The Qur' ān and Science

with Majid Daneshgar, "The Qur'ān and Science, Part I: The Premodern Era"; Majid Daneshgar, "The Qur'ān and Science, Part II: Scientific Interpretations from North Africa to China, Bengal, and the Malay-Indonesian World"; and Majid Daneshgar "The Qur'ān and Science, Part III: Makers of the Scientific Miraculousness."

THE QUR'ĀN AND SCIENCE, PART I: THE PREMODERN ERA

by Majid Daneshgar

Abstract. As the first installment in a three-part series on the Qur'ān and science, this article begins with the author's personal and scholarly experiences to demonstrate the importance of the twin trends of Qur'ānic scientific interpretation and Qur'ānic scientific miraculousness, including how both serve as Muslims theological tools. It then touches upon the close relationship between theology and scientific knowledge in the history of Islam. The main focus concerns how science is situated and defined in Islamic literature, with particular references to traditional Muslim commentaries and treatises. It also concerns the way Muslim exegetical figures and traditionalists are encouraged or discouraged from taking science into account based on the Qur'ān and prophetic traditions.

Keywords: al-Ghazālī; al-Rāzī; miracle; Muḥammad; Qur'ān; science; scientific knowledge

INTRODUCTION

There is currently more interest in debates regarding the Qur'ān and science than at any other time in the past. This is due to both the significant growth of Muslim populations around the world and the many striking scientific discoveries that have been made in various disciplines over the past several decades. Such debates are now commonly encountered in educational contexts as well as in popular forums. Indeed, the more scientific breakthroughs, the more questions there are about the relationship between the Qur'ān and science.

This set of articles discusses two aspects of this general relationship between the Qur'ān and science: scientific interpretation (*tafsīr 'ilmī*) and

Majid Daneshgar is an Associate Professor of Area Studies at the Center for Southeast Asian Studies at Kyoto University, Kyoto, Japan; e-mail: daneshgar@cseas.kyoto-u.ac.jp.

scientific miraculousness (*i 'jāz 'ilmī*). The first approach applies scientific (*'ilmī*) data to explain Qur'ānic verses, while the second claims that the Qur'ān contains scientific findings and has particular scientific features, such as harmonious numerical analogies and formulae (viz., *al-i'jāz al-'adady*), that confirm the divine origin of the text. The science (*'ilm*) referred to in these two categories is not limited to a particular period of time. Just as scientific findings push forward boundaries, so too do the purported scientific interpretation and scientific miraculousness of the Qur'ān move forward. Much of the resultant phenomenon, involving both advocates and opponents, takes place in the world of social media, publishers, and educational and academic spheres.

Over the course of history, a large number of physicians, theologians, and philosophers have discussed the way science should (or should not) be placed in Muslim exegetical discourses. Nonetheless, academic readings of scientific interpretation and scientific miraculousness of the Qur'an began in the early twentieth century CE. One of the first attempts was that of Amīn al-Khūlī (d. 1966), an Egyptian professor and diplomat known for his literal interpretation of the Qur'an. Al-Khuli did not agree with the scientific and naturalist interpretation of the Qur'an, which had become more principled due to pervious Arab thinkers like Tantāwī Jawharī, al-Rāfi'ī, and Hanafī Ahmad (see Part II). Al-Khūlī did not support their interpretive agenda, predicting that it would end up demonstrating the scientific miraculousness of the Qur'an as a radical reading of the holy scripture. Al-Khūlī believes the Qur'ān should be read and interpreted literally based on the "richness of its Arabic language" (al-Khūlī 1964, 78-79) revealed to the Arabs of the seventh century CE. According to him, it was the Arabic heritage that should have been revived, not the texts by exegetical figures from the classical period of Islam, such as Abū Hāmid al-Ghazālī and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, among others (al-Khūlī 1964, 78-79). To critique previous exegetical trends (including the scientific one), he applies the ideas of Abū Ishāq al-Shātibī, who stated that "the Qur'an is not understood but as it was read by the illiterate Arabs to whom the Qur'an was addressed" (quoted in al-Khūlī 1964). Some influential reformers and exegetes, such as Mahmūd Shaltūt (d. 1963), show less interest in the relationship between the Qur'an and science, challenging former literature on scientific interpretation (see Zebiri 1988). A'isha 'Abd al-Rahmān (d. 1998), also known as Bint al-Shātī' and the wife of al-Khūlī, also played a key role in the discourse on the Qur'an and science. One of the main points in her exegetical works is that the Qur'an was revealed to "an illiterate Prophet and illiterate community" who did not need to have scientific knowledge about the contents of the Qur'an (for more, see Amīn 1992, 89).

There have also been debates in Shī'ī contexts. In the 1960s, Ja'far Sobhānī (b. 1929) prolifically responded to Iranian readings of the Qur'ān. He believes that the Qur'ān is not meant to "instruct human beings with science and technology" and that none of the prophets "were chosen to teach physics, chemistry, or other mathematical, astronomical and cosmological issues" (Sobḥānī 1983, 7–8). Nonetheless, he agrees that "the Qur'ān sheds light on secrets that nobody was aware of before recent scientific revolutions [...] there is no other way but to say that the Creator of the universe has granted all such information to the Prophet Muḥammad" (Sobḥānī 1983, 7–8). According to Sobḥānī, the Qur'ān should be read along with the sciences, as other non-Islamic and Islamic disciplines are. This idea is echoed by Mustansir Mir (2004), who although he excludes Shī'ī literature—states that scientific interpretation is as important and applicable as linguistic and legal interpretations.

Academic discourse on the Qur'an and science has grown in popularity in the new millennium, with many scholars and scientists from different corners of the world now involved in it. Some have emerged as vocal critics, rejecting the scientific miraculousness of the Qur'an, which they differentiate from the scientific interpretation of the Qur'an. Others are strong advocates for the scientific miraculousness of the Qur'an. These scholars and scientists have been instrumental in inviting a large number of Muslim scientists to interpret Muslim theology-despite their limited knowledge of Islamic intellectual tradition-and in encouraging Muslim theologians-without any empirical background-to apply scientific data in their studies. Some are looking for new theological answers to resolve the conflict between science and Islam, while others have been trying to detect the origin of various modern [empirical] sciences (e.g., biology, Darwinism, psychology, psychotherapy) in Islamic tradition and Muslim theological treatises. Both groups share a common concern: the Qur'an must be known as a divine source. In this vein, the Qur'ān and science discourse acts as one of the most efficient and effective tools used by apologists to prove and promote Islam throughout the world.

As a regular reader and active contributor in the field over the last ten years, I have noticed some fundamental problems: (a) the field has been extremely male-centric, with women as marginal contributors, although it is now mainly shepherded by apologetic male scientists, philosophers, and theologians; (b) the field is strictly controlled by experienced figures who act like gatekeepers, limiting the voice of young researchers; and (c) the Qur'ān and science is often seen through the lens of Sunnī Middle Eastern materials, and scholars are silent about public and academic discussions in Africa and Southeast Asia. In this three-part series, I aim to address most of these gaps, especially (b) and (c).

I will map (and sometimes remap) the formation and development of the scientific interpretation and scientific miraculousness of the Qur'ān in different corners of the world. Although my research initially focused on the Middle East, this study also demonstrates how Muslim and non-Muslim residents of other regions have engaged with the relationship between the Qur'ān and science. Along the way, the scientific interpretation and the scientific miraculousness of the Qur'ān are addressed from both an internal perspective—as aids for Muslim communities to interpret and describe the Qur'ān—and an external perspective—as a means of claiming victory over opponents, namely non-Muslims (e.g., colonial officers), which is addressed in the second article in this series.

It is impossible to address every single work written about the Qur'ān and science, but this series of articles aims to include both those that are popular and those that are less well-known, as both have made significant contributions to the ongoing debate.

Personal Journey

After visiting Shī'ī, Sunnī, and Sufi seminaries, universities, theological circles, and interdisciplinary research centers in Iran, Turkey, Malaysia, and Indonesia, I can attest that the scientific interpretation and scientific miraculousness of the Qur'an are standard topics in such institutions. These two trends are generally seen as the main representatives of the discourse on "the Qur'an and science," a phrase I use to subsume both scientific interpretation and scientific miraculousness. Other facets of the discourse are manifested in interdisciplinary fields such as Islamic banking, Islamic insurance, Islamic economics, Islamic psychology, Islamic education, the Islamization of knowledge, and Islam and philosophy-or are involved in theoretical discussions on Islam and science, religion and science, and Muslim philosophy and science. However, Muslim engagement with the Qur'an and science, which ultimately led to the dual trends of scientific interpretation and scientific miraculousness, began during the earliest period of Islam and has thus been present for centuries. As will be seen, the topic of the Qur'an and science has been used in the context of theological, sociopolitical, and missiological discussions by both scientists and preachers, Muslim and non-Muslim alike.

Working in various Western universities in New Zealand, Germany, and the United Kingdom, as well as visiting different North American academic contexts, I have noticed how "the Qur'ān and science" is an important element in discussions regarding the divine origin and credibility of Islam. I have observed second- and third-generation Muslim immigrants in New Zealand seeking to preserve their Islamic identity by attempting to prove that the Qur'ān is the most complete scripture and the "final" revelation to humankind given to Muḥammad, the Muslims' final prophet. One way of doing this is by organizing local and national exhibitions near Islamic centers where food is served during Muslim holidays.¹ Halls are typically adorned with hundreds of posters showing Qur'ānic references to modern science along with leading scholarly figures and preachers in the field of the Qur'an and science. Such posters seek to prove the validity of Islam, with the accompanying food confirming the crucial role of hospitality in Muslim culture; both aspects are thus used to prove Muslim identity to non-Muslims. I asked a student of mine who was one of the organizers of such an event in New Zealand to lead short seminars during my Introduction to Islam course (which incidentally demonstrated that the topic of the Qur'an and science is relevant in universities). During the class, the student discussed the authenticity of the Qur'an through the lens of empirical science; for him, the main source was La Bible, le Coran et la science (The Bible, the Qur'ān and Science), a text by the French physician Maurice Bucaille (d. 1998) (discussed further in the third article in this series). In this volume, Bucaille asserts that the Qur'an not only contains scientific facts but is also scientifically and empirically superior to the Bible. The student's presentation resulted in a confrontation between Muslims and non-Muslims in the class, with particular opposition shown by another student originally from Colorado Christian University, who was furious at the Muslim student's attempt to elevate the Qur'an and minimize the Bible.

As Muslim and Christian students defended their religious traditions in class, I recalled having seen similar conflicts on a wider scale between Muslim and non-Muslim scholars of Islamic studies. During a conference lunch in Ankara in 2013, Christians and Muslims were speaking about different interreligious theories. While we were enjoying local Turkish cuisine, the debate, which was supposed to be convivial, ended up turning sour. Bucaille's book was mentioned around the table, with attention to his elevation of Islam, after which American and French scholars left, vocally criticizing Bucaille's thesis. Interestingly, most advocates of Bucaille's thesis were also followers of Edward W. Said (1978) and his (mis)reading of orientalism. In their opinion, Said's criticism of Christian colonialism and European intellectual traditions should be read along with Bucaille's criticism of Christian biblical scriptures. For them, Bucaille's work is not a simple project about the relationship between religion and science but granted a fresh voice to anti-Westerners and anti-Orientalists. The work of these scholars soon became a vehicle for Muslim decolonizers who aimed to exclude Judeo-Christian believers from two disciplines of Islamic studies and Islam and science (see Daneshgar 2020).

Such confrontations are not limited to Muslim–Christian debates. While doing research on the relationship of the Qur'ān and science through the lens of an Indian scholar, I became aware that members of the Hindu religion and other religious communities across India also participate in debates on religion and science. One figure celebrated at such gatherings was the Indian physician and imam Dr. Zakir Naik, whose thoughts became the subject of my master's thesis. As I listened to his lectures and watched his videos, I realized the potential for the topic of the Qur'ān and science to be used as an instrument by Muslim preachers and imams to silence "the other." It does not matter who these "others" are or whether they are asking challenging questions about the origin and message of the Qur'ān and Muḥammad's mission to pass on the word of God to his people. Naik (author of *The Qur'ān and Science: Compatible or Incompatible?*) uses the Qur'ān and science as a tool to respond to non-Muslims as well as skeptical Muslims, an approach previously practiced by several Muslim theologians over the centuries.

When doing my Ph.D. research, I focused on leading figures of the scientific interpretation and scientific miraculousness of the Qur'an: Shaykh Tanțāwī Jawharī (d. 1940), an Egyptian leading scientific interpreter of the Qur'an, and Bucaille, a European physician who employed scientific analysis in his study of the Qur'an. The outcome of this research demonstrated that, although the objectives of the two figures differ, their approaches to science in the Qur'an both depend on interaction or confrontation with non-Muslims. Both ideas about the relationship between the Qur'an and science have developed into theological doctrines, gradually giving increasing power and influence to their advocates, as well as the social and political agendas they represent. As will be discussed in the following section, one of the primary goals of this theological movement has been to convince opponents, using science, that Islam, the Qur'an, and Muhammad are reliable sources of truth. The movement has also been used to unite Muslims around their scripture and against the holy texts of other religions.

Theology and Science

The theological power generated by the debate over the Qur'an and science has often been used to immunize Islam. In other words, it has been used by theologians as a defensive tool to build a wall against those who disagree with Islam and Muhammad's teachings. For a long time, non-Muslims have attempted to marginalize Muslims by deliberately misreading their tradition. According to medieval Christian apologists and polemicists, including Ramon Martí, Roger Bacon, Ramon Llull, and Riccoldo da Montecroce, "learned Saracens did not in fact believe in the doctrines of the Qur'an, that only the fear of physical punishment made them publicly proclaim their adherence to Islam" (Tolan 2002, 184). Conversely, Muslim theologians have denied the Christian Trinity and challenged the divinity of Jesus. Each group has typically thought that its own religion is more accurate than that of the other. One of the main instruments used in theological arguments has been the scientific knowledge of the time; scientific knowledge has fueled theological beliefs, although this interaction temporarily declined during the Industrial Revolution:

Science and Theology are not two historic champions who have gone down to Ephes-dammim with polemical intent, like the shepherd boy of Israel and the Philistine. The one, to speak roughly, is simply a group of facts, the other, a group of beliefs, that lie in different planes and atmospheres of thought; yet are held together by the complex needs and functions of our nature, and contribute to the common stock of our intellectual furniture [...] The alleged conflict between theology and science is simply the dispute of men who exploit one method of interpretation to the discredit and exclusion of the other. (Battershall 1897, 89)

The American priest Walton W. Battershall (d. 1920) believes that "science or criticism or any form of demonstrated fact can do nothing to theology [...] except to vindicate it, clarify it, and enrich it. A fact wherever found is a divine thing" (Battershall 1898, 251-52). Scientific knowledge was an aspect of theological arguments long before Battershall; each field enriched and served the other. Christians and Muslims viewed their prophets as thinkers. According to some Christians, however, "on questions of history, of physical or mental science, Jesus has nothing to say" (Burton 1897, 245-46). By contrast, within a few centuries of the emergence of Islam, Muslims had established that the illiterate Muhammad and his miracle of the Qur'an were both inerrant and infallible. For Muslims, the Qur'an and Muhammad have been sources of eternal knowledge and wisdom. As such, two different theological arguments flourished after the formative period of Islam: the infallibility ('isma) of Muhammad and the miraculousness (i'jaz) of the Qur'ān. Muslim theologians typically agree that Muhammad was free of error, as is the Qur'an, and the Qur'an is a miracle, inimitable in content and form.

To demonstrate the authenticity of the Qur'ān and Muḥammad's mission, Muslim theologians have cited various sources, including both the Qur'ān and the Bible. The Qur'ān confirms its uniqueness through the "challenge verses" (e.g., Qur'ān 2:23; 11:13; 17:88). Classical Muslim courts hired Christians to describe biblical information about the emergence of Islam, the mission of Muḥammad, and his miracles (see Thomas 2011, 207).

To elevate the status of the Prophet, Muslims then devised a new literary genre, known as Prophetic Medicine (*al-Tibb al-Nabawī*), as a response to Greek and other non-Islamic traditions on medicine (see Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya 1983, I:150–52; Ragab 2012); when a large area of Islamic theology and scientific knowledge was influenced by Galen, Hippocrates, Euclid, and other Greek sources, there was concern about the role of the so-called original Islamic sources and sciences.² One of the earliest volumes on Prophetic Medicine was assembled by Abū Nu aym al-Isfahānī (d. ca. 1038) and included "838 medical hadith" (Perho 2023). But *al-Tibb al-Nabawī* began to be read by people from all walks of Muslim society when Muhammad al-Dhahabī (d. 1348) and, even more so, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 1350) developed more comprehensive projects in the Prophetic Medicine genre. Some important aims of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya were dealing with the rejection of occult science and the removal of Islam from non-Arab materials (Livingston 1992, 598–600). Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya presents an Islamized version of medicine that introduces the Qur'ān as the book of everything and Muḥammad as the inerrant and knowledgeable servant of God. His discussions begin with the Prophet's ideas about the typology of medical treatments, noting that physiology (*tibb al-abdān*) is seen alongside the perfect law of Muḥammad (*sharī ʿat*) (Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya 1983, I:20). This idea prompted minority Muslim groups like Shī ʿīs and Sufis to ascribe miraculous knowledge and power to their saints and leaders. For example, refer to *Tibb al-Ridā* (متر زران), a collection concerning the medical prescriptions of the eighth Imām of Shī ʿa, ʿAlī ibn Mūsā al-Ridā (d. ca. 818) (Figure 1).³

Science in Classical Qur'ānic Literature

Integration of Interpretive and Miraculous Approaches

Muslim interest in using scientific knowledge to interpret the Qur'ān dates back to the formative period of Islam. Although the Islamic concept of science was different at that time, this approach to Qur'ānic exegesis is still practiced. However, the objectives behind the scholarly corpus have changed significantly over time. As is the case with modern interpreters, earlier Qur'ānic commentators were selective in terms of themes and methods; some adopted a literal approach to the Qur'ān, while others took a theological, naturalistic, or cosmological approach.

علَقَ الإستاذ بن على" "A key verse concerning the creation of humans is Qur'ān 96:2: "على الإستاذ بن على [He] Created man, out of a (mere) clot of congealed blood."⁴ All commentators on this verse show a level of familiarity with the physiology or medicine of their own time. Muqātil ibn Sulaymān (fl. eighth century CE), one of the first Qur'anic commentators, glosses the underlined term 'anic commentators, glosses the underlined term 'anic commentators' ('alag) as the advanced form of "sperm made of fluid and blood" (Mugātil [1423] 2003, iv:762). Mugātil's description of the 'alag, the biological origin of the human embryo, being made of blood and water, along with the idea that 'alaq shifts its shape and essence over time, suggests that some basic medical knowledge was accessible to him.⁵ A wide range of Muslim exegetes—Sunnī (e.g., al-Tabarī 1991, xxx:161; al-Samarqandī 1995, iii:598), Shīʿī (e.g., al-Tūsī n.d., x:379; al-Tabrisī [1372] 1993, x:781) and Sufi (e.g., Kāshifī n.d., 1367)—discuss the formation of 'alaq out of blood and describe its particular features. Ya'qūb Charkhī (d. ca. 1447 CE), one of the influential Sufi commentators from the Balkh-Bukhara region of the Persianate world, treats this verse from a creationary-evolutionary perspective:

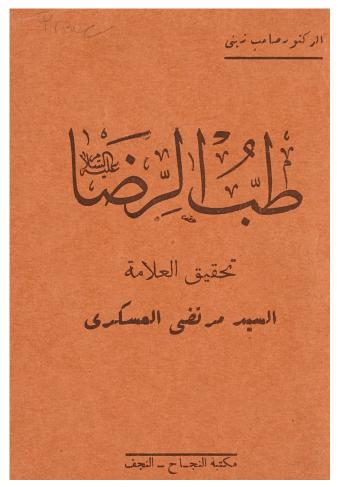


Figure 1. Book cover. Tibb al-Ridā, published in Iraq.

آفرید همه آدمیان را از پاره خون بسته. یعنی آدم را از خاک آفرید و فرزندان او را از خون

[He] created all human out of a blood clot. It means that "Adam" was created out of soil/earth, and his descendants were out of blood. (Charkhī 1999, 213)

Whether they received their knowledge through local traditions, previous exegetical literature, or scientific treatises, the elaboration of these commentators on Qur'ān 96:2 is a clear sign of early interest in scientific interpretation of the Qur'ān.

Some influential commentators have used the verse to address God's absolute authority and wisdom (e.g., al-Zamakhsharī 1986, iv:775; al-

Baydāwī 1997, 335). Al-Ṭabrisī, for example, in discussing Qur'ān 96:2, takes a theological approach. He compares the biological development of blood to sperm to human with the way a human may leave behind ignorance and become a prophet (al-Ṭabrisī [1372] 1993, x:781–82). Here, Muslim commentators have employed scientific knowledge as a tool to help comprehend the Qur'ān and as a vehicle to convey their own theological perspectives.

Other verses about the creation of humans—for example, Qur'ān 23:12-14 ("Man We did create from a quintessence (of clay); Then We placed him as (a drop of) sperm in a place of rest, firmly fixed; then We developed the drop into a (mere) clot of congealed blood [...]")—have been interpreted in the same manner. Al-Qummī, an early Shī'ī interpreter from the tenth century CE, dedicates several paragraphs in his commentary to Qur'ān 23:12-14, integrating theological accounts (from the Mu'tazīlīs) with traditional Shī'ī legal sources (based on *fiqh* (Islamic law) and *ḥadīth* (prophetic traditions)) dealing with the formation of the fetus in the mother's womb. In his legal-theological reading of these verses, al-Qummī's exegesis, using prophetic and *imāmī* (Shī'ī) traditional sciences, considered the duration of biological development from sperm to clot of congealed blood to be forty days (al-Qummī [1363] 1984, ii:89–90).

Although Muslim commentators explained Qur'anic verses using science to confirm the theology of Islam, Muslims were also keen to proclaim the miraculous nature of the Qur'an as a book containing everything from past to present, meaning all that humans had (and did not have) knowledge about. This line of thought is evident in the work of Abū Sulaymān Hāmid ibn Muhammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Khattābī (d. ca. 998) from Bust in Afghanistan, "a leading scholar in the fields of the Islamic prophetic tradition (hadīth) and Shāfi'ī jurisprudence" (Günther 2008, 4). Al-Khattābī specifically argues that the Qur'ān is discoverable through the statements of the Prophet Muhammad. He wrote Bayan I'jaz al-Qur'ān (Clarification of the Miraculous Features of the Qur'ān), a treatise in which he outlines different aspects of Qur'ānic miraculousness (Figure 2). One category concerns accounts of the future. He refers to verses such as Qur'ān 30:2-3: "The Roman Empire has been defeated in a land close by; but they, [even] after [this] defeat of theirs, will soon be victorious." According to al-Khattābī, the Qur'ān is seen by some scholars as a mine of historical information about the past and future (al-Khattābī n.d., fol. 4), providing a sketch of human society and history. The way al-Khattābī describes the miraculous nature of the Qur'an is used by modern-day advocates of Qur'anic scientific miraculousness who consider the Qur'an's historical miraculousness an aspect of its scientific miraculousness.⁷

The back and forth of theological discussions around the interpretation and miraculousness of the Qur'ān continued for centuries. Historical debates around the miraculous content of the Qur'ān and its comprehen-

قاطبمباز باتوابسورة مزمثله فعجز واعنه وانتطعوا دونه وفديغ عليه الشلم وطالبع بمعلام علسرين سنة مطهر المرالنلين وابحياعل ديا بمرمست لإرابه وإحلامه حتى فاندؤه وتأجنبوه الحزب فقللت فبماالنغوس وأربعت المهج وفطعت رضى لتهعنه قداد الناس الكلام يح لُمُوَامْر وَدَهَبْت المُوَال وَلُوكَان ذَلِكَ بِ الكاب فديا فحديثا ودهنوا فبهكا منه وسعم وفحت فدرته لم سكلنو اهد مالم توراخط مزالغوك وكافحلناهم بعجد يحيد واعن فرج ولم يُركنوا تلك النواقر المبيرة ولم يكونوا تذكوا ودلك لنعيد رمعرفة وجعله عاز الغرب السمالة بشم التول اللجزر الوعرم وصعوبه المديخ الوقوف فكغبته فالماك النعبا هذاما لاينعله عاقل ولاختاره ذول بكور يعب فالموس فيه بكونه يعار وفا حال فؤية فريشر خاصة توضوير للخلو مستعاعليهم بالمنتكان شلمعل حساف الع بززائة المحلام ووفارة العنول والملباب لماولادر في الدوية من الن يحتلج الل المد العليم وقدكان فعرالخطبا المصافع والشعكرا بالتزين الوجود الغابر المستم عاوجه الدهن المغلفون وفلوصفع التمتعال يدشابو لدنعصر ولوالالانان للزاهن للزريخ في الجدل واللذد فغال سبكانه ما صريوه للك وذلك الالبي فلي للة عليه فل فد تجدى العرب

Figure 2. Fl.2, Or. 655. Bayān Iʿjāz al-Qurʾān by Abū Sulaymān Ḥāmid ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Khaṭṭābī. Courtesy of the Leiden University Library.

siveness (presented by al-Khaṭṭābī) were then favored by more exegetical figures, leading some to state that the Qur'ān was potentially the source of everything, including things not obvious to ordinary people. Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī⁸ (d. 1111) treats this topic systematically, acknowledging and applying natural science in his Qur'ānic commentary in order to understand the laws of the universe.⁹ Al-Ghazālī "mastered most if not all the theoretical sciences" of his time (Malik 2021, 9). He was convinced that the Qur'ān contains the knowledge of all science, from past to future (see Hartmann 1916). He has thus been an inspirational source for modern scholars like Jawharī who have discussed the topic of the Qur'ān and science. For al-Ghazālī, nature is a reflection of God's omnipotence; scientific principles—"even those which are yet to be discovered and those encompassed by present knowledge" (see Whittingham 2007, 70)—emanate from religion. Otherwise, they would not result in spiritual truth.

For al-Ghazālī, knowledge is achieved through an "external process" (al-Ghazālī 1991, 14) but is incomplete without taking the Qur'ān into account as a mine of eternal knowledge. Although "knowledge is excellent in itself" (al-Ghazālī 1938, 192; Asari 1999), "no one will attain [its] happiness without obeying the orders of God or without doing good deeds" (Asari 1999, 59). According to al-Ghazālī, the most successful people are those who "unify reasoning and the religious textual tradition by discern-

ing that there is no conflict between the two" (Jaffer 2015, 75). He thus promotes a tie between the Qur'an and nature—in a general sense not a detailed one-and his Qur'anic interpretation often draws on a combination of Islamic religious disciplines and the testimony of natural sciences taken from various sources. Regarding Qur'an 82:6-8 ("O man! What has seduced thee from thy Lord Most Beneficent? Him Who created thee. Fashioned thee in due proportion, and gave thee a just bias; In whatever Form He wills, does He put thee together"), al-Ghazālī comments: "Everything can only be known by Him who knows the anatomy of man's limbs and internal organs, their number, their kinds, their underlying wisdom and their uses. God points to these in many places in the Qur'an" (al-Ghazālī 1933, 27; also see Whittingham 2007, 70). According to al-Ghazālī, only God is able to control the universe, only God is equipped with intimate knowledge about the internal organs of humans and other beings. His book, the Qur'an, gives readers information about past and future science.

Similar exegetical accounts are found in commentaries by two medieval Muslim thinkers: Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. ca. 1210) and Niẓām al-Dīn al-Nīsābūrī (d. ca. 1328). Following al-Ghazālī, al-Rāzī "integrated philosophical [natural] concepts and principles into the religious sciences [...] and he applied them systematically to the Qur'ān as he commented on it verse-by-verse, line-by-line, and word-by-word" (Jaffer 2015, 74). Al-Nīsābūrī adopts the same approach, holding that certain astronomical and astrological discoveries are helpful in comprehending God's presence and power (see Morrison 2005). Elaborating on al-Ghazālī's argument about God's authority and power over the universe, al-Rāzī and al-Nīsābūrī explain nature as an aspect of scientific knowledge (see Daneshgar 2018).

Using natural references to prove God's power is also seen in non-Arabic Qur'ānic commentaries. The Persian *Tafsīr-e Baṣā'ir-e Yamīnī* by Mu'īn al-Dīn al-Nisābūrī (d. c. 1182), widely circulated across the Muslim world, interprets Qur'ān 10:6 ("Verily, in the alternation of the night and the day, and in all that Allah hath created, in the heavens and the earth, are signs for those who fear Him") in accordance with former Arabic commentaries: "And whatever God has created in heavens and earth are novel, innovative and wondrous signs demonstrating the 'Unity' of the Creator and His authority and wisdom" (al-Nīsābūrī n.d., fol. 51).

Even lesser-known commentators have used the same approach to define nature, creation, and God's universal authority. In interpreting Qur'ān 92:3 ("By (the mystery of) the creation of male and female"), Muḥammad Mu'min Mashhadī, a Shīʿī scholar who dedicated his work to the Safavid Shāh 'Abbās (d. 1629), says:

And by the one Omnipotent Almighty, the All-powerful who has power to create male and female from one fluid. (Mu'min Mashhadī 1982, 135)

For Mu'min Mashhadī, the creation of a human is the result of a biological process that sheds light on the theistic and divine idea that such creation is conducted under God's omnipotence. This approach is also seen in Southeast Asia.¹⁰ An example is found in *Tafsīr Tarjumān al-Mustafīd* by 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Sīngkilī, one of the earliest known Malay commentators, from the seventeenth century CE (see Riddell 1984). Under Qur'ān 92:3, 'Abd al-Ra'ūf indicates that nature also constitutes a proof of God's omnipotence: "*Dan demi Tuhan yang berkuasa menjadikan Adam dan Hawa'* (And by the Lord who has the power to create male and female)" (al-Sīngkilī 1961, iii:318).

The Qur'ān, Muḥammad, and Nature

There were also Islamic indications that prompted Muslims to become advocates of the sciences: "Although God has taught Adam the knowledge of the names, David the knowledge of chain-mail making, Jesus the science of medicine, Khidr the science of recognition, God taught Muhammad the secrets of divinity" (i.e., Qur'ān 4:113: "For Allah hath sent down to thee the Book and wisdom and taught thee what thou knewest not (before)") (al-Maybudī 2015, 489).

Natural and Cosmological Indications

It is a widely known idea, inspired by al-Ghazālī, that the Qur'ān contains 750 (or 763, according to some) verses reflecting upon the microcosm and macrocosm of nature.¹¹ These verses have served scientific interpretation for centuries, frequently being used as support for self-referencing allusions from the Qur'ān, which function as a form of self-promotion, introducing the Qur'ān as a mine of science and a book of guidance that covers every-thing. Qur'ān 6:38, for example, presents an interesting combination of the Qur'ān promoting itself and addressing natural issues: "There is not an animal (that lives) on the earth, nor a being that flies on its wings, but (forms part of) communities like you. Nothing have we omitted from the Book, and they (all) shall be gathered to their Lord in the end."

Qur'ānic commentators with a naturalist tendency have paid specific attention to Qur'ān 6:38. According to al-Rāzī, this verse may reflect a miracle (al-Rāzī [1420] 2000, xii:523), suggesting that "nothing have we omitted from the Book" refers to the "Preserved Book" in the heavens, which includes all details about all beings, as well as the Qur'ān itself

(al-Rāzī [1420] 2000, xii:526). Al-Rāzī puts forward a theological question, namely, that someone may ask: "But the Qur'an does not address medicine, arithmetic, sciences, human communities, and their doctrines in detail" (al-Rāzī [1420] 2000, xii:527). Al-Rāzī's use of the phrase "in detail" (al-tafāsīl/ التفاصيل) indicates that he believes in the "scientific essence of the Qur'an" in general but agrees that such scientific essence is not described in detail. He then provides an answer that "the whole or most of the Qur'anic verses are in accordance with the purpose of the Qur'an's revelation, which is to elucidate the religion, the knowledge, and essence of God and His rules" (al-Rāzī [1420] 2000, xii:527). Al-Rāzī's explanation demonstrates that allusions to divine laws, science, creatures, and the universe in the Qur'an should be considered means of realizing who God is and "how His rules for the universe are described in the Qur'an" (al-Razī [1420] 2000, xii:527–29). In line with al-Rāzī, al-Nīsābūrī presents a similar interpretation of Qur'an 6:38. According to al-Nīsābūrī, the Qur'an does not provide full details about many sciences or human communities and their practices. He agrees that the Qur'an is the book of principles and foundational elements, not secondary and subsidiary issues, and that there is no science but that whose "origin and base [are] found in the Qur'an" (al-Nīsābūrī [1416] 1996, iii:76). For al-Rāzī and al-Nīsābūrī, the Our'ān is the source of all sciences, which can be discovered through investigation, layer upon layer. This idea has evolved over centuries; as the concepts of nature and science have evolved, so too have the Muslim definitions of nature and science in the Qur'an.

The Qur'ānic affirmation of Muḥammad's divine knowledge (Qur'ān 4: 113) leads to a discussion of how Muslims have located him in their pedagogic and scientific circles. Traditions about the Prophet instruct Muslims whether to dedicate their lives to science and address issues related to nature and the cosmos directly. Some of Muḥammad's statements are strict in commanding Muslims what and how to study. For instance, a prophetic *ḥadīth* is against the acquisition of some scientific knowledge states:

If anyone acquires a part of the science of the stars [astrology] for a purpose other than what God has stated, he has acquired a discipline of magic. That astrologer is a *kahin* [prognosticator], the *kahin* is a magician, and the magician is an infidel. (Sunnah.com, al-Tabrīzī, Book 23, Hadith 87)¹²

This statement from the *hadīth* clearly draws a line for Muslims who consider science a vehicle for learning about God. One of the oldest known mystical Qur'ānic commentaries is *Kashf al-asrār wa 'uddat al-abrār* (*The Unveiling of the Secrets and the Provision of the Pious*), ascribed to Rashīd alDīn al-Maybudī.¹³ Regarding Qur'ān 2:144 ("We see the turning of thy face [for guidance to the heavens]: now Shall We turn thee to a Qibla that shall please thee. Turn then Thy face in the direction of the sacred Mosque [...] The people of the Book know well that that is the truth from their Lord. Nor is Allah unmindful of what they do"), al-Maybudī says:

و بر جمله بدانک علم نجوم بر چهار قسم است: یک قسم از آن واجب، و آن علم شناخت اوقات نماز است [...] قسم دویم مستحبّ است، و آن شناخت جهات و طرق است رونده را در برو بحر [...]؛ قسم سیم مکروه است، و آن علم طبایع است بکواکب و بروج. قسم چهارم حرام است، و آن علم احکام است بسیر کواکب. و [...] و آن علم زنادقه است، و الیه اشار النبی « مَنِ اقْتَبَسَ عِلما مِنْ النُجُوم اقْتَبَسَ شُعْبَة مِنْ السِحْر»

And be aware that the science of stars [astronomy] is divided into four: (a) the first type is compulsory, which is about recognizing the prayer hours and direction (*qibla*) [...]; (b) the second type is permissible, by which one may understand directions and roads used by travelers of land and ocean routes [...]; (c) the third one is reprehensible, which is the knowledge of climates by means of planets and the mansions of the stars; (d) and the fourth type is the forbidden one, and that is about legal and life rules based on the stars' movements, and [...] it is a heretical science, as stated by the Prophet "anyone [who] acquires this part of the science, he has acquired a discipline of magic." (al-Maybudī [1371] 1992, i:401).

On the other hand, there are several encouraging reports ascribed to the Prophet that prompt Muslims to acquire scientific knowledge. Muslim literature is also replete with direct scientific and therapeutic references ascribed to Muhammad, some of which were already parts of popular medical techniques during his time. Historical reports confirm that medical techniques such as cauterization and cupping highlighted in prophetic traditions were known in the pre-Islamic Near East, including in Arabia (see Khan 2013). Several *hadīth* collections refer to the Prophet's comments on the healing aspect of cupping. Jabir bin 'Abdullah says that he paid al-Muqanna a visit during his illness and said, "I will not leave till he gets cupped, for I heard Allah's Messenger saying, 'There is healing in cupping'" (Sunnah.com, al-Bukhārī, Book 76, Hadith 19). The *hadīth* collections also refer to Muhammad's statements about therapeutic herbs, seeds, fruits, and plants (e.g., olives and dates) whose names are mentioned in pharmacological sources as well as the Qur'ān.¹⁴

One may conclude that, according to Muslim theology, all of the scientific allusions in Muslim exegetical works and *hadīth* collections have a divine message for their readers and followers that the Qur'ān and its messenger are infallible sources of knowledge and that the Qur'ān is superior to other holy texts. Thus, these scientific allusions are often used in modern Muslim theology, Da'wah and further religious missions.

Acknowledgments

Drafts of this article have been read by colleagues and friends who provided me with their critical, encouraging, and sometimes discouraging feedback, all of which I believe helped me to improve my work. Some colleagues were always kind in responding to my queries regarding the subject of this project. In this regard, I would like to thank Peter G. Riddell, Aaron W. Hughes, David S. Powers, Shoaib Malik, David Brosphy, Nidhal Guessoum, Stefano Bigliardi, and Shahrokh Raei. My thanks also go to two energetic students, Judith Litz and Delia Pankov, who shared their "critical" thoughts during my class on Naturwissenschaften in modernen muslimischen Gesellschaften. My thanks also go to Johanna Pink in Freiburg for her support over the last few years. Publishing this article would not have been possible without the constructive comments of the reviewers and the journal's editor, Professor Arthur Petersen, all of which helped me to significantly revise the content and structure. I would also like to thank Sarah Jost, the journal's copyeditor, for her excellent editing job. This research received support via a grant from the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG), project number 415543504, as well as the Cross-sectoral Research Platform Development Program at Kyoto University, Japan. All errors are mine.

Notes

1. Such holidays include the Islamic awareness days/weeks that are now held worldwide and are a major instrument of Da'wah (Muslim mission) in the West.

2. Also, this addition was a specific motivation for Shīʻī and Sufi communities, which wanted to ascribe miraculous powers to their saints and leaders, as is evident in their medical collections, such as *Tibb al-Ridā*, which concerns the medical prescriptions of the eighth Shīʻī Imam, 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Ridā (d. c. 818).

3. The work is known as *al-Risāla al-Dhahabiyya* (The Golden Treatise) and was prepared in the Abbasid court of al-Ma'maūn (d. 833). This treatise was reviewed, translated, and interpreted a long time ago, and its editions have often been produced by Shī'ī figures. It aims to demonstrate that 'Alī ibn Mūsā al-Ridā is superior to other physicians and philosophers from Christian and Indian backgrounds (e.g., Masawaiyh (Mesue), Jabr'ī libn Bukhtīshū') (see Zaynī n.d., 20). It should also be noted that another Shī'ī therapeutic source is *Tibb al-Sādiq*, ascribed to the sixth Shī'ī Imām, Ja'far al-Sādiq. In contrast to *Tibb al-Ridā*, it is a modern product from the early decades of the twentieth century CE. I have a study about this forthcoming.

4. The translations in this article and further two parts are based on the work of Yusuf Ali, which can be found here: www.quran.com

5. Assuming we accept the dating and authenticity of Muqātil's commentary.

6. On the theory of miraculousness in early Islam, see Wansbrough (1976), Thomas (2011), and Karimi-Nia (2013), among others.

7. Such as Adnan Rashid.

8. Sometimes referred to as just al-Ghazālī'.

9. On the comprehensive approach of al-Ghazālī to science, see Malik's monograph, *Islam and Evolution* (2021), a major contributor to the field of Islam and science.

10. Most Islamic exegetical literature in Southeast Asia originated in the Middle East and South Asia (see Riddell 1984; Feener 1998; Daneshgar, Riddell, and Rippin 2016).

11. In the 2018 YouTube show "Wissenschaft und Islam," Zakir Naik claims that there are more than 1,000 verses about science in the Qur'ān.

- 12. For the online version of the *hadīth*, see www.sunnah.com
- 13. There have been some debates about the origin of this work.

14. Traces of using natural sciences to interpret Qur'ānic verses may be found in Muslim Islamic stories (*hikayat*). I will have a forthcoming study about this issue.

References

- Amīn, Muḥammad. 1992. "A Study of Bint al-Shāṭi's Exegesis." Master's thesis, McGill University.
- Asari, Hasan. 1999. "The Educational Thought of al-Ghazali: Theory and Practice." Master's thesis, McGill University.
- Battershall, Walton. 1897. "The Warfare of Science with Theology." *The North American Review* 165 (488): 87–98.
- Battershall, Walton W. 1898. "The Efficacy of Prayer in the Light of Evolution." The North American Review 167 (501): 251–54.
- Baydāwī, Nașir al-Din. 1997. *Anwār al-Tanzīl wa Asrār al-Ta`wīl*, vol. V, edited by Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raḥman al-Marʿashli. Beirut: Dar Iḥyāʾal-Turāth al-ʿArabī.
- Burton, Ernest De Witt. 1897. "Jesus as a Thinker." The Biblical World 10 (4): 245–58.
- Charkhī, Yaʻqūb. 1999. *Tafsīr-e Yaʻqūb Charkhī: Sūrat Fātiḥah va do-Pāreh Ākhar*. Karachi: al-Raḥīm.
- Daneshgar, Majid. 2018. Tantawi Jawhari and the Qur'ān: Tafsir and Social Concerns in the Twentieth Century. New York: Routledge.

——. 2020. "I Want to Become an Orientalist Not a Colonizer or a 'De-Colonizer." Method & Theory in the Study of Religion 33 (2): 173–85.

- Daneshgar, Majid, Peter G. Riddell, and Andrew Rippin, eds. 2016. *The Qur'an in the Malay-Indonesian World: Context and Interpretation*. London: Routledge.
- Feener, R. Michael. 1998. "Notes towards the History of Qur'anic Exegesis in Southeast Asia." Studia Islamika 5 (3): 47–76.
- Ghazālī, Abū Hāmid. 1933. Jawāhir al-Qur'ān. Cairo: al-Maktaba al-Tijāriyyah al-Kubrā.
 - ——. 1938. "al-Risālah al-Laduniyya, Part II." Translated by Margaret Śmith. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 70 (2): 177–200.
- ———. 1991. The Alchemy of Happiness. Translated by Claud Field and Elton D. Daniel. New York: M. E. Sharpe.
- Günther, Sebastian. 2008. "In Our Days, Religion Has Once Again Become Something Alien: Al-Khattabi's Critique of the State of Religious Learning in Tenth-Century Islam." American Journal of Islam and Society 25 (3): 1–30.
- Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr. 1983. *al-Ṭibb al-Nabawī*. Beirut: Dār wa Maktaba al-Hilāl.
- Jaffer, Tariq. 2015. *Rāzī: Master of Qur'ānic Interpretation and Theological Reasoning*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hartmann, Martin. 1916. "Schaich Tantaāwī Dschauhari, Ein Modaerner Egyptischer Theolog und Naturfreund." *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Orients* xiii:54–82.
- Karimi-Nia, Morteza. 2013. "Rīsheh-hā-ye Takvīn-e Nazariyyeh-ye I'jāz-e Qur'ān va Tabyin-e Vojūh-e ān dar Qurūn-e Nokhost." *Pazbūhesh-hā-ye Qur'ān va Ḥadīth* 46 (1): 113–44. https://doi.org/10.22059/jqst.2013.35014.
- Kāshifī, Husein. n.d. Tafsīr-e Husaynī. Edited by Shāh Valī Allāh. Saravan: Nūr.
- Khan, Muhammad Salim. 2013. Islamic Medicine. London: Routledge.
- al-Khaṭṭābī, Abū Sulaymān Ḥāmid ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm. n.d. *Bayān I 'jāz al-Qur'ān.* Manuscript 655. Leiden University Library, Leiden University.
- al-Khūlī, Amin. 1964. "Al-Turāth al-ʿArabī; Kayfā naʿmal ilā iḥyāʾuh." *Nadwat al-Adab* 12 (11): 78–79.
- Livingston, John W. 1992. "Science and the Occult in the Thinking of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya. "Journal of the American Oriental Society 112 (4): 598–610.
- Malik, Shoaib Ahmed. 2021. Islam and Evolution: Al-Ghazālī and the Modern Evolutionary Paradigm. New York: Routledge.
- al-Maybudī, Řashīd al-Dīn. (1371) Ĭ992. *Kashf al-Asrār wa ʿuddat al-Abrār*, X vols., 5th ed. Edited by ʿAli Asghar Ḥekmat. Tehran: Amīr Kabīr.

-. 2015. The Unveiling of the Mysteries and the Provision of the Pious: Kashf al-Asrār wa 'Uddat al-Abrār. Translated by William C. Chittick. Amman: Royal Aal al-Bayt Institute for Islamic Thought.

- Mir, Mustansir. 2004. "Scientific Exegesis of the Qur'an-A Viable Project?" Islam & Science 2 (1): 33-42.
- Morrison, Robert G. 2005. "Reasons for a Scientific Portrayal of Nature in Medieval Commentaries on the Qur'an." Arabica 52 (2): 182-203.
- Mugātil, ibn Sulaymān. 2003. Tafsīr Mugātil b. Sulaymān. Edited by 'A. M. Shihāta. V vols. Beirut: Dār Ihyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī.
- Mu'min Mashhadī, Muhammad. 1982. Tafsīr-e Muhammad Mu'min Mashhadī bar Juz' Sī-ume Qur'ān-e Majīd. Edited by A. Muhaddith. Tehran: Markaz-e Enteshārāt-e 'Elmī va Farhangī.
- al-Nīsābūrī, Muʿīn al-Dīn Muhammad ibn Mahmūd. n.d. Tafsīr Basā'ir-e Yamīnī. MS Supplèment Persan 57. Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- al-Nīsābūrī, Nizām al-Dīn. 1996. Gharā'ib al-Qur'ān wa-Raghā'ib al-Furqān, VI vols. Edited by Z. 'Amīrāt. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'ilmiyya.
- Perho, Irmeli. 2023. "Medicine and the Qur'an." In Encyclopaedia of the Qur'an, edited by Johanna Pink. Leiden: Brill. http://doi.org/10.1163/1875-3922_q3_EQCOM_00118
- al-Qummī, 'Ali. (1363) 1984. Tafsīr al-Qummī, II vols. Edited by T. Mūsavī Jaza'irī. Qum, Iran: Dār al-Kutub. www.Quran.com.
- Ragab, Ahmed. 2012. "Prophetic Traditions and Modern Medicine in the Middle East: Resurrection, Reinterpretation, and Reconstruction." Journal of American Oriental Society 132 (4): 657-73.
- al-Rāzī, Muhammad. (1420) 2000. Tafsīr al-Kabīr, XXXII vols. Beirut: Dār Ihyā' al-Turāth al-ʿArabī.
- Riddell, Peter G. 1984. "The Sources of Abd al-Ra'ūf's 'Tarjumān al-Mustafīd." Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society 57 (2): 113-18.
- Said, Edward W. 1978. Orientalism. New York: Vintage.
- al-Sīngkilī, Abd al-Ra'ūf. 1961. *Tafsīr Anwār al-Baydāwī*, III vols. Penang: Sulayman Press. al-Samarqandī, Nașr ibn Muḥammad. 1995. *Tafsīr al-Samarqandī*, III vols. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr.
- Sobhānī, Ja far. 1983. Qur 'an va Asrār-e Āfarīnesh; Tafsīr-e Sūra Ra 'd. Qum, Iran: Tohīd. www. Sunnah.com.
- al-Tabarī, Abū Ja'far Muhammad ibn Jarīr. 1991. Jāmi' al-Bayān fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān, XXX vols. Beirut: Dār al-Ma[°]rifa.
- al-Tabrisī, Fadl ibn Hasan. (1372) 1993. Majma 'al-Bayān fi Tafsīr al-Qur'ān, X vols, edited by Yazdī Tabātabā'ī. Tehran: Nāser Khosrow.
- Thomas, David. 2011. "Miracles in Islam." In The Cambridge Companion to Miracles, edited by Graham Twelftree, 199-215. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tolan, John. 2002. "Saracen Philosophers Secretly Deride Islam." Medieval Encounters 8 (2-3): 184–208.
- al-Tūsī, Muḥammad ibn al Ḥasan. n.d. al-Tibyān fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān. Introduction by Muhammad H. Āqā Bozorg Tehrānī, X vols., edited by Ahmad 'Āmelī. Beirut: Dār Ihyā' al-Turāth al-ʿĀrabī.
- Wansbrough, John. 1976. Qur'ānic Studies. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Whittingham, Martin. 2007. al-Ghazali and the Qur'an: One Book, Many Meanings. New York: Routledge.
- Zamakhsharī, Abū al-Qāsim Mahmūd ibn 'Umar. 1986. al-Kashshāf 'an Haqā'iq Ghawāmid al-Tanzīl wa 'uyūn al - Aqāwāl fī Wujūh al-Ta'wīl, IV vols. Edited by Husayn Ahmad. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Arabī.
- Zaynī, S. n.d. Tibb al-Ridā. Edited by S. Mortezā 'Askarī. Baghdad: Maṭba'a al-Ma'ārif.
- Zebiri, Katharine Patricia. 1988. "Mahmud Shaltut (d. 1963), Modern Muslim Scholar and Reformer." PhD thesis, SOAS University of London.