "before the face of". A case of explication.

=====

*| 12.9

12.9 (u)qtulū yūsufa 'awi
ṭraḥū-hu 'arḍan yaḳlu la-kum
wajhu 'abī-kum wa-takūnū min
ba`di-hi qawman ṣāliḥīn|ja

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 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。

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

12.9 (-They said:-) "Take
Yūsuf and kill him, or abandon

12.9 You should kill Yūsuf, or
abandon him (in) one [>some]

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."

place; 「if so」 [our] father's
face will only be directed
towards you; after that you can
be upright people.

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

ṣālih is the antonym of *fāsid* (or *mufsid*) [Ṣihāh]

Ma seems to add *huì* "may".

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

=====
*| 12.10

12.10 qāla qā'ilun min-hum lā
taqtulū yūsufa wa-'alqū-hu fī
ḡayābati l-jubbi yaltaqit-hu
ba'ḍu l-sayyārati 'in kuntum
fā'ilīn|a

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
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 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
其中有一發言人曰爾等勿
殺猶思福。可投之於黑井中。
而任一般旅客拾去。
爾等若是行事者、
「則當從我之主張。」

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
pick him up."

do things [>are active], 「then
(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 parantheses, while Wang only has the quoting-verb *yuē* 'say' at the beginning.

Imperative rendered by *kěyǐ* and *kě*, both 'may'.

The word *ǰāyāba* "(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'ilīna* "if you are doing [something]", is traditionally by elipsis interpreted to mean "if you are doing something to separate Yūsuf from his father" [Bayḍāwī]. 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 Bayḍāwī's 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
lā ta'man-nā ʿalā yūsufa
wa-innā la-hu la-nāṣihūn|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、
爾於猶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^ʿa-nā ḡadan
yarta^ʿ wa-yal^ʿab wa-'innā la-hu
la-ḡāfiḡūn|a

12.12 明天,
請你讓他和我們一同去娛
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、
作遊戲、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 *narta^ʿi* "that we should herd (cattle/sheep)" (Bayḡāwī).

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

=====

*| 12.13

12.13 qāla 'innī la-yaḡzunu-nī
'an taḡhabū bi-hi wa-'aḡāfu 'an
ya'kula-hu l-ḡi'bu wa-'antum
ʿan-hu ḡāfilūn|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
耶爾孤伯曰爾等偕之同往、
實貽我憂慮。
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^ʿqu[□]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

the wolf.

Wáng makes it explicit who is speaking.

=====

*| 12.14

12.14 fa-qālū la-'in 'akala-hu
l-gī'bu wa-nahnu 'uṣbatun 'innā
'iḡan la-ḡāsir|ūna

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
彼等曰我等雄壯者、
若其被狼所啖。其時、
我等確是頹喪之人。

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», *xiōngzhuàng* "strong and brave".

頹喪 *tuisàng* 'decrepit; negative' HDC 12: 317

Ma's rendering of *ḡāsirīn* "losers" as *ḡāisī 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

=====

Arabic (transcription)	Ma Jian's Translation	Wang Jingzhai's Translation
* 78.1		
<hr style="width: 10%; margin-left: 0;"/>		
78.1 ʿamma yatasāʿalūn a	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 Mǎ use a topic-comment structure, repeating the verb *xúnwèn* 詢問 ('ask, inquire')?

=====

* 78.2		
<hr style="width: 10%; margin-left: 0;"/>		
78.2 ʿani l-nabaʿi l-ʿazīm ji	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		
<hr style="width: 10%; margin-left: 0;"/>		
78.3 alladī hum fī-hi	78.3	78.3

muḵtalifūnja	就是他們所爭論的消息。	爭議之重大消息耳。
78.3 about which they are disagreeing	78.3 <just> that tidng 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.

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

=====

*| 78.4

78.4 kallā sa-yaʿlamūnja	78.4 絕不然！ 他們將來就知道了。	78.4 否否、 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 *jiāng(lái)* 將(來) 'in the future'!

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

=====

*| 78.5

78.5 <i>tumma kallā sa-yaʿlamūn a</i>	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 *tumma* ('then; again'), which signals the intentional repetition (and, according to Zamaḳṣarī, the intensification) of verse 4, goes unnoticed in Mǎ's translation. Wáng, however, does not only translate it as *zàiyuē* 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 <i>a-lam najʿali l-'arḍa</i> <i>mihādā</i>	78.6 難道我沒有使大地如搖籃,	78.6 我豈未以地為毯、
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 Wáng and Mǎ, using *nándào* 難道 and *qǐ* 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 *méiyǒu* 沒有 'have not' and *wèi* 未 'not (yet)'. This is carried over into the next verse.

Mǎ: *yáolán* 搖籃 ('cradle'), Wáng: *tǎn* 毯 ('blanket') for Ar. *mihād*

=====

*| 78.7

78.7 wa-l-jibāla 'awtādā

78.7 使山巒如木榦嗎？

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

78.8 wa-ḵalaqnā-kum 'azwājā

78.8
我會把你們造成配偶，

78.8 我造爾等為兩性。

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 Mǎ's translation, this verse begins a series of verses containing the experiential aspect marker *céng* 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

78.9 wa-jaʿalnā nawma-kum subātā	78.9 我會使你們從睡眠中得到休息,	78.9 我置爾等之睡眠為安息.
-------------------------------------	------------------------	---------------------

78.9 and we have made your sleep (as) relaxation	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 我會以黑夜為帷幕,	78.10 我置夜為衣.
------------------------------------	--------------------	--------------

78.10 and we have made the night (as) a garment	78.10 I have made a ^curtain of the night,	78.10 I have set up the night as a garment;
--	---	--

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

=====

*| 78.11

78.11 wa-jaʿalnā l-nahāra maʿāšā	78.11 我以白晝供謀生,	78.11 我置白晝為生業之時。
-------------------------------------	-------------------	---------------------

78.11 and we have made the day (your) livelihood	78.11 with day(time) I provide (a way of) seeking livelihood,	78.11 I have set up the day(time) as the time of livelihood.
---	--	--

Wáng adds *zhīshí* 之時 "the time of". This ensures that both the object of *zhì* 'establish', *báizhòu* 白晝 "daytime", and the object of the co-verb *wéi* 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).

Mǎ 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 Mǎ 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 Mǎ'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
sab'an šidādā

78.12
我會在你們上面建造了七
層堅固的天,

78.12
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 Mǎ'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 *tiān* 天 'heaven' in both target texts is *céng* 層 'layer'. Is this significant? The co-occurrence of *céng* 層 'layer' and *tiān* 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. *Fóguāng* 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 ^ʿ alnā sirājan wahnājā	78.13 我創造一盞明燈，	78.13 我造光明之燈。
78.13 and we have made a blazing lamp	78.13 I have created a bright lamp,	78.13 I have created a bright lamp.

The list of acts of creation continues in the same manner until 78.16, but the stream of *céng* 曾 adverbs in Mǎ's translation stops here.

Wahnāj 'blazing' conveys a notion of «heat» as well as «brightness». That is not the case with the target expressions chosen by the translators (*guāngmíng* 光明 and *míng* 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: *tàiyáng* 太陽 'sun'.

=====

*| 78.14

78.14 wa-'anzalnā mina l-mu ^ʿ širāti mā'an tajjājā	78.14 我從含水的雲裡，	78.14 我由醞雨之雲中降豐沛之水、
--	-------------------	------------------------

降下滂沱大雨,

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,

78.14 I have sent down copious
water from amid rain-brewing
clouds,

al-muṣīrāt (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-muṣīrāt* are winds pressing rain out of the clouds (Zamaḵṣarī). Whatever the original imagery, it has been lost in the Chinese translations.

=====

*| 78.15

78.15 li-nuḵrija bi-hi ḥabban
wa-nabātā

78.15
以便我借它而生出百谷和草木,

78.15
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 *gǔhé* 穀禾 and *zǐlì* 籽粒 in Wáng's translation seem to mean 'grain'. According to HDC *zǐlì* 籽粒 are "seeds of grain" or "cereals"(9: 198), whereas *gǔhé* 穀禾 has no entry in HDC. This is incomprehensible if we take *nabāt* to mean «plant» as is usually done.

=====

*| 78.16

78.16 wa-jannātin 'alfāfā	78.16 以及茂密的園圃。	78.16 穀禾、 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-faṣli kāna mīqātā	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.

Kāna 'be', see discussion.

=====

*| 78.18

78.18 yawma yunfaḳu fī l-ṣūri fa-ta'tūna 'afwājā	78.18 在那日， 號角將被吹響， 你們就成群而來；	78.18 當鳴角之日、 爾等紛紛而至、
---	-----------------------------------	-------------------------

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 [...], [...]" ~-> "on that day, [...], and [...]"

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

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

=====

*| 78.19

78.19 wa-futiḥati l-samā'u
fa-kānat 'abwābā

78.19 天將被開辟,
有許多門戶；

78.19 天開分為各門。

78.19 and heaven has been
opened and ^become (like) gates

78.19 heaven will opened,
_<there will be>/<it will have>
[=with] many gates;

78.19 (and) heaven will open
up as individual gates;

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

Mǎ adds *xǔduō* 'many'.

=====

*| 78.20

78.20 wa-suyyirati l-jibālu fa-kānat sarābā	78.20 山巒將被移動, 而變成幻影；	78.20 群山行動而成映影。
78.20 and the mountains have been moved, and become vapour	78.20 The mountain ranges will be moved and become imaginary images;	78.20 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 *kāna* to mean «become». Ma: *biànchéng* 變成 '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 kānat miršādā	78.21 火獄確是伺候著,	78.21 火獄確是必經之地。
78.21 and surely <i>jahannam</i> [=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 *kāna* in general statement, see discussion.

The translators employ the same term for «Hell»: *huǒyù* 火獄. The expected, general word for «Hell» would be *dìyù* 地獄, so it may be that this term was chosen for its clear reference to *huǒ* 火 'fire'. All the references in HDC under *huǒyù* 火獄 are of a modern date, and the meaning is given as "hell of raging fire" (*lièhuǒ chīshèng de dìyù* 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 *Fóguāng* 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 (Fóguāng 2311). See also 78.23.

Another old pre-Buddhist term for the underworld in Chinese is *huángquán* 黃泉 "The Yellow Springs". [CH 1979: 4701]

In this verse, hell is described as a *mirṣād*, "place of ambush". Both translators change the perspective of this description somewhat. Mǎ 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 zhī dì* 必經之地), and there is no trace of metaphor.

=====

*| 78.22

78.22 li-l-ṭāgīna ma'ābā

78.22

它是悖逆者的歸宿；

78.22

是眾背逆者之歸所。

78.22 a place of return for
the insolent [or: rebellious]

78.22 it is the place of
return of the rebellious;

78.22 (it) is the place of
return of all those who rebel
[or: are insolent][or: turn
their backs away].

This phrase, which stands in apposition to *Jahannam* 'hell; Gehenna' in the preceding verse, has been converted into an independent clause in both Chinese versions.

=====

*| 78.23

78.23 lābīṭīna fī-hā 'ahqābā

78.23

他們將在其中逗留長久的時期。

78.23

彼等年久遲留其間。

78.23 remaining there for ages	78.23 they will stay in it for a long time.	78.23 They linger therein for long years.
--------------------------------	---	---

Niánjiǔ 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'ān, 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 (*liùdào* 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 *tiāndào* 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 <i>lā yaḍūqūna fī-hā bardan wa-lā šarābā</i>	78.24 他們在其中不能睡眠, 不得飲料,	78.24 彼等於火獄中不得嘗涼爽、與飲料.
78.24 tasting therein neither coolness nor drink	78.24 They cannot sleep in it, do not get (any) drink,	78.24 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 *shuimían* 睡眠 ('sleep'), which agrees with the Jalālayn commentary.

=====

*| 78.25

78.25 <i>'illā ḥamīman wa-ğassāqā</i>	78.25 只飲沸水和膿汁。	78.25 惟有沸水、與穢濃.
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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;

Mă repeats *yǐn* 'to drink'

=====

*| 78.26

78.26 *jazā'an wifāqā*

78.26
那是一個很適當的報酬。

78.26
是乃適合之報酬。

78.26 as a suitable recompense

78.26 That is a very
appropriate reward.

78.26 this is (precisely) a
fitting reward.

bàochóu HDC 2: 1159

=====

*| 78.27

78.27 *'inna-hum kānū lā*
yarjūna ḥisābā

78.27
他們的確不怕清算,

78.27
彼等確不望清算.

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;

Mă translates *lā yarjūna* "they do not hope for" as *bú pà* 不怕 "do not fear". This follows the Jalālān commentary.

Jalālayn: "do not fear"

Baydāwī: no gloss, but grammatical explanation.

=====

*| 78.28

78.28 wa-kaḏḏabū bi-'āyāti-nā
kiḏḏabā

78.28 他們曾否認我的跡象，

78.28 彼等以我之顯蹟為虛妄、
為虛妄。

78.28 and they regarded our
signs as false

78.28 They have denied my
signs,

78.28 they have taken my clear
[or: revealed] signs [or:
tracks] as baseless, as
baseless.

*| 78.29

78.29 wa-kulla šay'in
'aḥṣaynā-hu kitābā

78.29 我會將萬事記錄在一本天經裡。

78.29 種種事業、
我會記錄之。

78.29 and everything we have
computed in writing

78.29 I have recorded all
matters in a <volume of>
heavenly scripture.

78.29 I have recorded all
kinds of things [or:
businesses];

In this verse, Wáng's translation exhibits a repetition of the phrase *wéi xūwàng* 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). *Kiḏḏāban* 'lying', which acts as an intensifier to the verb *kaḏḏaba* '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 '*kaḏḏaba* 'regard as false' is a verb expressing an attitude, whereas 78.29 would be understood as a future intension without the temporal adverb *céng* 曾?

*| 78.30

78.30 fa-ḡūqū fa-lan nazīda-kum 'illā 'aḡābā	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 爾等其嘗之。 我絕不增爾等以刑罰之外者。
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 duì tāmen 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 *ba*. Wang again employs the modal particle *qí*.

=====

*| 78.31

78.31 'inna li-l-muttaqīna mafāzā	78.31 敬畏的人們必有一種收獲,	78.31 敬慎之人、 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,	78.31 The reverent will 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 *shōuhuò* is also supported by *Lisān 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» (*xìngfú* 幸福), which is, presumably, what one wants.

=====

*| 78.32

78.32 ḥadā'iqā wa-'a'nābā	78.32 許多園圃和葡萄,	78.32 若各項果園、 葡萄樹。
78.32 gardens [and] grapes	78.32 many gardens and grapes,	78.32 such as <every item of> gardens and vine-trees,

=====

*| 78.33

78.33 wa-kawā'iba 'atrābā	78.33 和兩乳圓潤, 年齡劃一的少女,	78.33 年齡相等隆乳之處女、
78.33 and full-bosomed (women) of equal age	78.33 and young girls of uniform age, with round and mellow breasts,	78.33 virgins of corresponding age with swelling breasts,

Even though *kā'ib* (pl. *kawā'ib*, '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, Bayḍāwī). Both translators specify that the full-breasted creatures are *shàonǚ* 少女 "young girls" and *chǔnǚ* 處女 "virgins" respectively. In this they coincide with the commentary of Jalālayn, which specifies them as *jawārī* "girls" (pl. of *jāriyya*, see above).

=====

*| 78.34

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.

=====

*| 78.35

78.35 lā yasma'ūna fī-hā
laġwan wa-lā kiġḍābā

78.35
他們在那裡面聽不到惡言
和謊話。

78.35
彼等於中不聞妄談、與虛誕。

78.35 in them they do not hear
idle talk or lying

78.35 They will not hear
abusive language or lies there.

78.35 In it they will not hear
baseless and preposterous
[things];

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

=====

*| 78.36

78.36 jazā'an min rabbi-ka
ʿaṭā'an ḥisābā

78.36
那是從你的主發出的報酬

78.36 是乃出爾養主、
猶調育天地萬物、慈主之報酬、

——充足的賞賜。 [->]

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-samāwāti wa-l-'arḍi wa-mā bayna-humā l-rahmāni lā yamlikūna min-hu kīṭābā

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 充分之賚賜也、彼等不能對之叙談。

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 *yóu* 猶? It seems plausible syntactically that *tiáoyù tiāndì wànwù* 調育天地萬物 modifies *cízhǔ* 慈主, which in turn modifies *bàochóu* 報酬. Now *yóu* 猶 can be a copula-like verb meaning «be similar to», «be like». It often co-occurs with the sentence-final particle *yě* 也, so it would be natural to view the two phrases consisting of the phrase from *tiáoyù* 調育 to *bàochóu* 報酬 and the phrase *chōngfēn zhī làicì* 充分之賚賜 as its complements. That would yield a structure like this (from the beginning of verse 36): |PRO-V-N, V-[[[V-NP1]-N] -N], N-N]-yě|. But one could alternatively take the last phrase plus the *yě* 也 as an independent explanatory clause added after the preceding statement: |PRO-V-N, V-[[[V-NP]-N] -N], [N-N] yě|.

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

The Qur'anic locution *rabbi l-samāwāti wa-l-'arḍi wa-mā baynahumā* ("master of the heavens and the earth and what is

between them") is rendered in Chinese as *tiāndì wànwù* 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 *wànwù* 萬物 ("_the ten thousand [=all] beings").

al-Raḥmān 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 *zhǔ* 主 "ruler". (See Chapter 5 for a discussion of *al-Raḥmān*.) Syntactically they probably had the option of using some such expression as *zhì rén zhě* 至仁的 "The most benevolent one".

Mā turns the figure of speech at the end (*lā yamlīkūna min-hu* *kiṭāban* "they do not possess speech about him") into non-figurative language.

=====

*| 78.38

<p>78.38 <i>yawma yaqūmu l-rūḥu</i> <i>wa-l-malā'ikatu ṣaffan lā</i> <i>yatakallamūna 'illā man 'aḍina</i> <i>la-hu l-raḥmānu wa-qāla ṣawābā</i></p>	<p>78.38 在精神和眾天神排班肅立之日， 他們不得說話， 唯至仁主所特許而且能說 正話的，才敢發言。</p>	<p>78.38 當魯哈與眾仙使列班而立時、 彼等不能發言、 惟有已得慈主允許、 並語正當之言者。</p>
<p>78.38 the day when the spirit and the angels stand in a row, they do not speak, except for whom the Merciful [><i>al-Raḥmān</i>] has permitted, and spoke [that which is] right</p>	<p>78.38 On the day when the spirit and all the angels fall in line and stand up (in respect), they will not be allowed to speak, only those whom the most humane ruler has specially permitted, will dare to speak.</p>	<p>78.38 When the <i>rūḥ</i> and all the angels stand in rows [or: lined up in groups], they cannot speak [or: utter words], there are only those that have already obtained permission from the compassionate ruler and speak the ^proper words.</p>

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. *malā'ika*), see Chapter 5.

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*| 78.39

78.39 *dālika l-yawmu l-ḥaqqu*
fa-man šā'a ttaḵaḍa 'ilā
rabbi-hi ma'ābā

78.39
那是必有的日子，誰意欲，
誰就擇取一個向他的主的歸宿。

78.39 此是應有之日。
意欲之人、
則向其養主取一歸所。

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

78.39 That is a day which
certainly will be [=take place],
(and) whoever wants, (will)
choose a place of return with
his ruler.

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

=====

*| 78.40

78.40 *'innā 'andǧarnā-kum*
ʿaḍāban qarīban yawma yanẓuru
l-mar'u mā qaddamat yadā-hu
wa-yaqūlu l-kāfiru 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。

78.40 we did indeed warn you
about a punishment close at
hand, on the day when man will
see what his hands have
_brought forward [or:
accomplished] and the

78.40 I have certainly warned
you of a <kind of> punishment
near at hand, on that day,
every man will see the work
which he <himself> has done,
the unbelievers will will say:

78.40 I have indeed already
warned you of the punishment
near at hand; on this day, men
can see personally what their
two hands have sent before; all
the unbelievers will say ?Alas!

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 Mǎ, although Arabic has perfect tense. This might mean that Mǎ interprets *'anḍarnā* "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 Mǎ has chosen to express plurality explicitly in his translation.

4.5 SŪRA 81

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Arabic (transcription)	Ma Jian's Translation	Wang Jingzhai's Translation
* 81.1		
81.1 'iḍā l-šamsu kuwwirat	81.1 當太陽黯黪的時候,	81.1 當太陽摺疊時、
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. *Iḍā 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-'iḍā l-nujūmu nkadarat	81.2 當星宿零落的時候,	81.2 當群星墜落時、
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

81.3 wa-'iḡā l-jibālu suyyirat	81.3	81.3 當各山行動時、 當山巒崩潰的時候、
81.3 and when the mountains are moved	81.3 when the mountain ridges collapse,	81.3 when every mountain moves, collapse,

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

=====

*| 81.4

81.4 wa-'iḡā l-'iṣāru 'uṭṭilat	81.4	81.4 當懷孕十月之母駝被棄時、
81.4 and when the pregnant she-camels are neglected	81.4 when pregnant camels are abandoned,	81.4 when a she-camel that is ten months pregnant is abandoned,

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 (*nāqa*) is elsewhere in the Qur'ān portrayed as worthy of special attention, chiefly in the story of the prophet Ṣāliḥ, 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.

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*| 81.5

81.5 wa-'idā l-wuḥūšu ḥuṣīrat	81.5 當野獸被集合的時候,	81.5 當野獸被集時、
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,

=====

*| 81.6

81.6 wa-'idā l-biḥāru sujīrat	81.6 當海洋澎湃的時候,	81.6 當各海澎湃時、
81.6 and when the seas are heated	81.6 when the oceans surge,	81.6 when every ocean surges,

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 péngpài 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.

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*| 81.7

81.7 wa-'idā l-nufūsu zuwwijāt	81.7 當靈魂被配合的時候,	81.7 當性命聚合時、
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81.7 and when the souls are
paired

81.7 when the souls are joined
[or: coordinated],

81.7 when the ^souls get
together,

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

Línghūn 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 *nufūs* 'souls' as *xìngmìng* 性命 is very confusing. *Xìngmìng* 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 *xingming* for «life», albeit frequently in a translation of *tafawwā* "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 *línghūn* 靈魂 to translate *rūḥ* 'spirit'.

=====

*| 81.8

81.8 wa-'iḍā l-maw'ūdatu
su'ilat

81.8
當被活埋的女孩被詢問的時候：

81.8
當活埋之女子被問、[->]

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,

*| 81.9

81.9 bi-'ayyi ḡanbin qutilat

81.9
「她為什麼罪過而遭殺害呢？」
」

81.9 因何罪惡被戮時、

81.9 for what reason she was

81.9 "And what crime did she

81.9 for what crime she was

killed

commit to meet with murder^?" executed,

The presence of the verb *wa'ada* "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. *ḍanb*, 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) *takdīb* «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 Mǎ 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 <i>wa-'iḍā l-ṣuḥufu nuširat</i>	81.10	81.10 當卷宗申展時、 當功過簿被展開的時候
81.10 and when the leaves [or: books] are laid open	81.10 When the books of merit and error are unfolded,	81.10 when the files are stretched-open [unfolded],

The exegete Bayḍāwī informs us that what is meant are the *ṣuḥuf 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 *gōngguòzhuàng* 功過狀 recording the faults and

merits of military and civil officials [HDC 2: 769] Moreover it is found in religious literature. [Taishō]

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

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*| 81.11

81.11 wa-'idā l-samā'u kuṣīṭat	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 *kaṣaṭa* '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-'idā l-jahīmu su'īrat	81.12	81.12 當火獄烈燃時、 當火獄被燃著的時候、
81.12 and when hell [>]jahīm is fired up	81.12 when hell has been fired up,	81.12 when hell is burning fiercely,

Jahīm '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]

=====

*| 81.13

81.13 wa-'idā l-jannatu 'uzlifat	81.13 當樂園被送近的時候,	81.13 當天園已近時、
81.13 and when the garden [paradise] is brought near	81.13 when the garden of happiness is brought near,	81.13 when the heavenly garden has _come near [or: been brought near]

Lèyuán 樂園 "garden of happiness" is the standard Christian translation of Gr. *paradeisos* 'paradise' as found in the New Testament (HDC 4: 1294) Abundant in Taisho. Also noted in *Jīn-xiàn-dài Hànyǔ xīncí cíyuán cídiǎn* 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 *tiānguó* 天國 "The Heavenly Country", a translation of the Christian concept "The Kingdom of God" (HDC 2: 1434, only loci).

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*| 81.14

81.14 ʿalimat nafsun mā 'ahḍarat	81.14 每個人都知道他所作過的善惡。	81.14 人始知其已往所作者。
81.14 (then) the soul learns what it has presented	81.14 every man will know what evil and good he has done.	81.14 only then will man know what he has done in the past

In the translations of this verse, a whole range of processes can be found. Generalisation (*rén* 人 'human' for *nafs*

'soul'), explicitation (Mǎ: specification of what the souls have brought) and resolution of trope (*'ahḍara* 'present' has become *zuò* 'do').

=====

*| 81.15

81.15 <i>fa-lā 'uqsimu</i> <i>bi-l-kunnasji</i>	81.15 我誓以運行的眾星——	81.15 我無須誓以隱微者、
81.15 so I swear <not> by the retrograde (planets [or: stars])	81.15 I swear by all the moving stars ——	81.15 I need not swear by the latent,

*| 81.16

81.16 <i>al-jawāri l-kunnasji</i>	81.16 沒落的行星、	81.16 猶不顯之行星也。
81.16 running (to) the covert	81.16 the declining planets,	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.

Mǎ adds *zhòng* 'all'.

Mǎ is not very precise in his characterisation of the movement of the planets.

Wáng's *yīnwēi* 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.

Mǎ's mòluò 沒落 'declining' seems to translate *kunnas* 'running (to) the covert', but it is strange that he should have chosen a word with strong connotations to «decay» and «perishing». Wáng's bùxiǎn 不顯 'indistinct' underlines the fact that the planets are not clearly visible, if at all.

=====

*| 81.17

81.17 wa-l-layli 'idā 'as'as a	81.17 和逝去時的黑夜,	81.17 誓以夜當其黑黯已釋時、
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 'as'as is one of the famous 'aḍḍād -- 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 Wáng's translation seems to be ambiguous also as to whether the «release of darkness» signifies the beginning or end of the night.

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*| 81.18

81.18 wa-l-ṣubḥi 'idā tanaffas a	81.18 照耀時的早晨,	81.18 誓以明朝當其發光時、
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».

=====

*| 81.19

81.19 'inna-hu la-qawlu
rasūlin karīmjin

81.19 這確是一個尊貴的使者的言辭，

81.19 此 [->]

81.19 it is indeed the speech
of a generous [and/or: noble]
messenger

81.19 these are indeed the
words of an honoured envoy,

81.19 this [->]

*| 81.20

81.20 dī quwwatin ʿinda dī
l-ʿarši makīnjin

81.20 他在寶座的主那裡，
是有權力的，是有地位的，

81.20 實是在掌阿[口雷]世主
之闕下、[->]

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 [->]

*| 81.21

81.21 muṭāʿin tumma 'amīnjin

81.21 是眾望所歸，
而且忠於職守的。

81.21 有力、有威者、
於該處領命、忠誠貴使之言也。

81.21 obeyed and-then
[=moreover] trusty

81.21 is one whom all hope
turns to, and moreover one
loyal in the keeping of his
duty.

81.21 who is _at the
imperial-residence of the ruler
who controls the ʿarš [Ar.:
throne], and who in that place
takes (his) orders.

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 ^ʿ*arš* 'throne' in the same verse: the hybridity is obvious.

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

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

Zhòngwàng suǒ guī 眾望所歸, lit. "(whom) all hopes turn to", i.e. 'enjoy popular support'

Zhōng yú zhíshǒu 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.

Zūnguì 尊貴 'honourable' (Mǎ) see nQ 96.3.

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*| 81.22

81.22 wa-mā ṣāḥibu-kum bi-majnūn jin	81.22 你們的朋友, 不是一個瘋人,	81.22 爾等之伴侶非是癡狂者、
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 *bànlǚ* 伴侶 'companion' and Ma's *péngyǒu* 朋友 'friend', is that the Arabic *ṣāḥib* can be understood in either way. We are told by the commentators that the referent of *ṣāḥibukum* "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 (*kāhins*) and poets (*ṣuʿarāʿ*) actively sought out this experience and derived their inspiration from it. [See Izutsu 1964: 169-175] Possession by *jinn* was not, however, generally 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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*| 81.23

81.23 wa-qad ra'ā-hu bi-l-'ufuqi l-mubīnji	81.23 他確已看見那個天使在明 顯的天邊,	81.23 伊確在清朗之天際見彼矣。
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

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

Wang here employs two different third-person pronouns, *yī* 伊 and *bǐ* 彼. Both are originally demonstratives, and *yī* 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 *nèige tiānshǐ* 那個天使 "that angel". This agrees with Jalālayn 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 *ḍānīn* 'niggardly' there is also the reading *zanīn* 'opinionated'. Both translators have chosen 'niggardly', which according to al-Bayḍāwī is the reading of Nāfiʿ, ʿĀṣim, Ḥamza and Ibn ʿĀmir. Both Bayḍāwī and Jalālayn take *zanīn* 'opinionated' as the main reading.

It is interesting that Wang paraphrases *al-ġayb* 'the unseen' by *mù suǒ bú jiàn zhī shì* 目所不見之事 "the things the eye doesn't see", whereas Ma renders it by *yōuxuán* 幽玄, meaning «mysterious and remote», but which also

has the more specific senses «illusory», «dark» and «the nether world» (HDC 4: 432). *Al-ġayb* is actually a terminus technicus in Islam, so it is perhaps slightly surprising that the translations stay at the level of general vocabulary.

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*| 81.25

81.25 wa-mā huwa bi-qawli šayṭānin rajīmjin	81.25 這不是被放逐的惡魔的言辭,	81.25 此非被逐色但之言.
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 Qur'ān, not to Muḥammad 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 (*shāidàn*), while Ma comes up with a feeble *è mó* 惡魔 'demon'.

Rajīm 'stoned; banished; accursed' is a standard epithet of *al-šayṭān*. The commentators' gloss is the passive participle *marjūm* with the same meaning, and both Ma and Wang employ the passive marker *bèi* in front of the verb. The translators choose «banished» as their interpretation.

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*| 81.26

81.26 fa-'ayna taḡhabūn a	81.26 然則, 你們將往那裡去呢?	81.26 爾等何往乎。
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81.26 then where are you going	81.26 this being so, where will you go?	81.26 where are you going?
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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 *fā-* 'so' by *rānzé* 然則 'this being so'.

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*| 81.27

81.27 'in huwa 'illā ḡikrun li-l- ^ʿ ālamīn a	81.27 這只是對於全世界的教誨——	81.27 此乃教戒眾世界、
81.27 it is (nothing) but a reminder [?= admonition] to the worlds	81.27 this is only an admonition for the whole world ——	81.27 this ^indeed^ admonishes all the worlds,

*| 81.28

81.28 li-man šā'a min-kum 'an yastaqīm a	81.28 對於你們中欲循規蹈矩者 的教誨,	81.28 為爾等中其欲正直者耳。
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.

81.29 wa-mā tašā'ūna 'illā 'an
yašā'a llāhu rabbu l-'ālamīn|a

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 爾等非俟安拉乎調育眾世
界者意欲時、則無所意欲也。

81.29 but you will not wish
(this) unless Allah, the master
of the worlds, wishes (it)

81.29 and you do not wish to
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.

81.29 Unless you wait the time
when Allāh the rearer of the
world wishes, then there is
nothing that you wish

Dikr, 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 (*chéngyǔ* 成語) used by Ma, *xúnguīdǎojǔ* 循規蹈矩 "to follow the compasses and tread (according to) the carpenter's square [i.e. to toe the line]" very much denotes conformity relative to some norm, whereas it can be argued that the Arabic verb *istaqāma* "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: *zhèngzhízhě* 正直者 "be upright and straight".

Note that Ma has two instances of repetition (= repetitio?), first of *jiàoxún* 'admonition' and then of *xúnguīdǎojǔ* 循規蹈矩 "to follow the compasses and tread (according to) the carpenter's square [i.e. to 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.

4.6 SŪRA 96

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Arabic (transcription)	Ma Jian's Translation	Wang Jingzhai's Translation
* 96.1		
<hr style="width: 10%; margin-left: 0;"/>		
96.1 iqra' bi-smi rabbi-ka llaqī ḳalaq̣a	96.1 你應當奉你的創造主的名 義而宣讀,	96.1 爾其奉爾養主之名 誦讀之、彼其創造焉。
96.1 recite in the name of thy lord who created	96.1 You ought to (respectfully) up-hold the name of your creator-ruler and recite,	96.1 you should respectfully receive your rearing ruler's name and recite it {c: recite the Qur'ān}, he created it

The Qur'ān exegete Bayḍāwī 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.

Mǎ uses the modal verb *yīngdāng* 應當 ('should', 'ought to') with the main verb *xuāndú* 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*, Mǎ 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 Mǎ has moulded the content of the Arabic relative clause into a nominal attributive, "creation ruler". This corresponds to the solution chosen by Liú Zhì in the 18th century (see Appendix).

Jì 其 [sic] commonly occurs as an addition to bǐ 彼 (GD).

=====

*| 96.2

96.2 <i>ḵalaqa l-'insāna min</i> <i>ʿalaq in</i>	96.2 他曾用血塊創造人。	96.2 彼造人自凝血。
96.2 created the human of a blood clot	96.2 He created man of a blood clot.	96.2 he created man from congealed blood

Mǎ seems to use the particle *céng* 曾 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. Mǎ frequently uses *céng* 曾 in this way. See discussion in Chapter 5.

=====

*| 96.3

96.3 <i>iqra' wa-rabbu-ka</i> <i>l-'akram u</i>	96.3 你應當宣讀， 你的主是最尊嚴的，	96.3 爾其誦讀之。 爾至貴之養主、
96.3 recite and [or: , for] thy lord is the most generous (& honourable)	96.3 You ought to read (aloud), your ruler is the most ^dignified^,	96.3 you should recite it, your most honoured rearing ruler,

Note again the use of *yīngdāng* 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.

The «generosity» component present in the semantics of *karīm* (of which *'akram* is the relative) is totally lost in Mǎ's translation of the word as *zuì zūnyán* 最尊嚴 "most dignified". Bayḍāwī assures us that there is such a component: "[...] He bestows blessings without compensation, and is mild without fear, indeed only He is really *karīm*." For an analysis of *karīm*, see Izutsu 1966: 75-83. AHCD suggests *dāfāng* 大方 and *kāngkǎi* 慷慨 for *karīm*. Wáng's use of *zhì guì* 至貴 ("most valued/noble") is also somewhat too general.

=====

*| 96.4

96.4 alladī ʿallama
bi-l-qalamji

96.4
他曾教人用筆寫字,

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]

Céng 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 Bayḍāwī), though Wáng finds it necessary to add an explanation in the commentary, as his translation reflects the ambiguity of the Arabic. Mǎ domesticates the expression perfectly, after removing the ambiguity altogether: man learns to *xiězi* 寫字 with a *bǐ* 筆 — "to write characters with a brush".

=====

*| 96.5

96.5 ʿallama l-'insāna mā lam
yaʿlam

96.5
他曾教人知道自己所不知
道的東西。

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.

Céng 曾: cf. 96.2 and 96.4.

Note Mǎ's repetition of *zhīdào* 知道 'know'.

=====

*| 96.6

96.6 kallā 'inna l-'insāna la-yaṭḡā	96.6 絕不然, 人確是悖逆的,	96.6 確然、 人當見己富有時、
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 staḡnā	96.7 因為他自己是無求的。	96.7 定必為惡。
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 Wáng reverses the sequence of the content of these two verses.

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

Dìng bì wéi è 定必為惡 "he will inevitably do evil" (Wáng) is much too general.

Istaḡnā 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. *Wúqíú* 無求 "without requirements" as an expression has no entry in HDC.

=====

*| 96.8

96.8 'inna 'ilā rabbi-ka
l-rujā

96.8
萬物必定只歸於你的主。

96.8
歸回必歸於爾之養主。

96.8 the return is indeed to
your master

96.8 All things (& beings)
certainly return to your ruler.

96.8 [at the time of the]
return [you] will certainly
return to your rearing ruler
[->]

Mā adds *zhī* 'only' and *wànwù* 萬物 'all things'. A case of explication.

=====

*| 96.9

96.9 'a-ra'ayta llaḡī yanhā

96.9 你告訴我吧！

96.9
爾曾見當僕人禮拜時、

96.9 have you seen (him) who
forbids

96.9 So tell me!

96.9 Have you seen him who,

*| 96.10

96.10 ʿabdan 'iḡā ṣallā

96.10
那個禁止我的僕人禮拜的人；

96.10 禁戒之者。

96.10 a servant when he
performs-*ṣalāt* [*ṣallā*]

96.10 That man who forbids my
servant to worship;

96.10 when (a) servant
worships,
^takes-precautions-against him.

*| 96.11

<hr/>		
96.11 'a-ra'ayta 'in kāna ṣalā l-hudā	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、
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		
<hr/>		
96.12 'aw 'amara bi-l-taqwā	96.12 或是命人敬畏的；	96.12 或命以敬慎、 「則何如。」
96.12 or bids godfearing	96.12 or if he _orders people to revere [or: makes people revere]	96.12 or orders ^reverence^ , {comm.: what about that?}
* 96.13		
<hr/>		
96.13 'a-ra'ayta 'in kaḍḍaba wa-tawallā	96.13 你告訴我吧！ 如果他是否認真理， 背棄真理的，	96.13 爾曾見之乎、 彼若否信之、遠避之、 「則何如。」
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?}
* 96.14		
<hr/>		
96.14 'a-lam yaʿlam bi-'anna llāha yarā	96.14 難道他還不知道真主是監 察的嗎？	96.14 彼未知安拉乎見之歟。
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 that Allah sees him?

Taqwā 'fear of God, piety' and its translations: see discussion in Chapter 5.

For comments on *ʿabd* "slave", see Chapter 5.

Mǎ's translation of *yarā* ("sees") as *jiānchá* 監察 ("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 Bayḍāwī'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 *'akbirnī* "tell me". Bayḍāwī 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 Bayḍāwī 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 *ra'ā* and the conditional clauses, which themselves are not entirely convincing as such, on account of their lacking and untypical apodoses respectively. The commentators (Bayḍāwī, Zamaḡṣarī (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'ajjub*) in all three instances.

The fact that the passage is obscure is especially evident in Zamaḡṣarī'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 Zamaḡṣarī 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. Mǎ consistently renders *'a-*

ra'ayta as nī gāosu wǒ ba 你告訴我吧! "So tell me!", clearly in line with Bayḍāwī's gloss *'akbīrī* "Tell me". Mă 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 *ěr céng jiàn zhī hū* 爾曾見之乎 "Have you seen him [or: it]?"

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

=====

*| 96.15

<p>96.15 <i>kallā la'in lam yantahi</i> <i>la-nasfa'ā bi-l-nāṣiya ti</i></p>	<p>96.15 絕不然, 如果他不停止, 我一定要抓住他的額髮——</p>	<p>96.15 否否、 彼若不停止、我必力執額毛、</p>
<p>96.15 but no, surely, if he does not stop we shall punish {b: the man with} the forelock</p>	<p>96.15 Not so at all, if he does not stop, I will surely seize his forelock</p>	<p>96.15 No, no, if he does not stop I will certainly grab his forelock by force,</p>

=====

*| 96.16

<p>96.16 <i>nāṣiyatin kāḍibatīn</i> <i>kāṭi'a tin</i></p>	<p>96.16 說謊者, 犯罪者的額髮。</p>	<p>96.16 虛妄為惡者之額毛。</p>
<p>96.16 the lying, sinful forelock</p>	<p>96.16 the forelock of the lying, offending (one).</p>	<p>96.16 the forelock of him who is baseless and evil-doing</p>

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>u</u> nādiya-h <u>ju</u>	96.17 讓他去召集他的會眾吧！	96.17 令彼喚其會場 「之人、」
96.17 let him call on his ^council^	96.17 Let him call upon the members of his society!	96.17 let him call {comm: the people of} his meeting-place

*| 96.18

96.18 sa-nad <u>u</u> l-zabāniya ta	96.18 我將召集強悍的天神。	96.18 我將即喚翟巴尼業。 「驅彼於火獄中。」
96.18 we shall call on the zabāniya	96.18 I shall call upon the brutal/intrepid angel~s.	96.18 I will then call the 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-jalālayn 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. Mǎ resorts to the short explanatory translation *qiánghǎn de tiānshén* 強悍的天神, "intrepid [or: brutal] angels". Thus the specificity of the Arabic is lost in Mǎ's translation.

=====

*| 96.19

96.19 kallā lā tuṭīʿ-hu
wa-sjud wa-qtarib

96.19 絕不然，
你不要順從他，
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 *sajada* ('prostrate oneself') is interestingly rendered by the traditional Chinese term *kòushǒu* 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).

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

4.7 SŪRA 97

=====

Arabic (transcription)	Ma Jian's Translation	Wang Jingzhai's Translation
* 97.1		
<hr style="width: 10%; margin-left: 0;"/>		
97.1 'innā 'anzalnā-hu fī 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	97.1 I did indeed send down and revealed it in that noble night,	97.1 I did indeed send it down in the night of <i>qadr</i> .

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

Gāoguì de yè 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-dunyā*), 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: *ayi l-šarif al-ʿazīm* "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/decreed 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-qadrī	97.2 你怎能知道那高貴的夜間 是什麼？	97.2 爾何以知蓋得[口雷] 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 <i>qadr</i> is?

Mā '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?" (Mǎ; Wáng similarly).

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

=====

*| 97.3

97.3 laylatu l-qadrī kayrun min 'alfi šahrīn	97.3 那高貴的夜間， 勝過一千個月，	97.3 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 <i>qadr</i> is more excellent than a thousand months.

Note the hyperbole, which is also retained in the translation.

=====

*| 97.4

97.4 tanazzalu l-malā'ikatu wa-l-rūḥu fī-hā b'iḡdni rabbi-him min kulli 'amrjin	97.4 眾天神和精神， 奉他們的主的命令， 為一切事務而在那夜間降臨，	97.4 眾仙使、 與魯哈奉其養主之命、 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 ^in^ 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 <i>rūḥ</i> , received the orders of their rearing ruler, on many kinds 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 *wèi yīqiè shìwù* 為一切事務 with the preceding verb *fēng* 奉 'receive [or: respond] respectfully', or should it be taken as an adverbial modifier to the following phrase after the conjunction *ér* 而, as the punctuation suggests?

The translators' rendering of *'iḡn* 'permission as *mìng(lìng)* 命(令) 'order' may be motivated by the Jalālayn commentary's gloss to the same effect.

=====

*| 97.5

97.5 salāmun hiya ḥattā maṭla'i l-fajr i	97.5 那夜間全是平安的， 直到黎明顯著的時候。	97.5 其乃平安者、 直至破曉。
97.5 ^peace^ it [=the night] is until the rise of dawn	97.5 That whole night is peaceful until the time when dawn appears.	97.5 Its peacefulness lasted until daybreak.

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» (*šarr*) and «disaster» (*balā'*), positively glossing *salām* as *ḵayr* 'good(ness)' and *salāma* 'safety, well-being'. Mǎ chooses to be verbose, whereas Wáng concisely and aptly renders *maṭla' al-fajr* 'the rise of dawn' as *pòxiǎo* 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

=====

Arabic (transcription)	Ma Jian's Translation	Wang Jingzhai's Translation
* 112.1		
<hr/>		
112.1 qul huwa llāhu 'aḥad un	112.1 你說： 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.

Mǎ 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 *shì* 是 as a copula to connect this subject with *yì* — 'one'. The syntactical structure of this verse has been of some concern to the exegetes. Bayḍāwī mentions several solutions to the syntactic equation.

Mǎ adds *zhǔ* 主, as if the Arabic contained the word *rabb* 'master'.

=====

* 112.2		
<hr/>		
112.2 allāhu l-ṣamad u	112.2 真主是萬物所仰賴的；	112.2 安拉乎是被求者。
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).

al-ṣamad has been understood in various ways. Bāyḍāwī says that it means that Allah is "the lord sought out in need (*ḥawā'ij*)", 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-dā'im* ('the lasting'), *allāḍī lā jawfa lahu* ('the one without stomach', i.e. wo. hunger), "the lord whose dominion never ends" and "the one from whom nothing comes out (*yakruj*)"

Now Mǎ 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».

Wáng 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-ṣamad*, thus echoing some of the exegetes' glosses (*al-maṣmūd ilayhi*, passive form) but not the form of *ṣamad* itself, which is just a noun.

=====

*| 112.3

112.3 lam yalid wa-lam yūlad	112.3 他沒有生產, 也沒有被生產 ;	112.3 彼未產。 未被產。
112.3 He has not begotten, nor has he been begotten.	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 *walada* can be either male or female (cf. *wālid* 'father' and *wāliḍa* 'mother'), which is also true of Chinese *shēngchǎn* 生產 and *chǎn* 產, 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
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kufuwan 'aḥadɟun

沒有任何物可以做他的匹敵。

無一是彼對等者。

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.

Mã has provided a specific interpretation and consequent rewording, especially by introducing the modal verb *kěyǐ* 可以 'can'.

4.9 SŪRA 114

The last two Sūras of the Qur'ān, 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-Mu'awwidātān* "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 *zhēnní* 鎮呢 'Jinn'. Another is to take *zhēnní* 鎮呢 and *rénlèi* 人類 in verse 6 together, taking *yǔ* 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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Arabic (transcription)	Ma Jian's Translation	Wang Jingzhai's Translation
* 114.1		
<hr style="width: 10%; margin-left: 0;"/>		
114.1 qul 'aṣūdu bi-rabbi l-nās jī	114.1 你說 :我求庇于世人的主宰，	114.1 爾曰-- 我以調養人類者、
114.1 say[:] I take refuge in the master of men	114.1 <you> say: I seek protection with the sovereign of the people of the world,	114.1 you say [!] -- I [seek protection->] with the one who rears mankind,

Zhǔzǎi 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]

Tiáoyǎng 調養 "nurturing" see discussion in Chapter 5.

Shìrén 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 *qiúbì* "seek protection" or *qiúhù* "seek protection" are part of Buddhist phraseology. Compare the Buddhist profession of faith, the *sān zīgūī* "Threefold Refuge" (Skt. *trīśaraṇa* "Triple Refuge"), where Skt. "... śaraṇaṃ gacchāmi" ("I take refuge in... [Buddha, the dharma and the saṅgha]") is rendered as *guīmìng* 歸命 "(I) _entrust (my) life [or: turn towards the orders [of Buddha]]". [Zürcher 1959 I: 164, II: 373] *Qiúbì* 求庇 "Seek Refuge" has no entry in XD.

=====

*| 114.2

114.2 maliki l-nās|j

114.2 世人的君王，

114.2 掌理人類者、

114.2 the king of men

114.2 the monarch of the
people of the world,

114.2 the one who supervises
mankind,

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

=====

*| 114.3

114.3 'ilāhi l-nās|j

114.3 世人的神明，

114.3 人類所拜者、

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 *ilāh* 'god' as *rénlèi suǒ bài zhě* 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 *ilāh* 'god', and so chooses to paraphrase. In the commentary he adds *zhēnzhǔ* 真主 'True Ruler' as a gloss, so that there should be no doubt about who is referred to.

=====

*| 114.4

114.4 min šarri l-waswāsi
l-kannāsji

114.4
免遭潛伏的教唆者的毒害，

114.4 於暗唆、
隱伏者、

114.4 from the evil of the
whispering, the slinking

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],

The verbal noun *waswās* is derived from the verb *waswasa*, which denotes the "speech of the soul" [al-*ṣiḥāḥ*], but also specifically refers to «enticing», here Satan's attempts at seducing man to do evil. Bayḏāwī says that the *muwaswis* '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

114.5 alladī yuwaswisu fī ṣudūri l-nās j	114.5 他在世人的胸中教唆，	114.5 即暗唆於人胸之
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

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

=====

*| 114.6

114.6 mina l-jinnati wa-l-nās j	114.6 他是屬於精靈和人類的。	114.6 鎮呢、 與人類之困厄上求護。
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 [<-I] seek protection.

The *jinn* '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. *kāhins*, soothsayers). Cf. nQ 81.22 and discussion in Chapter 5.

Mǎ translates *jinn* as *jīnglíng* 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-nāsi* "of Jinns and people" refers (back) to has exercised the minds of the exegetes. Bayḏāwī 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 rhetoric and cultural considerations. In order not to make the lists of examples from the Qur'ān 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 aspectual⁷⁰ 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

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'ān 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 矣 and le 了), adverbs (céng 曾, yǐ 已), verb complements (qǐlái 起來, xiàqu 下去) and verbal negations (méiyǒu 沒有, 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,

71 Yip&Rimmington 2004: 102; Cf. Pulleyblank 1995: 112-122.

72 *Muḍāri'*/non-past/imperfect form (IpF) vs. *māḍī*/past/perfect form (Pff).

73 Eisele 1999: 4-25, 253-256; Badawi et al. 2004: 62, 362-366; Reuschel 1996: 17-25

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 *céng* 曾. It is remarkable that Wáng does nothing of the sort in these verses, only in the nominalised clause *suǒ wèi zhī zhě* "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 Zhì'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 *céng* 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 Dào zhāng (1989) does not use any aspect-marks in this passage, but in his Modern Chinese version Wáng introduces *céng* 曾 'once' in verse 96.2 and translates *lam* as *yuán bù* 'originally not'. Now as for *le* 了, Shí Zǐzhōu 時子周 and Lín Sōng 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 *céng* 曾-particles occurs in Ma 78.8-12. The use of *céng* 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 *céng* 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 Dào zhāng and Shí Zǐzhōu use it in different places: Shí has *le* 了 in 78.12-13, while Tóng has *bù céng* 不曾 in 78.8 and 78.12 (at the start of sentences, in a way that the force of *céng* 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*

in the past and has been completed by the time of speaking. It seems that relevance at the time of speaking is not a feature of this particle, in contrast to the experiential marker *guò* 過.

75 This could however just be a conventional way of saying «didn't know».

了 or *céng* 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'ān 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 completed⁷⁶. Now Mǎ prefixes the function word *yǐ* 已 to the verb. *Yǐ* 已 frequently turns up 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 occurs⁷⁷. When this occurs in Mǎ, it is probably an archaising feature⁷⁸. This use of *yǐ* 已 to impose something akin to perfective aspect is a feature of Classical and Literary Chinese⁷⁹.

In order to find out more about this use of *yǐ* 已, we can look at other translations of this verse. First we note that Wáng 97.1 has the sentence-final particle *yǐ* 矣 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 DàoZhāng'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; *Xūcí gùlín* 51b

78 Or at least a marginal feature, for the usage is not mentioned in *Xūcí lǐshì*.

79 Pulleyblank 1995: 116.

and Tóng DàoZhāng the other one⁸⁰. 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 flashback⁸¹ justifying the fate of the rebellious described in the preceding passage. The flashback is staged in the past (relative to the time of speaking)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',

80 Mǎ has pre-verbal yǐ 已 here, while Wáng has sentence-final yǐ 矣. This makes the case of Q 81.23 exactly parallel to 97.1 with respect to these four translations.

81 Rückblende — see Neuwirth 1981: 191, 217.

82 In Q 78.27 we have a Pff verb (*kāna* “be”) followed by an IpF 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 *rajā* is not current (Reuschel 1996: 219-222).

'become'; Q 78.17, 78.21 et simil., Q 12.7 ?)⁸³. They have simply formulated general time-less statements in Chinese.

Another interesting example of a Pff interpreted as a generally valid statement is 'āmanū 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* 了 in Chinese, but Mǎ 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 *qiě* 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 Mǎ and Wáng 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 mimic the Arabic, but rather follows the demands of the target language.

5.1.7 Summary

It is symptomatic that Mǎ's use of *céng* 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* 了 and verbal *le* 了 in some contexts. Finally note that the quote-introducing verbs *shuō* 說 'say' and *yuē* 曰 'say' are never marked for tense and aspect (e.g. Q 12.10;

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* 朕 '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 blasphemous 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

84 Examples of low-status quasi-pronouns in Literary Chinese are *chén* 臣 "(your) subject", used by a minister to his ruler, and *qiè* 妾 "(your) slave [f.]", used by women. (See Pulleyblank 1995: 77.) In Modern Chinese "polite-speak" we find traditional terms such as *bùcái* 不才 "incompetent" > 'I [humble]', and *èrwèi* 二位 'both of you two [honorific]'.
85 *Gǔlán yìjiě fánlì* 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 *li-* '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&Rimington 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 Mǎ'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 *lìng* 令 'order' (Wang 2.186).

It is interesting to note that in Mǎ 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 Mǎ 97.4 Arabic *'idn* 'permission' is rendered as *mìnglìng* 命令 'order' (and similarly in Wáng)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 Jìngzhāi 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 *wú* 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).

Búyào 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 Mǎ'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 subject⁸⁸. 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* = *zhēnzhǔ* 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)»⁸⁹, a reading the Jalālayn commentary adopts in 2.183. Mǎ in the same verse sticks to his established equivalent *jìngwèi* 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

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*.

⁸⁹ See Izutsu 1964: 234-9.

noun is grammatically and (even more so) stylistically restricted⁹⁰. 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 Qur'ān, 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: Wáng 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). Mǎ 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 Mǎ to recast the verse in unambiguous Chinese syntax by sacrificing the poetic conciseness of the verse through repetition. Wáng keeps much closer to the syntactical form of the original, but the syntax is obscure.

Another instance of obscure syntax in Wáng 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 complexity⁹¹.

The most extreme example of twisted syntax must be Wáng's translation of sūra 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

90 Wang 1953: 1. 57, Y&R 2004: 86-67, Harbsmeier 1998: 159-160

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'ānic 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'ānic 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 (*āyāt* lit. 'signs'), but the chapters are not further subdivided, and there are no other punctuation marks⁹² 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 it⁹³.

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, Mǎ 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

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 commas, 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 *sūra* 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.

94 *Biāohào yòng lì* 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 Qur'ān is a rhetorically loaded document. Not only in the sense that the text of the Qur'ān 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 Qur'ān (see the section on orality). In the later scholastic treatment of the Qur'ānic text, rhetoric became important in connection with the doctrine of *i'jāz*, the inimitability of the Qur'ān. Obviously it is of the greatest interest to find out how the Chinese translators of the Qur'ān 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 Qur'ānic 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 Qur'ān⁹⁵, 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, epanalepsis*).

95 Stewart 1990: 232-235; Bell & Watt 1970: 77-80 Neuwirth, "Rhetoric", EQ 4: 161-176. Neuwirth 1981: 169.

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, Mǎ creates an epiphoric structure in an attempt to produce a more readable syntax.

There are more examples of introduced repetition in Mǎ, e.g. Ma 78.1 (with marked dramatic effect!). Wáng repeats *gǔlán* 古蘭 "Qur'ān" 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 dialogues⁹⁷ is a common feature of the Qur'ān, and may also be seen as one of the aspects of its orality. The participants in the dialogue are most often the implicit author (Allāh), Moḥammad, 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 nature⁹⁸, and the polemics tend to be directed at pagans, Jews, Christians, and recalcitrant Muslims⁹⁹. 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 questions¹⁰⁰, e.g. Q 78.1, 78.6, 96.14, 97.2

The rhetorical question markers *nándào* 難道 and *qǐ* 豈 both occur¹⁰¹.

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

The word *kallā* 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 tradition¹⁰².

97 Cf. subiectio; Lausberg 1973: 381

98 Cf. Neuwirth 1981: 190, 197-200.

99 Kate Zebiri: "Polemic and Polemical Language" in EQ 4: 114-124

100 Cf. Abdul-Raof 2001: 118; Neuwirth 2004: 469 (EQ)

101 *Nándào* 難道: 78.6, 96.14; *qǐ* 豈: 78.6.

102 Cf. the indigenous Chinese term *shèwèn* 設問 Kao 1986: 130, subdivided into *tíwèn* 提問, a question format with answer, for exposition purposes, and *jīwèn* 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*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 inimitability¹⁰⁴.

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 metaphors¹⁰⁵. 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 Mǎ 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 Mǎ 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, Mǎ re-creates a metaphor by shifting the focus of the trope from one word to another (Mǎ 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?

103 *Majāz* seems to be a term for figurative language in general, as opposed to *ḥaqīqa* 'reality'. Heath EQ, p. 384

104 Peter Heath, "Metaphor", EQ 3: 384-388.

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* 帷幕 '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 Mǎ, viz. *xúnguī tāojǔ* 循規蹈矩 "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* 對代 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 explicitating the meaning. Mǎ translates by *huìzhòng* 會眾 (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 Bayḍāwī.

Bayḍāwī identifies *ḥudūd Allāh* "Allāh's limits" in Q 2.187e as a metonymous 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

106 Fawcett 1997: 56-60.

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 sūras¹⁰⁹. 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 revelation¹¹⁰. Often a series of oaths is used to build up tension and pose an enigma to be subsequently resolved¹¹¹.

The oaths are highly formulaic in nature¹¹². Sometimes a verb of swearing¹¹³ is explicitly present, such as in Q 81.15 ('*uqsimu* "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.

Mǎ and Wáng 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 emphasis¹¹⁴. Neither

109 See Hawting: "Oaths" in EQ 3: 561-566. Cf. Abdul-Raof 2001: 87-88.

110 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 *sajʿ*, which is rhythmic and rhymed (though categorised as *naṭr* 'prose' by the Arab rhetoricians). Large parts of the Qur'ān are undoubtedly very closely related to *sajʿ*, and so one has to examine the oaths in the Qur'ān against with 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'an, 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].

111 Neuwirth 2004: 464.

112 Neuwirth 2004: 464.

113 There are several words for 'to swear' and 'oath' in Arabic, and the lexicon *Lisān al-ʿArab* 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.

114 Where is the witness and the sanction? The only example I have been able to find so far is *duì tiān fāshì* 對天發誓, lit. "to express an oath facing heaven" and *shì tiān* 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, *dàshì* 大誓 or *dàshìyuàn* 大誓願 "the great vow".

Classical nor Modern Written Chinese encourage or even allow the insertion of oaths like the ubiquitous *ma ton Dia* in Plato and in Greek comedy¹¹⁵. 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 value¹¹⁶. 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 shì yǐ 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.

5.7.6 Other Rhetorical Devices

Euphemism occurs in the Qur'ān and is known as *ḥiṣma* in Arabic¹¹⁷. 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».

*Hyperbole*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 China with numbers: the use of *wàn* 萬 'ten thousand' to mean «all» is ubiquitous and lexicalised¹¹⁹. *Aḥsan al-qaṣaṣ* in Q 12.3 may also be a hyperbole which the translators adopt in silence.

Mǎ 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.

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 clausulae¹²⁰ (or cadences) rounding off longer verses¹²¹. Neither of our two translators try to impose rhyme on the

115 Christoph Harbsmeier, personal communication.

116 Bergsträsser 1914: 58; Bell & Watt 1970: 194; Bayḍāwī on Q 56.75ff.

117 Abdul-Raof 2001: 95, 70-71, 122-123. Cf. the Chinese term *wǎnzhuǎn* 婉轉 (Kao 1986: 132). Another example from the Qur'ān: Q 7.189. Cf. Lausberg 1973: 909.

118 Abdul-Raof 2001: 117. Another example occurs in Q 7.40.

119 Cf. Kao 1986: 133.

120 Cf. Lausberg 1973: 483ff.

121 Neuwirth 1981: 157-174.

target text, but the more recent translation by Lín Sōng 林松 has undertaken this difficult work (1988). The rhythmical 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-Raḥmān* 'the Merciful' is used to refer to Allāh. This usage is universal in the Qur'ān, although there are distinct preferences in the different periods¹²². 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"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 complete¹²⁴. 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-Raof 2001: 128).

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-Raḥmān*, 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*, *percursio* and *praeteritio* (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.¹²⁵ "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 Jìngzhāi and Mǎ 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 explicating 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 *ra'ā* 'see' is used elliptically to mean «to see in a dream». Both translators supply the missing information, Mǎ 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.

127 Y&R 2004: 371-378.

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. Mǎ'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 (*gǎnxiè* 感謝), 12.8 'brothers', Wang 2.185a (repetition of *gǔlán* 古蘭 in brackets, relative clause). In Wáng 81.17 we find a repetition of *shì yǐ* 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 translate¹²⁹. 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 Zhì's *Tiānfāng zhìshèng shílù* 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 *sajda* and *masjid* 'mosque' are derived from the same Arabic root, *s-j-d* with the basic sense of «prostration».

The verb *sajda*¹³⁰ 'prostrate oneself' in Q 96.19 has been translated as *kòushǒu* 叩首 and *kòutóu* 叩頭, both¹³¹ 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'. *Kòu* 叩 is found in *Tiānfāng* as well (Tf

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 (*ṣalāt*), and the mosque, *masjid*, is the «place of prostration». This prostration involves kneeling down and bowing forwards until the forehead touches the ground (EI under the headword *sajda*), and thus seems to correspond rather nicely to *kòushǒu* 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, "Bowings&Prostration", EQ 1.254-5; cf. EI 8.406 under *rak'a*.)

131 *Cíhǎi* 1979 reports one source as distinguishing between *kòushǒu* 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)

632.4).

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 *kòushǒu* 叩首 and *kòutóu* 叩頭. Mǎ 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 Mǎ, for Wáng uses *bài* 拜 'pay obeisance to' elsewhere in cases where Allāh is the object of obeisance, e.g. 114.3; cf. also *lǐbài* 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 (*qīngzhēnsī* 清真寺 'pure and true temple; >mosque') and at best indirectly present in Wáng (*mósīzhìdé* 模斯志德, transcription of *masjid*)¹³². It is significant that the traditional Muslim Chinese term for «mosque», which is the one Mǎ 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 *ihdi-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 «teaching») and has also been used about an underlying cosmological principle with metaphysical properties, "the Dao". If Mǎ 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 *allaḍīna 'āmanū* "[...] who have believed[!]" as *xìndào de rénmen* 信道的人們 "the people who believe in the way", where *dào* 道 has to be understood as «Islam»¹³⁴.

132 Cf. the transcription given by Gladney (1991: 407): *màisījīdé* 麥斯吉德.

133 Tf 775.1; Tf 137.5, 140.8, 137.6, 142.7.

134 An alternative understanding is possible, taking *dào* 道 to be a suffix analogous to its role in *zhīdào* 知道 'know' and *shuōdào* 說道 'talk'.

In line with this, we find *xìndào de rénmen* 不信道的人們 "the people who do not believe in the way" for *al-kāfir* "the unbeliever" (Mǎ 78.40).

It is worth noting that both *dào* 道 and *lù* 路 occur for «Way» in Liú Zhì'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 *dǎo* 導, 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. *Dǎo* 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 Mǎ's *paraphrastic* translation of *hudā* 'guidance' (2.185a, 96.11) and *yaršudūn* "are rightly guided" (2.186): *zūnxún zhèngdào* "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, Mǎ translates with the four-character set-phrase *xúnguī dǎojǔ* 循規蹈矩. Wáng, though, keeps the connection, and translates *zhèngzhí* 正直 'be right and straight'.

The opposite of «*hudā* 'guidance'» is «*ḍalāl* 'error'». The concept occurs twice in my material and is translated by Mǎ as *míwù* 迷誤 'be at fault'. Wáng does the same in his translation of Q 1.7, but translates *miùwù* 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 *ḍalāl* 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 Qur'ān: 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)

136 HDC 5:323. *Triyāna* (Skt.), *sānshèng* 三乘, a collective term for three ways practising Buddhism: *Hīnayāna* (*xiǎoshèng* 小乘 "The Small Vehicle"), *Madhyamayāna* (*zhōngshèng* 中乘 "The Middle Vehicle"), *Mahāyāna* (*dàshèng* 大乘 "The Great Vehicle") [CH 1979: 36]

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 *shǐ(zhě)* 使(者) 'envoy; messenger'.

*Malāk*¹³⁷ 'angel' (pl. *malā'ika*) occurs in Q 78.38 and 97.4. *Tiānshén* 天神, lit. "sky-spirit", is Mǎ's choice.

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 Bible¹³⁸ (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 Mǎ 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 *xiānshǐ* 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, *xiānshǐ* 仙使 does refer to both «supernatural being» 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*¹³⁹ 精神 'spirit' translates *rūḥ* 'spirit', a common way of referring to the angel Jibrīl. Transcribed as *lūhā* 魯哈 by Wáng. Shí Zǐzhōu and Lín Sōng also transcribe in their translations. Tóng chooses the Christian term *shènglíng* 聖靈 'Holy Spirit'¹⁴⁰.

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 *tiānshǐ* 天使, clearly an etymologising 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 Strandnaes 1987: 94, 136

Línghūn 靈魂 is Mǎ'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 *rūh* 'spirit'. Note that the occurrence of *nafs* 'soul' in Q 81.14 is replaced by the more general *rén* 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 Chinese¹⁴¹. 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. Mǎ 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 *bàoyìngrì* "the day of retribution" points to an adoption of the cyclical concept of «retribution» found in Buddhism into the linear Qur'ānic concept of time¹⁴². Elsewhere, Mǎ's introduction of the word *shànbào* 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

141 *Zuìniè* 罪孽 '?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'è* 罪惡 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 *bàoyìng* 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 *yawm al-dīn* "The Day of Judgement", is a complex semantic composite¹⁴³, 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 Chinese¹⁴⁴.

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 *tiānyuán* 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 Hànyǔ xīncí cíyuán cídiǎn* 近現代漢語新詞詞源詞典 (2000), it occurs in Taisho and must be older.

The two terms for hell occurring in my material, *Jahannam* (78.21) and *jahīm* (81.12) are rendered by the traditional Chinese term *huǒyù* 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

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», «requital», «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 *dīnā*), the very two senses we find in the Qur'ān.

The phrase *yawm al-dīn* 'The Day of Judgement' is mirrored in the Hebrew expression *yōm ha-dīn* (Aramaic *yōm dīnā*), which has the same meaning, and which probably was its model. [Jeffery 1938: 131-133]

144 Cf. Israeli 1997: 96-98.

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 (*niʿma*). In this concept, «Unbelief» was originally only a corollary of this response to the divine mercy; (a term closer to «unbelief» is «*takdīb* 'crying lies to'», see section on Allāh's signs). This explains why the original antonym to *kufr* was *ṣukr* 'gratitude', and only later *ʾimān* 'belief; faith'. *Muʾmin* 'believer' is the active participle of the verb *ʾāmana* 'believe'. (Izutsu 1964: 230-233)

The translators have translated *kāfir* 'unbeliever' as *bú xìndào de rén* 不信道的人 'a man who doesn't believe in the way' (Mǎ) and *bú xìn zhě* 不信者 'unbeliever' (Wáng; Q 78.40). This obviously does not reflect the element of «ingratitude».

Muʾmin 'believer' does not occur in my Qurʾān selections, but in Q 2.183 we find *yā ʾayyu-hā lladīna ʾāmanū* "o you who have believed[!]". Wáng has translated using the hybrid *mùmín* 穆民, which probably originated as a transcription of Arabic *muʾmin* 'believer', with the superimposed reading *|mù 穆 - mín 民* 'people|', where the first element is an abbreviation of either *Mùhānmòdé* 穆罕默德 'Muhammad' or *mùsīlín* 穆斯林 'Muslim'. This term goes back to early Qīng 清 times at least; we find it in Tf 281.2 [com.]. Mǎ, on the other hand, produces an expression which is exactly parallel to his translation of *kāfir* 'unbeliever': *xìndào de rénmen* 信道的人們 "the people who believe in the way" (though the latter has the plural suffix -men).

Wa-l-yuʾminū bī "and let them believe in me" (2.186) is translated as *jiào tāmen [...], xìnyáng wǒ* 教他們[...], 信仰我 "let them [...], (and) believe in me" (Mǎ) and *lìng bǐděng guīxìn wǒ* 令彼等歸信我 "let them believe (firmly in) me"

In the section about guidance we have already noted that Mǎ's translation of *ʾāmana* '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 religion¹⁴⁵, how can the Chinese equivalents adopted by the translators express it? Significantly, under the entry *xìn* 信 in GD we do not find the sense «believe in». The core meaning of *xìn* 信 is «trust». No doubt *xìn(yáng)* 信仰 is used in this sense in Modern Chinese, but the question of how and when this usage originated is still left unanswered.

Yatgā — '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.

145 Paper 1995: 9-10.

(Bayḍāwī, translation and discussion: Izutsu 1966: 149). Ma translates it as *bèinì* 悖逆, "violate the right way" (XD 57); Wáng has *dìng bì wéi 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 *gǎnxiè* 'feel grateful; thank'. It also sneaks into Wáng's translation of *ʿalā mā hadā-kum* "because he has guided you" in the same verse, which becomes *yǐ* 「*gǎnxiè*」 *yǐndǎo ér* [...] 以「感謝」引導而[...] "[...] because of 「*thank*」 for guidance".

The concept of *taqwā* 'guardedness; fear of God', also embodied in the cognate verb *ittaḳā* '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 *jìngwèi* 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 *jìngshèn* 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 *ʿāyāt*. These 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 *ʿāya* (pl. *ʿāyāt*)¹⁴⁶. 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 *jìxiàng* 跡象 'sign' (Ma 2.187, 12.7, 78.28), *biǎozhēng* 表徵 'symbol' (Wang 12.7) and *xiǎnjì* 顯蹟

¹⁴⁶ Analysis in Izutsu 1964: 133ff.

'clear imprint' (Wang 2.187, 12.1, 78.28). Although Wáng renders 'āya in 12.1 with a general term, he adds the other alternative in his commentary.

Revelation in its "linguistic" form is called *waḥy*, the original meaning of which was «to communicate silently», "inspiring the meaning in the recipient", so to speak. The cognate verb *'awḥā* occurs in Q 12.3, which Wáng renders by *mòshì* 默示 'inspire silently or secretly'¹⁴⁷. That comes very close to the original meaning of *waḥy*, but arguably does not convey its function as a terminus technicus for «revelation». Mǎ's translation of the same verb is much more conventional, *qǐshì* 啟示 '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'ān*¹⁴⁸, which etymologically speaking means something like «lectionary», is transcribed by both translators, but Mǎ 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 Wáng (Q 97.1, 12.2). Mǎ 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. Mǎ consistently translates *'ālamīn* "worlds [oblique case]" as *quán shìjiè* 全世界 "all the world", ignoring the multiplicity. Wáng has *zhòng shìjiè* 眾世界 "all the worlds", which is plural.

147 Cf. what is said in the *Tiānfāng* about Moḥammad's reception of the revelation: *shèng mò shí 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.

149 Cf. Masini 1993: 197.

Note that the traditional Chinese phrase 天地萬物 "all the things (&beings) of heaven and earth" occurs in the translation *rabb al-samāwāti wa-l-'arḍ* "master of the heavens and the earth" (Q 78.37). *Wànwù* 萬物 "all things (&beings)" is also Liú Zhì's equivalent for *'ālamīn* 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):

Šayṭān can be used generically or specifically, much like 'devil' in English. For *Šayṭān* (Q 81.25), the tempter and enemy of mankind, we find *è mó* 惡魔 'demon' (Ma), and the transcription *Shāidàn* 色但 (Wang)¹⁵¹. *È mó* 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 Christianity¹⁵². *Šayṭān* has no clear equivalent in Chinese religion or mythology¹⁵³. Both translators take *šayṭān* 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 *rajīm* 'accursed'.

Jinna (pl. of *jinnī*¹⁵⁴) in Q 114.6 is transcribed as *zhēnní* 鎮呢 by *Wáng* and translated as *jīnglíng* 精靈 'ghosts and demons' by *Mǎ*.

In Q 114.3 a generic term for «god», *'ilāh*, is used in reference to *Allāh*. One notes that *wheas* *Mǎ* has no scruples in using the traditional Chinese term *shénmíng* 神明 'god', *Wáng* carefully paraphrases: *rénlèi suǒ bài zhě* 人類所拜者 "the one whom mankind does obeisance to".

5.9.9 Master and Sustainer of All Creation¹⁵⁵

Allāh is ubiquitously referred to as *rabb* «master»¹⁵⁶, which expresses the notion of

150 Cf. Israeli 1997: 94-95.

151 Cf. Transcribed by Nestorians as *shata*. # Ref

152 Cf FG under *è mó* 惡魔.

153 There is a king of the underworld, *Yánwang* 閻王 King Yama, but he is deprived of metaphysical significance beyond being the chief administrator of the Underworld. His full name is *Yamarāja* 閻魔羅闍 [CH 1979: 2018; 265], and is ultimately derived from Hindu mythology through Buddhism.

154 The jinn '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 jinn 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-ḡayb, the things that are hidden from the view and thought of mankind. This characteristic is also prominent in the ability of the +jinn+ 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 +jinn+s 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 prerogative of the omniscient and omnipotent *Allāh*. Despite this, placation of +jinn+s 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]

155 Cf. Israeli 1997: 96.

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 *zhǔ* 主 'ruler; owner' (see below for enumeration of senses). *Zhǔ* 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 *yǎngzhǔ* 養主 "Rearing Ruler" in many places (e.g. Q 96.1, 12.6) and as *zhǔ* 主 "ruler" qualified by *tiáoyǎng*¹⁵⁹ 調養 'nurture' (Q 1.2).

It is thus tempting to gloss *zhǔ* 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 *zhǔ* 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. *rabb* 'master' than Eng. 'ruler' would be. Nevertheless, *zhǔ* 主 and *rabb* do actually share the sense of «ownership», even if it may not be as central to «*zhǔ* 主» as it is to «*rabb*». So I retain 'ruler' as a literal gloss¹⁶⁰. [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, *zhēnzhǔ* 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 *zhǔ* 主 and *Zhēnzhǔ* 真主, terms such as *jiàng* 降 'send down', *fèng* 奉 '(respectfully) take (up)', *cì* 賜 'bestow', *ēn* 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 *rabbī* "<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 *zhēnzhǔ* 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: *ʿabd* (pl. *ʿibād*). This is an intimate cognate of the verb *ʿabada*, 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 *ʿabd* as *púrén* 僕人 (2.186 and 96.10)

LA 3.270b gives two meanings of the word *ʿabd* '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 *ʿabd* 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 *zhǔ*. In Tf we find both *pú* 僕 (Tf 24.1, 24.8) and the expression *zhēnzhǔ zhī nú* 真主之奴 “The True Ruler's slaves” (Tf 812.9).

ʿAbada 'worship' (Q 1.5) is rendered as *chóngbài* 崇拜 'worship; adore' (WL) by Ma 1.5 and as *bài* 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 *lǐbài* 禮拜 'worship', another traditional Chinese term. Its use in an Islamic context as early as the Ming dynasty is attested in *Tiānfāng*¹⁶³.

Bài 拜 'pay obeisance to' also occurs in 114.3 in Wáng's paraphrase for *ʿilāh* 'god', *rén suǒ bài zhě* 人所拜者 "the one to whom people do obeisance”.

Daʿwa which means «(call of) prayer» denotes another way for man to communicate with his creator. Mǎ uses the standard general Chinese equivalent for 'pray' to translate this word and its cognates, namely *qídǎo* 祈禱, which is in itself an old indigenous religious term (Ma 2.186). Wáng is more literal, translating it as *hū(yù)* 呼(籲) 'call', which is an etymologising translation, since the basic meaning of *daʿā* is «to call». The use of *yù* 'appeal' 籲 is paralleled in Tf 632 4.

162 Cf. Israeli 1997: 98.

163 Tf 134.6, 137.6, 280.3.

5.9.11 The Basmala-Formula.

The formula *bi-smi llāhi l-Raḥmāni 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-smi llāh* "in the name of God"— is construed as follows by the exegete Bayḍāwī: "The meaning [of *bi-smi llāh*] is [']being blessed in [or: through] the name of God —exalted be he—, read[!]'".

Both translators add the verb *fēng* 奉 «(respectfully) up-hold», thus compensating for this idiomatic invocational formula¹⁶⁴ which presumably has no exact Chinese equivalent¹⁶⁵. This use of *fēng* 奉 is apparently related to its occurrence in the collocation *fēngmìng* 奉命, 'to receive (&: obey) orders', but the exact nature of this relation is not clear.

Several native informants glossed *fēng... 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: *fēng ... de míngyì* 奉...的名義.

The whole phrase *al-Raḥmān 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 (*ʿāmmatan*) 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

164 The Arabic construction *bi-smi llāh* "in the name of God" is by the exegete Bayḍāwī construed as follows: "The meaning [of *bi-smi llāh*] 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 *niànfó* 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 (Fóguāng 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. One is also reminded of *nāmó* 南無 'salute (Buddha)', derived from Skt. *namas* '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

Mǎ uses the Chinese expression *Zhēnzhǔ* 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 feature¹⁶⁷. By contrast Mǎ uses a term which has accumulated various senses in the centuries preceding these translations¹⁶⁸. It seems that the danger of translating *Allāh* as *Zhēnzhǔ* 真主 "True Ruler" is that it makes *Allāh* look like a mundane ruler rather than an almighty, transcendent God¹⁶⁹. 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 *Zhēnzhǔ* 真主 'True Ruler' is not new. It dates back to the early 18th century at least, since it is ubiquitously employed in Liú Zhì'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. *Zhēnzhǔ* 真主 'true ruler', occurs at least twice in Chinese Nestorian texts¹⁷⁰.

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 *ḵodā* 'God' and *Allāh* in Persian.

168 There are hypothetically relevant lexical senses of *zhēnzhǔ* 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 a 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 Xī'ān outlining the dogmas and history of Nestorianism in China. In this inscription, the Christian God is referred to once as *wúyuán zhēnzhǔ* 無元真主 'true ruler without beginning' [Saeki 1932: CT p. 1], and once as 詞曰 真主無元 [Saeki 1932: CT p. 8]. The Nestorians did by the way use other terms for «God»: *Fó* 佛 'Buddha' (sic!) and *yìshén* 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 *ḡafūr* '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:

|mercy| = 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| = A's condescending feeling of tenderness aroused by the suffering of B.

|empathy| = A's ability to feel or her attempt to feel what B is feeling.

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 #HDC). The importance of this term can be seen clearly from its occurrence in some of some words central to Muslim life in China: *qīngzhēn fànguǎn* 清真饭馆 'ḥalāl restaurant', *qīngzhēnsī* 清真寺 'mosque', *qīngzhēnjiào* 清真教 'Islam', *qīngzhēnyán* 清真言, lit. "The Pure and True Words", =*ṣahāda*. Cf. also *zhēnjīng* 真經 lit. "The True Scripture", i.e. 'the Qur'ān'. [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 «*rahma*» (glossed as 'mercy'; *rahma* is the abstract noun corresponding to the adjectives *rahmān* and *rahīm*) as it appears in the famous lexicon Lisān al-ʿArab, we find various expressions used to gloss its meaning: *maǧfira* «forgiveness»; *ʿatf*, «emotional inclination»; and *šafaqa*¹⁷³, «solicitude».

Looking at the terms used as epithets, we find that *Al-Rahmān* "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 *rahma* 'mercy'». As for *rahīm*, 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 *rahmān*, it is taken to refer to the universality of God's mercy in this world, whereas in the case of *rahīm* the reference is to God's exclusive mercy toward the believers in the hereafter¹⁷⁵.

Both Wáng and Mǎ use the word *cí 慈* in their translations of the basmala formula:

Originally, *cí 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 *maitrī* ('benevolence', derived from Skt. *mitra* 'friend'). *Bēi 悲*, the original meaning of which «sadness», is an necessary component of *cí 慈*, according to the *Fóguāng*. *Bēi 悲* «sadness; compassion» translates the Sanskrit term *karuṇā* ('compassion'; derived from *karuṇa* 'mournful; compassionate'), and expresses the feeling of |sym-pathy| at the suffering of other beings¹⁷⁶. [—> *Fóguāng* 4873a; 5457b.]

173 Ad *šafaqa* 'solicitude': The (modern?) meaning of *Fīrūzābādī* or *Tāj al-ʿarūs*. The latter work, however, does give *riqqa* 'delicacy; softness; weakness' and *rahma* '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 *rahīm*, e.g. as quoted by Bayḍāwī (Jeffery 1938: 140-141)

175 See Bayḍāwī's commentary on this verse (exegete, d. 691/1292). He points out that the increase in the structure of the word *rahmān* (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 *rahmān* of both Believers and Unbelievers in this world, but *rahīm* exclusively of the Believers in the next; qualitatively, He is *rahmān* of this world and the next, and *rahīm* in only this world, because there are despicable (*ḥaqīra*) as well as majestic (*jalīla*) blessings (*nīʿam*) 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 *cí 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 «*raḥma* 'mercy'» in the Qur'ān? We have seen above that «*raḥma*» is associated with the concern for someone's well-being through emotion (ʿ*aṭf*, *šafaqa*) and a lenient attitude to offenses and sins (*mağfira*: «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'ān. So the question of God's |empathy| and |sym-pathy| remains open¹⁷⁷.

One thing, though, can be clearly stated. God's «*raḥma*» is not unconditional. God never tires of repeating and emphasising that man is dependent on him. Without God's «*raḥma*», man perishes [see Q 18.57; 24.14], and that man does not necessarily have any claim to God's «*raḥma*»; the presence of divine guidance itself is a case of «*raḥma*». Considering the fact that «*raḥma*» 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* 赦 'remit'; *yòu* 宥 'pardon'.

Mǎ introduces the word *rén* 仁 'humaneness; kind-heartedness; goodness' as an epithet of Allāh in his translation of the formula under discussion.

Now *rén* 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 «*rén* 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 *rén* 仁. The master said: '(It is to) love [ài 愛] others.'" [*Lúnyǔ* "Analecets", 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 «*nī'ma* 'blessing'». In Q 1.7 Mǎ translates '*an'ama* 'bless' by *yòuzhù* 祐助 'help', a word he has just used in the translation of *ista'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 *shī'ēn* 施恩 'bestow favours'.

The Arabic verb '*an'ama* 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 relentment" [Mir: "Grace", in EQ: 344-345]. So while *nī'ma* (verbal noun to *an'ama* besides '*in'ām*) 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 *nī'ma* and its cognate '*an'ama* (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 *ēnhuì* 恩惠]. According to what has been said above, *ēn* 恩 would seem to be more appropriate as a translation of *faḍl* than of '*an'ama* 'bless'.

Interestingly, Liú Zhì in the 18th century chose to use *fú* 福 'bliss; bless' instead of *ēn*

attempt to find and emphasise similarities between Confucian and Islamic wisdom (1997: 92-93).

恩 to translate *ni'ma* in Q 1.7.

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 Mǎ 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), *Šayṭān* (81.25, ≠12.5), *ʿarš* 'throne' (81.20), *al-zabāniya* 'the guards of Hell' (96.18), *al-rūḥ* 'the spirit' (97.4).

Hybrids containing both transcription and translation are *ālābówén* 阿拉伯文 for *ʿarabī* (Wang and Ma 12.2), *mùmín* 穆民 'Muslim/believer' for *alladīna ʿamanū* (Wáng 2.183), and *Gūlánjīng* 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 Mǎ 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 lexicon¹⁸⁰.

Mǎ Jiān clearly standardises the terminology by ensuring that they conform to the current Chinese standard terms¹⁸¹ (frequently in disyllabic form), and crucially, that the usage is acceptable; e.g. *xìnyáng* 信仰 'believe', *ēndiǎn* 恩典 'grace', *zànsòng* 贊頌 'praise', *qídǎo* 祈禱, *líng hūn* 靈魂 'soul', *jīngshén* 精神 'spirit'. Wáng strives after formally equivalent terms (but still keeping tradition firmly in focus), while Mǎ 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, Mǎ's terms for «angel», *tiānshén*

¹⁸⁰ See Wang 2001 and glossary in Gladney 1991. Liú Zhì's *Tiānfāng* 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. *jīngshén* 精神 'spirit'.

天神 and «paradise» *lèyuán* 樂園. Differences are many, e.g. the non-use of *tiān* 天 'heaven' for Allāh. Buddhist, Confucian and Daoist elements crop up in many places, but are not too obtrusive. Cf. *bào yìng* 報應 'retribution', *rén* 仁 'humaneness', and *cí* 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 *Tiānfāng* are *tiānmìng* 天命 'heavenly mandate/order; fate' (Tf 277.7), *shénrén* 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 brackets¹⁸² 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 translation¹⁸³, 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 (*i'jāz*) 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.

5.10.1 Variant readings

182 Wang uses corner brackets and Ma round brackets.

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 *mālik* 'owner' rather than *malik* 'king' (same consonantal text), i.e. they have chosen the reading of al-Kisā'ī and ʿāṣim [*Al-taysīr*] This is the reading in the Ḥafṣ ʿan ʿāṣim reading, as opposed to the Warsh ʿan nāfiʿ reading.

Ad Q 81.24 the commentators tell us that some reciters read *zanīn* 'opinionated' instead of *danīn* 'miserly'. This variant is ignored in the translations, where the Egyptian edition is followed.

Q 12.12 *yartaʿ wa-yalʿab* rather than the variants *nartaʿ wa-nalʿab* or even *nartaʿi* (Bayḍāwī).

The text used was probably the reading of Ḥafṣ 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 Bayḍāwī and the Jalālān commentary, although the latter also adds a second alternative: "[seek] the intercourse which he has permitted".

—In Mǎ 12.8 and 12.14 *qiángzhuàng de* 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* 真偽 "true and false" in corner brackets, an extension to the translation of *furqān* 'distinction'. This is in agreement with Jalālayn.

5.10.3 Unmarked Explanatory Additions

—Q 2.184a Wang follows Jalālayn with insertion of the negation *lā* 'not' before *yuṭīqūna-hu*.

—Ma 2.185a has *zhēnwěi* 真偽 "true and false" in corner brackets, an extension to the translation of *furqān* 'distinction'.

—Ma 2.186 你就告訴他們 "so tell them" added, in accordance. with Bayḍāwī (against Jalālayn).

—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 *sabʿan šidādan* are: "seven strong [heavens]".

—In 81.23 Mǎ identifies the *rasūl* 'messenger' as "that angel". That is an interpretation.

—Ma 96.4 adds *xiězì* 寫字 "write".

—In 78.33 both translators in accordance with the commentaries 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 suǒ quē de rìshǔ bǔzhāi* 依所缺的日數補齋.

—In Q 2.187e the translators follow Bayḍāwī (against Jalālayn), who glosses *ḥudūd* 'limits' as '*aḥkām* 'rulings', and hence use terms meaning «rules of law».

—Mā substitutes *èyán* 惡言 'abusive language' for *laǰw* 'nonsense' in Q 78.35.

—There are numerous definitions and interpretations of the word *al-ṣamad* (Q 112.2), and since there are many conflicting opinions, the translations are usually paraphrases of some kind, reflecting exegetical material. Ma: *wànwù suǒ yánglài de* 萬物所仰賴的 "the true ruler is the one on whom the ten thousand beings rely." Wang: *bèi qiú 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 Qur'ān 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 神明 'god; spirit', a term potentially confusable with (a) pagan (Chinese) gods and spirits, and (b) other terms involving *shén*, such as *jīngshén*. 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 *fèndòu* 'struggle'.

With respect to Q 4.34 which permits wife-beating, Ma translates 可以打她們, 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 Qur'ān exegesis¹⁸⁵. 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 exegetes 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 colons 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 *ruòrán* 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 *yaklu* "(may be) free" in 12.9 provide a partial motivation for them.

The specification of *qiángzhuàng 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 *sujjirat* "are heated up" in 81.6 as *péngpài* 澎湃 '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 experiments¹⁸⁶. In the first I read passages from Liú Zhì's 17th-century biography of the prophet Muḥammad, *Tiānfāng Zhìshèng shílù* 天方至聖實錄, and compared religious terminology used there to the terms used by Mǎ and Wáng. I also looked at two stretches of Liú Zhì'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 Zhì's Translation

Turning to Liú Zhì'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 Zhì (see Appendix A) paint a similar picture with respect to terminology. We find familiar terms and phrases such as *zào* 造 'create', *pǔcí dúcí* 普慈獨慈 “universally merciful, specifically merciful”, *zhízǎng* 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 *gélán* 格闌 (transcription of *qalam* 'pen'), *gōngqī*¹⁸⁷ 公期 (for *yawm al-dīn*, “the day of judgement) and the opposition between *fú* 福 'bless' and *huò* 禍 'harm' in his translation of Q 1.7¹⁸⁸. 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-fātiḥa* (Q 1), which is entirely cast into this rhythm by Liú Zhì. The verses from the beginning of Q 96 does not show the same marked tendency however. The centrality of Q 1 in Muslim ritual may have something to do with this, though both passages are of the hymn-type¹⁸⁹. 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 into a discussion forum posting on an Islamic Chinese website¹⁹⁰ that complained bitterly about Mǎ Jiān's translation. Towards the end of the posting, summing up his view, the author¹⁹¹ 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。

[Mǎ 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

187 It is not clear to me how this is to be understood literally. «The time of justice»?

188 The opposition between these two terms is attested in Classical Chinese literature (*Mèngzǐ*, *Gàozi*shàng; HDC 7: 935). A case of cultural adaption?

189 Cf. Neuwirth 1981: 192-195.

190 <<http://www.islamcn.net/>> There is a large number of active Islamic Chinese websites on the internet.

191 Anonymous. Username on the forum: Yībān 伊般 .

is not good for the development of Islam in today's China.]¹⁹²

In the posting he complains that Mǎ often uses “derogatory words” instead of “neutral words”, that the language is old-fashioned¹⁹³ and difficult to read, with too many *chéngyǔ*¹⁹⁴. His main concern is that non-Muslims may misunderstand, citing examples like *wéi suǒ yù wéi* 為所欲為 "does what [he] pleases to do", said about Allāh¹⁹⁵. 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 Mǎ'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 better¹⁹⁶. Nevertheless he is not the only one to be dissatisfied with Mǎ 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.]¹⁹⁷

It has already been noted that Mǎ Jiān's translation is the most-quoted Chinese translation of the Qur'ān¹⁹⁸, and has achieved an almost canonical status. The reactions to the posting quoted above confirms this impression. But clearly there is more to it: not everyone thinks Mǎ 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 status¹⁹⁹. Despite of the canonicity,

192 <<http://www.islamcn.net/bbs/dispbbs.asp?BoardID=1&ID=14802&page=1>> (29.3.2005). The posting is dated 23.8.2003.

193 Another message on the forum agrees: "你讀讀全先生的譯本 [/] 馬先生的譯本使用的漢語太舊了" ["Read Mr Tóng's translation [/] The Chinese used in Mr Mǎ's translation is too old"] (<<http://www.islamcn.net/bbs/dispbbs.asp?BoardID=1&ID=10975&page=34>> (27.3.2005), dated 5.12.2003).

194 Four-character set phrases.

195 Incidentally, this assumption of the "innocence" of the source text with respect to improper readings shows that the notion of the perfection of the Qur'ān is very much at work in this reader's mind.

196 <<http://www.islamcn.net/bbs/dispbbs.asp?BoardID=1&ID=14802&page=1>> (29.3.2005).

197 <<http://www.islamcn.net/bbs/dispbbs.asp?BoardID=1&ID=10975&page=34>> (27.3.2005). Dated 4.12.2003, username 'yangyang'.

198 See the section on Mǎ Jiān's translation in Chapter 2. Cf. Lín 1989: 6.

199 The sheer number of copies printed definitely has something to do with the prominence of Mǎ's

there have been more than one Chinese translation after Mǎ published his. Tóng Dào zhāng 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.

translation (Lin 1989: 6).
200 Tong 1989: 9.

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 translations²⁰¹, more visibly so in Wáng than in Mǎ. Scepticism with regard to Mǎ's translation was expressed by some readers in online Islamic discussion forums, but on the whole Mǎ's translation has been welcomed by the Chinese 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 canonicity²⁰². This compares well to other famous translations: the Authorised Version of the Bible is also a

201 Wáng 81.20 is a case in point. Or the automatic application of què 確 'indeed'. See discussion for examples and details.

202 This conclusion contrasts with Israeli 1997, where the translations are not seen to have achieved canonicity, although he concedes that Mǎ 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. It 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 example²⁰³, 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 subtle²⁰⁴. 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 material²⁰⁵. It is however certain that traditional exegetical works were consulted by both translators, and the information taken from them was variously incorporated into the translation (marked or unmarked) or put into the notes²⁰⁶.

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

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 Allāh 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 restructuring.

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 Mǎ favours readability, while Wáng 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 Wáng's text is more difficult at the surface (e.g. syntax), Mǎ 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 Mǎ's and Wáng'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. Wáng's translation is certainly not concise, however. It shows the same tendency to explicitate as Mǎ'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 Mǎ than in Wáng.

Traditional Chinese Muslim vocabulary and phrases show up in greater strength in Wáng's translation than in Mǎ's, while Mǎ's vocabulary has more in common with Christian Chinese terms than Wáng's has. One also suspects Wáng 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 'ilāh 'god' by paraphrase (*rén suǒ bài zhě* 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 Mǎ'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 explicitate, or stating explicitly what has been left unsaid in the source text. This takes on various forms: paraphrasing, 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 changes²⁰⁸. 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 style²⁰⁹. Both translators primarily want to

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 (*Gǔlán yìjiě fánlì* 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 (Tóng 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 (*Gǔlán yìjiě fánlì* 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 (Ma) against formal equivalence (Wang), though such labeling²¹⁰ 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, *zǒng ér yán zhī* 總而言之, 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

210 Cf. Fawcett 1997: 54-63.

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. Lín 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 Qur'ān 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 Qur'ānic 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 possibilities²¹⁴.

There are many more Qur'ān 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 Qur'ān translation can moreover profitably be compared to the translations of Buddhist scriptures into Chinese across the centuries.

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)

Fātiha (sūra 1)

"[...]若曰[:]

[1.2] 世讚歸主。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-ʿAlaq (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] 教以格闌。{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'

xiǎnjì 顯蹟 'clear imprint'

Wang 2.187, 12.1, 78.28

biǎozhēng 表徵 'symbol'

Wang 12.7

jìxiàng 跡象 'sign'

Ma 2.187, 12.7, 78.28

jiéwén 節文 'verse text'

Ma 12.1

jié 節 'section; item; verse'

Ma in meta-text

Wang in meta-text

'-l-h

'ALLĀH 'Allah; God'

zhēnzhǔ 真主 'Allah' (WL)

Ma everywhere

ānlāhū 安拉乎 'Allah'

Wang everywhere

'ILĀH 'god'

shénmíng 神明 '^gods'

Ma 114.3

... suǒ bài zhě ... 所拜者 "[he] whom worship"

Wang 114.3 [dots: rénlèi 人類 'mankind']

'-m-n

'ĀMANA BI- 'believe in'

mùmín 穆民 [from Arabic +mu'min+ 'believer']

Wang 2.183

xìndào 信道 'believe in the way'

Ma 2.183

guīxìn 歸信 "to ^direct belief" [cont. ~wǒ ~我]

Wang 2.186

xìnyáng 信仰 'believe'

Ma 2.186

'-n-s

NĀS 'people; human beings'

shìrén 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 ṠALĀ 'turn toward; relent to; allow to repent'
yǔn [rúděng] huǐzuì 允[汝等]悔罪 "allow you [pl.] to regret (your) sin"
Wang 2.187
shùrǎo 恕饒 'forgive'
Ma 2.187

j-ḥ-m

JAḤĪM 'Hell' ("The Hot Place")
huǒyù 火獄
Ma 81.12
Wang 81.12

j-z-y

JAZĀ' 'recompense'
bào chóu 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]
huǒyù 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

'AḤALLA 'make lawful'
zhǔn 准 'allow'
Ma 2.187
zhì yú héfǎ 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

k-l-q

ḲALAQA 'create'
zào 造 'create'
Wang 78.8 [cont. ~ ... 為 wéi], 96.1
zàochéng 造成 'create'
Ma 78.8
chuàngzào 創造
Wang 96.1
Ma 96.1, 96.2

d-^s-w

DA^ˆĀ 'call; pray; invite'
qídǎo 祈禱 'pray'
Ma 2.186
'hū' 呼 'call out'
Wang 2.186
DA^ˆWA 'call; prayer; invitation'
qídǎo 祈禱 'prayer'
Ma 2.186
hūyù 呼籲 'call; appeal'
Wang 2.186
DĀ^ˆĪ '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

ḌAKARA 'remember'

nǎojì 牢記 'keep firmly in mind' (WL)
Ma 2.63
jìyì 記憶 'remember; recall' (WL)
Wang 2.63

d-n-b

ḌANB 'sin; guilt'

zuì 罪 'crime'
Ma 81.9
zuì'è 罪惡 'crime'
Wang 81.9

r-b-b

RABB 'master; lord'
zhǔ 主 'master; owner; ruler'
Ma 1.2; 12.6(2), 78.36, 37, 39; 81.29; 96.1, 3, 8; 97.4
zhǔzǎi 主宰 'master; ??overlord' [HDC 1:701]
Ma 114.1
yǎngzhǔ 養主 "rearing ruler"
Wang 12.6(2), 78.36, 39; 96.1, 3, 8; 97.4
tiáoyǎng ... zhě 調養...者 "the (one who is) rearing..."
Wang 81.29 [dots: zhòng shìjiè 眾世界 "all the worlds"]; 114.1 [dots:
rénlèi 人類 'mankind']
tiáoyǎng ... zhǔ 調養...主 "the ruler who nurtures ..."
Wang 1.2 [dots: zhòng shìjiè 眾世界 "all the worlds"]

r-ḥ-m

AL-RAḤMĀN 'the Merciful'
(普) 慈 (pǔ)cí '(generally) caring, compassionate'
Wang 1.1
慈 cí 'caring, compassionate'
Ma 1.1
慈主 cízhǔ 'compassionate (&: caring) ruler'
Wang 78.37
至仁的主 zhì rén de zhǔ 'most benevolent ruler'
Ma 78.37
至仁主 zhì rén zhǔ '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'
zūnxún 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-ḍ

RAMAḌĀN 'Ramaḍān' [name of the month of fasting in Islam]

Làimǎidān 賴買丹 'Ramaḍān'

Ma 2.185

Láimàidānǎi 來麥搭乃 'Ramaḍān'

Wang 2.185

s-j-d

ŞAJADA 'prostrate oneself'

kòutóu 叩頭 'to kowtow' [lit. knock the head (on the ground)]

Ma 96.19

kòushǒu 叩首 'to kowtow' [lit. knock the head (on the ground)]

Wang 96.19

jūgōng 鞠躬 'bow to s.o.'

Ma 12.4

bài 拜 'pay obeisance to'

Wang 12.4

MASJID 'place of prostration; mosque'

mósīzhìdé 模斯志德

Wang 2.187

qīngzhēnsī 清真寺 'pure and true temple; >mosque'

Ma 2.187

š-k-r

ŞAKARA 'thank; be thankful'

gǎnxiè 感謝 'feel gratitude [>be thankful]'

Ma 2.185

Wang 2.185

š-ṭ-n

ŞAYṬĀN 'devil; the Devil, Satan'

è mó 惡魔 'demon; the Devil [Christianity]'

Ma 12.5, 81.25

Wang 12.5

Shǎidàn 色但 'Satan' [transliteration]

Wang 81.25

ş-l-w

ŞALLĀ 'perform ṣalāt [=prayer ritual]'

lǐbài 禮拜 'worship'

Ma 96.10

Wang 96.10

ş-w-m

ŞIYĀM 'fasting' [verbal noun]

zhāijiè 齋戒 'fasting'

Wang 2.183, 2.187

Ma 2.183, 2.187
ṢĀMA 'to fast'
zhāijiè 齋戒 'to fast'
Wang 2.184, 2.185
Ma 2.184, 2.185

d-l-l

ḌALLA 'err; go astray'
míwù 迷誤 'be at fault' (WL)
Ma 1.7
Wang 1.7

ḌALĀL 'error'
míwù 迷誤 'fault'
Ma 12.8
miùwù 謬誤 'error'
Wang 12.8

t-ġ-y

ṬAGĀ
bèinì 悖逆 'be contrary to; revolt' (WL)
Ma 96.6
wéi'è 為惡 'do evil'
Wang 96.6

ʿ-b-d

ʿABADA '[serve>];worship' cf. Gottesdienst
崇拜 chóngbài 'worship; adore' (WL)
Ma 1.5
拜 bài 'pay obeisance to'
Wang 1.5

ʿABD 'slave'
[zhòng]pú [眾]僕 "[all the] servant[s]"
Wang 2.186
púrén 僕人 'servant'
Ma 2.186, 96.10
Wang 96.10

ʿ-d-b

ʿADĀB 'punishment'
xíngfá 刑罰 'penalty; punishment' (WL)
Ma 78.30 78.40
Wang 78.30
fázé 罰責 'punish and accuse' [not in HDC]
Wang 78.40

ʿ-f-w

ʿAFĀ ʿAN 'forgive' ??absolve
shèmiǎn 赦免 'remit; pardon'
Ma 2.187
kuānyòu 寬宥 'excuse; forgive'
Wang 2.187

f-d-y

FIDYA 'redemption'
fáshú 罰贖 '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
fēnbié zhēnwěi 分別真偽 "distinguish between true and false"
Ma 2.185
fēnbié [-zhēnwěi-] 分別「真偽」 "distinguish between [-true and false-]"
Wang 2.185

q-r-'

QUR'ĀN 'Qur'ān' [For etymological speculations, see...]
Gǔlán 古蘭 'Qur'ān'
Wang 2.185, 12.2
Gǔlánjīng 《古蘭經》 "'<The scripture of the> Qur'ān'"
Ma 2.185, 12.2

QARA'A 'call; recite; read'

xuāndú 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'
+xún-guī dǎo-jǔ+ 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
+zhèngzhí+ 'to be straight'
Wang 81.28
MUSTAQĪM 'straight'
+zhèng+ 'straight; right'
Ma 1.6
Wang 1.6

k-b-r

KABBARA

zànsòng 讚頌 'praise'

Ma 2.185

sòng [Ānlāhū] zūndà 頌[安拉乎]尊大 "praise [Allah's] ^greatness"

Wang 2.185

k-d-b

KADDABA 'consider [or: call] a lie [or: liar]'

yǐ...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

KIDDĀB 'lying' [verbal noun]

xūdàn 虛誕 '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)

xiānshǐ

Wáng 78.38, 97.4

m-l-k

MALIK 'king'

jūnwáng 君王 'monarch'

Ma 114.2

zhǎnglǐ ... zhě 掌理 ... 類者 '[he] who supervises ...'

Wang 114.2

MĀLIK 'owning; owner'

zhǔ 主 'ruler; owner'

Ma 1.4

zhízǎng [bàoyìngrì] zhī zhǔ 執掌[報日之]主 'the ruler who oversees [the day of retribution]'

Wang 1.4

n-ḏ-r

'ANDARA '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 降示 'express by sending down'

Ma 12.2, 97.1

jiàng 降 'send down'

Wang 12.2, 97.1

n-^s-m

NI^sMA 'grace[^]'

ēndiǎn 恩典

Ma 12.6

ēn 恩

Wang 12.6

'AN^sAMA 'bestow grace upon'

yòuzhù 祐助 'help'

Ma 1.7

shī^sēn 施恩 'show favour[^]'

Wang 1.7

h-d-y

HADĀ 'guide'

yǐndǎo 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~]

zhǐdǎo 指導 'guidance' HDC 6: 583;

Wang 96.11

Ma 2.185

yǐndǎo 引導

Wang 2.185

w-ḥ-y

'AWHĀ 'communicate (without words); inspire'

qǐshì 啟示 'inspire; enlighten'

Ma 12.3

mòshì 默示 'inspire silently or secretly' [HDC seems to have a biblical example]
Wang 12.3

w-q-y

ITTAQĀ 'to fear God'

jìngwèi 敬畏 'revere; hold in awe' (WL)

Ma 2.183, 2.187e

Wang 2.183, 2.187e

TAQWĀ 'fear of God'

jìngwèi 敬畏 'revere, hold in awe'

Ma 96.12 [as a verb]

jìngshèn 敬慎

Wang 96.12

MUTTAQĪ 'godfearing'

jìngwèi de rénmen 敬畏的人們 'reverence, awe'

Ma 78.31

jìngshèn zhī rén 敬慎之人

Wang 78.31

ABBREVIATIONS AND SHORT REFERENCES

[See Bibliography for full bibliographical references.]

- B al-Bayḍāwī, ʿAbd Allāh ʿibn ʿUmar: *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-karīm li-l-Bayḍāwī*
conv. conventional(ly)
- EI *Encyclopedia of Islam*
- EQ *Encyclopedia of the Qurʾān*
- Fóguāng *Fóguāng dà cídiǎn* 佛光大詞典.
- HDC *Hànyǔ dà cídiǎn* 漢語大詞典
- Jal(ālayn) *Tafsīr al-ʿimāmayn al-Jalālayn*.
- LA *Lisān al-ʿArab*, by Ibn Manẓūr.
- lit. literally
- Mǎ x.y *Gǔlánjīng* 古蘭經 [Translated by Mǎ Jiān] 馬堅, sūra x, verse y
- nQ x.y Notes on Q x.y. in Chapter 4 of this thesis
- Q x.y The Qurʾān, *al-Qurʾān al-karīm*, Egyptian ed., sūra x, verse y
- Taisho 大正新脩大藏經 [中華電子佛典協會 (Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association) 簡稱 CBETA]
- Tiānfāng *Tiānfāng zhìshèng shílù* by Liú Zhì 劉智
- Tf *Tiānfāng zhìshèng shílù* by Liú Zhì 劉智
- Wáng x.y *Gǔlánjīng yìjiě* 古蘭經譯解 [Translated by Wáng Jìngzhāi 王靜齋], sūra x, verse y
- XD *Xiàndài Hànyǔ cídiǎn* 現代漢語詞典
- Xūcí gǔlín *Xūcí gǔlín* 虛詞詁林
- Xūcí lishì *Xiàndài Hànyǔ xūcí lishì* 現代漢語虛詞例釋
- Y&R Yip, Po-Ching and Don Rimmington: *Chinese: A Comprehensive Grammar*

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al-Kaššāf 'an ḥaqā'iq al-tanzīl wa 'uyūn al-'aqāwīl fī wujūh al-ta'wīl
al-Kaššāf 'an ḥaqā'iq al-tanzīl wa 'uyūn al-'aqāwīl fī wujūh al-ta'wīl, by al-Zamaḳṣarī,
Maḥmūd ibn 'Umar. [Annotations: Printed in Bayrūt [Beirut] 1947]