

# Introducing Inârah

The European Institute for Islamic Research



[inarah.net](http://inarah.net)

[inarah.de](http://inarah.de)



هَفَّتِ الحَنِيفَةُ وَالنَّصَارَى مَا اهْتَدَتْ  
وَيَهُودُ حَارَتِ وَالْمَجُوسُ مُضَلَّلَهُ  
إِثْنَانِ أَهْلُ الأَرْضِ ذُو عَقْلٍ بِلا  
دِينٍ وَأَخْرُ دِينٍ لا عَقْلَ لَهُ  
- أبو العلاء المعري -

© 2022 Inârah, Saarbrücken, Germany

# **Introducing Inârah**

The European Institute for Islamic Research

## **A Summary of the Work of Inârah 2007 – 2022**

### **Contents**

1. Introduction.....	5
2. General Conclusions .....	6
3. Specific Findings.....	7
4. Notes.....	11
5. Bibliography.....	16



# A Summary of the work of Inârah 2007-2022

## 1 Introduction

Inârah (“Enlightenment”) is a group of researchers founded in 2007 by the theologian Karl-Heinz Ohlig at the University of the Saarland in Germany. Inârah has provided a multidisciplinary research environment able to focus on the origins of Islam, virtually free from outside pressures, using the historical-critical method, the standard scientific procedure for analysing historical texts, as well as the methods of philology, archaeology and numismatics. Since 2017 Inârah has been under the joint directorship of Robert M. Kerr and Markus Groß.

Inârah continues the work begun in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, of Julius Wellhausen, Adolf von Harnack, Ignaz Goldziher, and of Joseph Schacht, Günter Lüling, Suliman Bashear, Yehuda Nevo, John Wansbrough, Patricia Crone, Michael Cook and Ibn Warraq, who had collectively already concluded that the widely accepted narratives of Islamic origins recounted by Islamic *Tradition* do not accord with historical reality.

Inârah is the first interdisciplinary research group, virtually free from outside pressures, conducting research to address this issue in a cutting edge scientific fashion.

The result has been a revolution in our understanding of how Islam developed, not as a single revelation, ab-initio during the first third of the 7<sup>th</sup> century CE, but as a syncretic collection of beliefs from a variety of sources over a period of more than 200 years, commencing in the 7<sup>th</sup> and continuing well into the 9<sup>th</sup> century CE.

Over the past 15 years, having organised 7 international symposia and having published 10 volumes of research amounting to thousands of pages of text, Inârah has assembled a body of knowledge that is likely to prove invaluable to students of Islam for generations to come. Currently volume 11 is being published and should be available by February 2023.

## 2 General conclusions

Inârah applies the historical-critical method to all facts of early Islamic history and the Qur'an. The early history of Islam handed down in the traditional literature cannot be regarded as a historical source, but as a literary product of the time in which it was written for specific political, theological, literary or other reasons.

In the light of this research, the emergence of the Islamic religion presents itself as a process that took place over more than two centuries. The concentration of power in the Arab empire, the beginning of the Arabic calendar, the reconstruction, repurposing and construction of sacred buildings such as the Basilica of St John, the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus, the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, the so-called Prophet's Mosque in Medina, and the Kaaba in Mecca, all formed part of the evolution of the Islamic religion in the Middle Ages.

The writing and use of the Qur'an, the Islamic calendar, the writing of a life history of the Arab Prophet, the establishment of a pilgrimage system in Mecca, the development of traditional literature and Islamic law, are all elements of the new world religion for which researchers of Inârah have identified origins different from those claimed by traditional literature.

The early history of the Arab Empire presents itself as a process of the creation of an imperial faith by the elite of that Empire, in which syncretic – predominantly Christian, but also Judaic, Buddhist and other elements – were transformed into a new religion, in opposition to those of their competitors, such as Byzantium and Persia.

Some of the major findings, together with detailed references, are presented below.

### 3 Specific Findings

- The name Muhammad originally did not designate a person but a Christological predicate (Popp,<sup>1</sup> Luxenberg,<sup>2</sup> Ohlig<sup>3</sup>, Thomas<sup>4</sup>).
- The *Yaḥyā* of the Qur'an, unlike the baptising John of the Gospel, is a Levite to whom the law is entrusted. The *ʿĪsā bin Maryam* of the Qur'an, unlike the Jesus of the Gospels, is a companion of the Godhead to whom the Scripture is entrusted. Both belong to a renewed and purified creation according to Persian tradition. *Mḥmt/mḥmd* was originally the motto of the pre-islamic Qur'anic movement, this term was later personified and 'biographised' to give the Qur'an authority, much as how Homer was invented as author of the Iliad and Odyssey (Popp, Kerr<sup>5</sup>).
- Supposedly contemporary literary attestations of Muhammad, Muslims or Islam in Oriental texts of the seventh and eighth centuries do not refer to an Arab prophet, followers of a new religion or a new faith (Ohlig<sup>6</sup>).
- The genealogy of the Arab Prophet and his tribe, the Quraish, is unhistorical; it can be stated at what point it becomes historical (Dequin<sup>7</sup>).
- The life story of the Arabian Prophet is based largely on the life of Abū Muslim (Dequin<sup>8</sup>).
- Mecca and Medina belonged to the space of South Arabian written culture, and other North Arabian languages were spoken there that were not precursors of classical Arabic. This region cannot therefore be considered the emergent territory of the Qur'an. Dialect and script geography clearly point to North-Eastern Syria as the linguistic fons et origo of the Qur'an (Kerr<sup>9</sup>).
- The Arabic of the Qur'an patently comes across as having undergone substantial codification of grammar and usage, since many of its grammatical features are not present in older Semitic languages, in the earliest Arabic inscriptions, nor in later Arabic dialects. It thus appears more as the result of deliberate language standardisation to linguistically harmonise a primitive text for exegetical purposes. The archaic elements adopted (e.g. endings in nominal inflection) may have arisen in an environment where languages were spoken that had similar elements, which is the case in Iranian-speaking (Sogdian) areas of Central Asia (Gross<sup>10</sup>).
- The Qur'an contains linguistic features that suggest a Syro-Aramaic template (Luxenberg<sup>11</sup>).
- Names and terms from the Qur'an that are fundamental to the Islamic self-understanding, such as Mecca, Badr, Huris (paradise virgins), turn out to be misreadings or baseless interpretations (Luxenberg<sup>12</sup>).
- The initial version of the Qur'an was redacted around 700 CE under the ruler ʿAbd al-Malik under the direction of his advisor al-Ḥaḡḡāḡ ibn Yūsuf (de Prémare<sup>13</sup>)

- The Qur'an continued to be edited and revised from about 750 to at least 820. Using a literary-critical approach it has been shown how, under Abbasid rule, an initial basic text was gradually expanded, and (by establishing cross-references) older textual elements were incorporated in the process (Dequin<sup>14</sup>).
- There is still no critical edition, a scholarly curated text of the Qur'an and we are still a long way from being able to understand the creation and historical transmission of this text and its variants. (Gerd-Rüdiger Puin<sup>15</sup>).
- It is not possible to determine the age of parchment using the radiocarbon method, because the proportion of soil respiration and carbonate-containing subsoil to the incorporated carbon varies on the pastures that had once served to extract the parchment. (Dequin<sup>16</sup>).
- The narratives about Alexander-/Dū l-Qarnayn material (Surah 18), show that the Qur'an contains material that postdates the supposed lifetime of the Arab prophet as per Islamic tradition; nevertheless, there are versions of this that predate the Qur'an (Popp,<sup>17</sup> Causse<sup>18</sup>).
- The so-called "Mysterious Letters" of the Qur'an can be interpreted as remnants of liturgical instructions (abbreviations of psalm chants to be inserted) of a Syrian Christian liturgy (Luxenberg<sup>19</sup>).
- In its oldest layer (about one third of the text), the Qur'an contains hymnic Christian strophic songs in the sense of Lüling, whose structure and meaning were later changed by additions in the direction of an "Islamic reinterpretation" (Younes<sup>20</sup>).
- Today's text of the Qur'an is the result of considerable editorial revision, including various stages of interpolations through which an originally Christian text, possibly a lectionary, was Islamified. In individual cases, one can try to work out the original form and thus gain insights into the world of thought and state of mind of the author (Kropp<sup>21</sup>).
- On the basis of changes made to the Qur'anic text, which are demonstrated in early manuscripts, the ideological perspective of later editors becomes manifest, concerned primarily with the central sanctuaries in Jerusalem and Mecca as well as the associated narrative of salvation history (Mraizika-Chaussy<sup>22</sup>).
- The assumption that the five places in the Qur'an where *mḥmd* or *aḥmad* are attested must be seen as later interpolations, which is substantiated by an examination of their content (Gallez<sup>23</sup>).
- The Qur'anic text contains elements that refer to other passages of the Qur'anic text in the manner of a commentary and thus presuppose a temporal stratification. As a result, the understanding of the later passages shapes that of the earlier ones (Gobillot<sup>24</sup>).
- Different versions of the same story present in the Qur'anic text are the result of work on the text in which earlier versions were rewritten and recomposed (Dye<sup>25</sup>).



- The section in Sura 4 dealing with the crucifixion of the “Messiah Jesus” (verses 153-162) reveals a redaction history in which one must distinguish at least 4 layers. Of these, at least the extensive last layer in verse 157, which is a learned interpretation corresponding in content to remarks found in John of Damascus, must be dated after the inscription of the Dome of the Rock (692) and the tenure of al-Ḥaḡḡāḡ ibn Yūsuf (TL d. 714) (Rodrigo da Costa<sup>26</sup>).
  - The Qur’an is not a new revelation but originally a compendium of Christian theological reflections (Gobillot<sup>27</sup>).
  - The Last Supper mentioned in the Qur’an must have been a kind of Manichaeen or Paulician Eucharistic meal that most closely resembled the Passover or Bèma feast (Luxenberg,<sup>28</sup> Van Reeth<sup>29</sup>).
  - The Qur’an was originally not a dogmatic but a consensus-oriented text that formulated minimal compromises in religious disputes of the time (Kalisch<sup>30</sup>).
  - Theological concepts in the Qur’anic texts derive from several older religious milieus: Old Testament prophetic books, Jewish Merkhaba mysticism, Christian Logos teachings, Babylonian beliefs, Enoch literature and Anabaptist rituals.
- The Qur’an proves to be a metatext that provides insights into the diverse world of faith in the Umayyad period. In Abbasid times, this heritage was partly no longer understood, partly reinterpreted (Popp<sup>31</sup>).
- Mathematical methods show that the Qur’an must have had about 50 authors (Walter<sup>32</sup>).
  - A Qur’anic palimpsest found in Sanaa contains numerous deviations from the standard text, reflecting a total of four stages (1. original written text, 2. corrections to this text; 3. after reaching a limit of feasible changes, scraping of the corrected text and replacement by a new text, 4. corrections to the new text). Even the new text is not identical with today’s Cairo Qur’an from 1923/24 (Elisabeth Puin<sup>33</sup>).
  - Early Qur’anic manuscripts, such as the so-called Fustat Qur’an (NLR Marcel 13, Saint Petersburg), were corrected, inserting secondarily the word “Allah”. Taken in their entirety, it is clear that these were intentional changes made to the text, not merely scribal *lapsus calami* (Brubaker<sup>34</sup>).
  - Around the year 820, verse 33:37 was inserted into the Qur’an to religiously enshrine a politically motivated ban on adoption. This verse mentions Zayd ibn Ḥārīṭa, who is considered in traditional literature to be the adopted son of the Arab prophet. Both the adoption and Zayd’s marriage to Zaynab, their divorce and remarriage to the Arab Prophet are absent from the older accounts of the Arab Prophet’s life and were only brought into the text in connection with the ruler al-Ma’mūn’s succession to the throne (Dequin<sup>35</sup>).
  - The inscriptions of early Islamic coins are usually to be read as religious and political slogans, not as proper names of Arab rulers and governors (Popp<sup>36</sup>).

- The origin of the Arab era in 622 when the Arab elites used Heraclius' war against the Sassanids to declare their independence, Hijra, the "year of the Hagarites" refers to this new Arabic polity, the fable of Muhammad's exile to Media was only invented later (Kerr<sup>37</sup>).
- The Meccan pilgrimage ritual adopted essential parts from Buddhist ceremonies, especially the ordination of monks. In addition, there are a large number of other external similarities between Islam and Buddhism that point to a conscious adoption for the purpose of easier missionary work (Groß<sup>39</sup>).
- The establishment of the pilgrimage to Mecca happened immediately after the Abbasid seizure of power, following the example of the Buddhist Nowbahar at Balch / Masar-e Sharif (Dequin<sup>39</sup>).
- The events of the pilgrimage to Mecca under the Umayyads that have been handed down in the traditional literature are contradictory and can hardly be reconciled with the Sīra of Ibn Ishāq written down under the Abbasids, whose so-called farewell pilgrimage of the Arab prophet became the authoritative model for later times (Hawting<sup>40</sup>).
- At the pilgrimage site of Mecca, there are striking similarities in names with localities at the pilgrimage site of Jerusalem. Thus the Meccan elevation aṣ-Ṣafā seems to have its counterpart in Mount Scopus (in Hebrew Sapha), and the Meccan elevation al-Marwa has its counterpart in the Temple Mount Moriah (Zion). This suggests that the original pilgrimage was to Jerusalem and only shifted to Mecca – the pilgrimage site for the tombs of Ismael and his mother Hagar of which the Kaaba was originally the pilgrimage Church – at a later date (Kerr<sup>41</sup>).
- The Islamic calendar is the result of a turning away and turning back from Judaism; as a relict, the date of the so-called Hijra, which is identical with Yom Kippur, bears witness to this (Dequin<sup>42</sup>).
- A prerequisite for the emergence of Islam was the syncretic religious culture of Mesopotamia, which had developed from the 3rd century onwards in the course of the expropriation of large temple dominions by the Sasanian overlordship. As successors to the then forbidden temple cults, religious communities such as the Mandaean emerged that incorporated elements of various cults tolerated or promoted by the suzerainty, without being recognisably proselytised by them. This syncretic religious culture made it possible for Islam to incorporate Jewish and Christian elements without having emerged from these religious communities (Dequin<sup>43</sup>).
- Islam as we know it today is a product of the 3rd century of the Arab era (9<sup>th</sup> century CE); traditions in the form of the *isnāds* were introduced to better disguise the true circumstances (Kalisch<sup>44</sup>).
- The formation of Islamic traditional literature follows an educational intent that obscures its real history and makes it appear older than it actually is (Dequin<sup>45</sup>).

- Buddhist traditions of Eastern Iran, where Islam essentially emerged, have entered Islam both dogmatically (correspondence of form and content in faith, negation of will), institutionally (*medresis*), and in details (dates from the life of the Arab prophet, name of his daughter Fatima) (Gross,<sup>46</sup> Dequin<sup>47</sup>).
- The idea that the Arabs are descendants of Ishmael is an invention of Flavius Josephus; even in secular historiography there are only biblically influenced narratives of descent of the Arabs based on Hellenistic Greek ethnography (Kerr<sup>48</sup>).
- An “Islamic” conquest of Spain in 711 can be reconstructed neither from contemporary sources, nor from the archaeological evidence, nor from later narrative chronicles. It must be assumed that the actual events took a substantially different course than claimed in the traditional literature. (Thomas<sup>49</sup>).
- The so-called “inscription of Zuhayr”, a rock graffito near today’s pilgrimage route between al-‘Ulā and al-Ḥiğr 400 km north of Medina, is a partial forgery, in which a date, among other things, was added to a less meaningful rock carving so that it could be related to the historically unattested ruler ‘Umar (TL 634-44) (Kerr<sup>50</sup>).
- The “Seal of the Prophet” used by the so-called “Islamic State” in its flag, among others, goes back to one of the forged letters of the Arab prophet of the 19th century, which are now kept in the Topkapi Museum in Istanbul (Gerd-Rüdiger Puin<sup>51</sup>).
- Mecca was originally the (Christian) pilgrimage site for Ishmael and his mother Hagar, originally having been that of the Arabic deity Dusares and his Mother Kaabou; the Kaaba was initially a pilgrimage church (Kerr<sup>52</sup>).

#### 4 Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Volker POPP, Bildliche Darstellungen aus der Frühzeit des Islam (IV), in: *imprimatur*, Hefte 5 and 6, pp. 242–250, Saarbrücken 2004.
- <sup>2</sup> Christoph LUXENBERG, Neudeutung der arabischen Inschrift im Felsendom zu Jerusalem, in: Karl-Heinz OHLIG and Gerd-Rüdiger PUIN (Eds.), *Die dunklen Anfänge – Neue Forschungen zur Entstehung und frühen Geschichte des Islam* (= Inârah 1), pp. 124–147, Tübingen and Berlin 2005.
- <sup>3</sup> Karl-Heinz OHLIG, Vom Muhammad Jesus zum Propheten der Araber – Die Historisierung eines christologischen Prädikats, in: Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Ed.), *Der frühe Islam – Eine historisch-kritische Rekonstruktion anhand zeitgenössischer Quellen* (= Inârah 2), pp. 327–376, Tübingen and Berlin 2007; see now also Robert M. KERR, Du désir à la louange – À propos de la racine ḥmd et de la « préhistoire » de Muḥammad, *Acta Orientalia Belgica*, 35, 2022, pp. 223-266.
- <sup>4</sup> Johannes THOMAS, Noch einmal zur *mḥmd*-Fomel im Felsendom – Münzinschriften bestätigen die philologische Korrektheit der Interpretation von Christoph Luxenberg, in: Markus GROSS and Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Eds.), *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion III – Die heilige Stadt Mekka – eine literarische Fiktion* (= Inârah 7), pp. 731–733, Tübingen and Berlin 2014.

- <sup>5</sup> Volker POPP, Vom Logos zum Nomos 2 – Der ‘Abdallāh ‘Abd al-Malik, die Marwāniden und Marw in der Margiana, in: Markus GROSS and Robert M. KERR (Eds.), *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion VI – vom umayyadischen Christentum zum abbasidischen Islam* (= Inârah 10), Berlin and Tübingen 2021, pp. 588–634; Robert M. KERR, Zur mohammedanischen Frage Aus einem Leben: Dichtung und Wahrheit, in: Markus GROSS and Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Eds.), *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion IV – Mohammed – Geschichte oder Mythos?* (= Inârah 8), pp. 17-70, Tübingen and Berlin 2017.
- <sup>6</sup> Karl-Heinz OHLIG, Hinweise auf eine neue Religion in der christlichen Literatur „unter islamischer Herrschaft“?, in: Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Ed.), *Der frühe Islam – Eine historisch-kritische Rekonstruktion anhand zeitgenössischer Quellen* (= Inârah 2), pp. 223–326, Tübingen and Berlin 2007.
- <sup>7</sup> Raymond DEQUIN, Frühe ‘Alī-Verehrung und die Schöpfung des abbasidischen Weltbilds, in: Markus GROSS and Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Eds.), *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion II – Von der koranischen Bewegung zum Frühislam* (= Inârah 6), pp. 164–310, Tübingen and Berlin 2011.
- <sup>8</sup> Raymond DEQUIN, Das Leben des Abū Muslim und die Lebensbeschreibung des arabischen Propheten – Mit neuen Ansätzen für das Verständnis der islamischen Traditionsliteratur, in: Markus GROSS and Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Eds.), *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion IV – Mohammed – Geschichte oder Mythos?* (= Inârah 8), pp. 207–295, Tübingen and Berlin 2017.
- <sup>9</sup> Robert M. KERR, Von der aramäischen Lesekultur zur arabischen Schreibkultur – Kann die semitische Epigraphik etwas über die Entstehung des Korans erzählen?, in: Markus GROSS and Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Eds.), *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion I – Von der koranischen Bewegung zum Frühislam* (= Inârah 5), pp. 354–376, Berlin and Tübingen 2010.
- <sup>10</sup> Markus GROSS, Die erfundenen arabischen Relativpronomen – Ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Klassisch-Arabischen, in: Markus GROSS and Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Eds.), *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion II – Von der koranischen Bewegung zum Frühislam* (= Inârah 6), pp. 441–552, Tübingen and Berlin 2011.
- <sup>11</sup> Christoph LUXENBERG, *Die syro-aramäische Lesart des Koran – Ein Beitrag zur Entschlüsselung der Koransprache*, Berlin and Tübingen 2000.
- <sup>12</sup> Christoph LUXENBERG, Kein „Mekka“ (Makka) und kein „Bakka“ im Koran – Zu Sure 48:24 und 3:96. Eine philologische Analyse, in: *imprimatur*, Heft 7, Saarbrücken 2012. IDEM, Keine Schlacht von Badr – Zu syrischen Buchstaben in frühen Koranmanuskripten, in: Markus GROSS and Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Eds.), *Vom Koran zum Islam – Schriften zur frühen Islamgeschichte und zum Koran* (= Inârah 4), pp. 642–676, Tübingen and Berlin 2009. Idem, *Die syro-aramäische Lesart des Koran – Ein Beitrag zur Entschlüsselung der Koransprache*, Berlin and Tübingen 2000.
- <sup>13</sup> Alfred-Louis DE PRÉMARE, ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān et le Processus de Constitution du Coran, in: Karl-Heinz OHLIG and Gerd-Rüdiger PUIN (Eds.), *Die dunklen Anfänge – Neue Forschungen zur Entstehung und frühen Geschichte des Islam* (= Inârah 1), pp. 179–210, Tübingen and Berlin 2005.
- <sup>14</sup> Raymond DEQUIN, Der frühe abbasidische Koran, in: Markus GROSS and Robert M. KERR (Eds.), *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion VI – vom umayyadischen Christentum zum abbasidischen Islam* (= Inârah 10), Berlin and Tübingen 2021, pp. 146–233.
- <sup>15</sup> Gerd-Rüdiger PUIN, Die Utopie einer kritischen Koranedition: Ein Arbeitsbericht, in: Markus GROSS and Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Eds.), *Schlaglichter – Die beiden ersten islamischen Jahrhunderte* (= Inârah 3), pp. 516–571, Tübingen and Berlin 2008.
- <sup>16</sup> Raymond DEQUIN, Zayd, der Adoptivsohn des arabischen Propheten – Der Koran als Werkzeug der Herrschaft des arabischen Reichs, Anhang II, „Die Karbonatweiden-Hypothese“, in: Markus GROSS and Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Eds.), *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion V – Der Koran als Werkzeug der Herrschaft* (= Inârah 9), pp. 136–139, Berlin and Tübingen 2020.

- <sup>17</sup> Volker POPP, Eine Bemerkung zur Herkunft des Alexander-/ Dū I-Qarnayn-Materials im koranischen Text (Sure 18:83-102), in: Markus GROSS and Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Eds.), *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion IV – Mohammed – Geschichte oder Mythos?* (= Inârah 8), pp. 199–206, Tübingen and Berlin 2017.
- <sup>18</sup> Maurice CAUSSE, De la méthode synoptique appliqué au Coran et au Ḥadīṭ, in: Markus GROSS and Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Eds.), *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion III – Die heilige Stadt Mekka – eine literarische Fiktion* (= Inârah 7), pp. 619–634, Tübingen and Berlin 2014.
- <sup>19</sup> Christoph LUXENBERG, Die syrische Liturgie und die „geheimnisvollen Buchstaben“ im Koran – eine liturgievergleichende Studie, in: Markus GROSS and Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Eds.), *Schlaglichter – Die beiden ersten islamischen Jahrhunderte* (= Inârah 3), pp. 411–456, Tübingen and Berlin 2008.
- <sup>20</sup> Munther YOUNES, „In Suffering“ or „in Honour“? - A Reinterpretation of Q 90 (al-Balad), in: Markus GROSS and Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Eds.), *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion I – Von der koranischen Bewegung zum Frühislam* (= Inârah 5), pp. 306–320, Berlin and Tübingen 2010.
- <sup>21</sup> Manfred KROPP, Koranische Texte als Sprechakte am Beispiel der Sure 85, in: Markus GROSS and Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Eds.), *Vom Koran zum Islam – Schriften zur frühen Islamgeschichte und zum Koran* (= Inârah 4), pp. 483–491, Tübingen and Berlin 2009.
- <sup>22</sup> Florence MRAZIKA-CHAUSSEY, Le rite islamique: des bicéphalies du ḥarām et du pouvoir au puzzle, in: Markus GROSS and Robert M. KERR (Eds.), *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion VI – vom umayyadischen Christentum zum abbasidischen Islam* (= Inârah 10), Berlin and Tübingen 2021, pp. 508–559.
- <sup>23</sup> Edouard M. GALLEZ, Les mentions de Muḥammad dans le Coran: Des années perdues depuis 1949? - Histoire d'une recherche, in: Markus GROSS and Robert M. KERR (Eds.), *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion VI – vom umayyadischen Christentum zum abbasidischen Islam* (= Inârah 10), Berlin and Tübingen 2021, pp. 295–333.
- <sup>24</sup> Geneviève GOBILLOT, Les commentaires du Coran transmis dans le muṣḥaf: témoignages des conditions historiques de la première diffusion du texte à une communauté en formation?, in: Markus GROSS and Robert M. KERR (Eds.), *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion VI – vom umayyadischen Christentum zum abbasidischen Islam* (= Inârah 10), Berlin and Tübingen 2021, pp. 334–382.
- <sup>25</sup> Guillaume DYE, Le Coran et le problème synoptique: quelques remarques préliminaires, in: Markus GROSS and Robert M. KERR (Eds.), *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion VI – vom umayyadischen Christentum zum abbasidischen Islam* (= Inârah 10), Berlin and Tübingen 2021, pp. 234–261.
- <sup>26</sup> Ebrard D. O. RODRIGO DA COSTA, La crucifixion du Messie dans Qurʾān 4.157-158 – Entre Literarkritik et Redaktionsgeschichte, in: Markus GROSS and Robert M. KERR (Eds.), *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion VI – vom umayyadischen Christentum zum abbasidischen Islam* (= Inârah 10), Berlin and Tübingen 2021, pp. 648–702.
- <sup>27</sup> Geneviève GOBILLOT, Grundlinien der Theologie des Koran, Grundlagen und Orientierungen, in: Markus GROSS and Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Eds.), *Schlaglichter – Die beiden ersten islamischen Jahrhunderte* (= Inârah 3), pp. 320–369, Tübingen and Berlin 2008.
- <sup>28</sup> Christoph LUXENBERG, *Die syro-aramäische Lesart des Koran – Ein Beitrag zur Entschlüsselung der Koransprache*, Berlin and Tübingen 2000.
- <sup>29</sup> Jan M. F. VAN REETH, Eucharistie im Koran, in: Markus GROSS and Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Eds.), *Schlaglichter – Die beiden ersten islamischen Jahrhunderte* (= Inârah 3), pp. 457–460, Tübingen and Berlin 2008.
- <sup>30</sup> Sven KALISCH, Der Qurʾān als ein Dokument des Konsenses – Ein Beitrag zur Funktion des Qurʾān bei der Entstehung des Islam, in: Markus GROSS and Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Eds.), *Die Entstehung*

einer Weltreligion IV – Mohammed – Geschichte oder Mythos? (= Inârah 8), pp. 707–815, Berlin and Tübingen 2017.

- <sup>31</sup> Volker POPP, Vom Logos zum Nomos (1. Teil), in: Markus GROSS and Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Eds.), *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion V – Der Koran als Werkzeug der Herrschaft* (= Inârah 9), pp. 235–293, Berlin and Tübingen 2020.
- <sup>32</sup> Jean-Jacques WALTER, Analysis of the Koran Using Mathematical Code Theory, in: Markus GROSS and Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Eds.), *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion IV – Mohammed – Geschichte oder Mythos?* (= Inârah 8), pp. 851–883, Tübingen and Berlin 2017. IDEM, *Le Coran révélé par la Théorie des Codes*, Paris 2014 (Dissertation Toulouse 2013).
- <sup>33</sup> Elisabeth PUIN, Ein früher Koranpalimpsest aus Şan‘ā’ (DAM 01-27.1), in: Markus GROSS and Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Eds.), *Schlaglichter – Die beiden ersten islamischen Jahrhunderte* (= Inârah 3), pp. 461–493, Tübingen and Berlin 2008; in den folgenden Inârah-Bänden fortgesetzt.
- <sup>34</sup> Daniel Alan BRUBAKER, Forgotten God? - Post-production Insertions of Allāh in Early Qur‘ān Manuscripts, in: *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion VI – vom umayyadischen Christentum zum abbasidischen Islam* (= Inârah 10), Eds. Markus GROSS and Robert M. KERR, Berlin and Tübingen 2021, pp. 40–62.
- <sup>35</sup> Raymond DEQUIN, Zayd, der Adoptivsohn des arabischen Propheten – Der Koran als Werkzeug der Herrschaft des arabischen Reichs, in: Markus GROSS and Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Eds.), *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion V – Der Koran als Werkzeug der Herrschaft* (= Inârah 9), pp. 52–145, Berlin and Tübingen 2020.
- <sup>36</sup> Volker POPP, Von Ugarit nach Sāmarrâ – Eine archäologische Reise auf den Spuren Ernst Herzfelds, in: Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Ed.), *Der frühe Islam – Eine historisch-kritische Rekonstruktion anhand zeitgenössischer Quellen* (= Inârah 2), pp. 13–222, Tübingen and Berlin 2007. IDEM, Maavia der Aramäer und seine Zeitgenossen. Die muslimische Geschichtsschreibung als Mythologisierung eines theologischen Konzepts, in: Markus GROSS and Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Eds.), *Vom Koran zum Islam – Schriften zur frühen Islamgeschichte und zum Koran* (= Inârah 4), pp. 107–176, Tübingen and Berlin 2009.
- <sup>37</sup> Robert M. KERR, Empire Annus Hegiræ vel Annus (H)Agarorum? Etymologische und vergleichende Anmerkungen zum Anfang der islamischen Jahreszählung, in: Markus GROSS and Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Eds.), *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion III – Die heilige Stadt Mekka – eine literarische Fiktion* (= Inârah 7), pp. 14–38, Tübingen and Berlin 2014.
- <sup>38</sup> Markus GROSS, Buddhistische Einflüsse im frühen Islam? in: Markus GROSS and Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Eds.), *Schlaglichter – Die beiden ersten islamischen Jahrhunderte* (= Inârah 3), pp. 220–74, Tübingen and Berlin 2008. IDEM, Frühislam und Buddhismus. Neue Indizien, in: Markus GROSS and Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Eds.), *Vom Koran zum Islam – Schriften zur frühen Islamgeschichte und zum Koran* (= Inârah 4), pp. 347–396, Tübingen and Berlin 2009.
- <sup>39</sup> Raymond DEQUIN, Das Leben des Abū Muslim und die Lebensbeschreibung des arabischen Propheten – Mit neuen Ansätzen für das Verständnis der islamischen Traditionsliteratur, in: Markus GROSS and Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Eds.), *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion IV – Mohammed – Geschichte oder Mythos?* (= Inârah 8), pp. 207–295, Tübingen and Berlin 2017.
- <sup>40</sup> Gerald R. HAWTING, „The Ḥajj, an Appendix to the Cult of the Ka‘ba“: Wellhausens’s Idea in the Light of the Qur‘ān and Other Evidence, in: Markus GROSS and Robert M. KERR (Eds.), *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion VI – vom umayyadischen Christentum zum abbasidischen Islam* (= Inârah 10), Berlin and Tübingen 2021, pp. 383–405.
- <sup>41</sup> Robert M. KERR, „Farūqter Heiland“ et le Ḥağğ original à Jérusalem – Quelques remarques sur le messianisme de l’islam naissant, in: Markus GROSS and Robert M. KERR (Eds.), *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion VI – vom umayyadischen Christentum zum abbasidischen Islam* (= Inârah 10), Berlin and Tübingen 2021, pp. 458–507; IDEM, Die islamische Kabbala: eine

- Neuorientierung, in: Markus GROSS and Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Eds.), *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion V – Der Koran als Werkzeug der Herrschaft* (= Inârah 9), pp. 318–348, Berlin and Tübingen 2020.
- <sup>42</sup> Raymond DEQUIN, Der arabische Prophet als ein neuer Moses – Anhaltspunkte aus der Frühzeit des islamischen Kalenders, in: Markus GROSS and Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Eds.), *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion IV – Mohammed – Geschichte oder Mythos?* (= Inârah 8), pp. 297–329, Tübingen and Berlin 2017.
- <sup>43</sup> Raymond DEQUIN, Zayd, der Adoptivsohn des arabischen Propheten – Der Koran als Werkzeug der Herrschaft des arabischen Reichs, Abschnitt 7, „Gemeindebildung im Zweistromland“, in: Markus GROSS and Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Eds.), *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion V – Der Koran als Werkzeug der Herrschaft* (= Inârah 9), pp. 115–120, Berlin and Tübingen 2020.
- <sup>44</sup> Sven KALISCH, Anmerkungen zum *isnād* – Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis islamischer Geschichtskonstruktion, in: Markus GROSS and Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Eds.), *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion III – Die heilige Stadt Mekka – eine literarische Fiktion* (= Inârah 7), pp. 292–347, Tübingen and Berlin 2014.
- <sup>45</sup> Raymond DEQUIN, Das Leben des Abū Muslim und die Lebensbeschreibung des arabischen Propheten – Mit neuen Ansätzen für das Verständnis der islamischen Traditionsliteratur, in: Markus GROSS and Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Eds.), *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion IV – Mohammed – Geschichte oder Mythos?* (= Inârah 8), pp. 207–295, Tübingen and Berlin 2017.
- <sup>46</sup> Markus GROSS, Frühislam und Buddhismus. Neue Indizien, in: Markus GROSS and Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Eds.), *Vom Koran zum Islam – Schriften zur frühen Islamgeschichte und zum Koran* (= Inârah 4), pp. 347–396, Tübingen and Berlin 2009.
- <sup>47</sup> Raymond DEQUIN, Das Leben des Abū Muslim und die Lebensbeschreibung des arabischen Propheten – Mit neuen Ansätzen für das Verständnis der islamischen Traditionsliteratur, in: Markus GROSS and Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Eds.), *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion IV – Mohammed – Geschichte oder Mythos?* (= Inârah 8), pp. 207–295, Tübingen and Berlin 2017.
- <sup>48</sup> Robert M. KERR, Die blauen Blumen von Mekka – Von Ismaels Stadt zum Heiligtum der Ismaeliten, in: Markus GROSS and Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Eds.), *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion III – Die heilige Stadt Mekka – eine literarische Fiktion* (= Inârah 7), pp. 52–174, Tübingen and Berlin 2014.
- <sup>49</sup> Johannes THOMAS, Frühe spanische Zeugnisse zum Islam. Vorschläge für eine differenzierte Betrachtung der Konflikte und der religiösen Gemeinsamkeiten zwischen dem Osten und dem Westen des arabischen Reiches, in: Markus GROSS and Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Eds.), *Schlaglichter – Die beiden ersten islamischen Jahrhunderte* (= Inârah 3), pp. 93–186, Tübingen and Berlin 2008. IDEM, Araboislamische Geschichtsschreibung und ihre Auswirkungen auf Geschichtsbilder von al-Andalus (8. Jh.) – Quellen- und Tradentenprobleme, fiktionale Geschichte bei Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam und das Märchen von den arabischen Stammesfehden, in: Markus GROSS and Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Eds.), *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion I – Von der koranischen Bewegung zum Frühislam* (= Inârah 5), pp. 140–232, Berlin and Tübingen 2010. IDEM, Al-Andalus: Historiographie und Archäologie, in: Markus GROSS and Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Eds.), *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion IV – Mohammed – Geschichte oder Mythos?* (= Inârah 8), pp. 547–635, Tübingen and Berlin 2017. IDEM, Zu den beiden Mythen „Entscheidungsschlacht am Guadalete (711)“ und „Zerstörung der Städte“, in: Markus GROSS and Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Eds.), *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion V – Der Koran als Werkzeug der Herrschaft* (= Inârah 9), pp. 193–207, Berlin and Tübingen 2020.
- <sup>50</sup> Robert M. KERR, „Forging Ahead into the Islamic Past“ – Einige Bemerkungen zur Inschrift von Zuhayr, in: Markus GROSS and Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Eds.), *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion V – Der Koran als Werkzeug der Herrschaft* (= Inârah 9), pp. 11–51, Berlin and Tübingen 2020.

- <sup>51</sup> Gerd-R. PUIN, Das „Siegel des Propheten“, in: Markus GROSS and Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Eds.), *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion V – Der Koran als Werkzeug der Herrschaft* (= Inârah 9), pp. 617–635, Berlin and Tübingen 2020.
- <sup>52</sup> Robert M. KERR, Die blauen Blumen von Mekka – Von Ismaels Stadt zum Heiligtum der Ismaeliten, in: Markus GROSS and Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Eds.), *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion III – Die heilige Stadt Mekka – eine literarische Fiktion* (= Inârah 7), pp. 52–174, Tübingen and Berlin 2014; IDEM, Die islamische Kabbala: eine Neuorientierung, in: Markus GROSS and Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Eds.), *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion V – Der Koran als Werkzeug der Herrschaft* (= Inârah 9), pp. 318–348, Berlin and Tübingen 2020.

## 4 Bibliography

- Karl-Heinz OHLIG and Gerd-Rüdiger PUIN (Eds.): *Die dunklen Anfänge – Neue Forschungen zur Entstehung und frühen Geschichte des Islam*. (= Inârah 1). Verlag Hans Schiler, Berlin 2005, ISBN 3-89930-128-5.
- Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Ed.): *Der frühe Islam – Eine historisch-kritische Rekonstruktion anhand zeitgenössischer Quellen*. (= Inârah 2). Verlag Hans Schiler, Berlin 2007, ISBN 978-3-89930-090-1.
- Markus GROSS and Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Eds.): *Schlaglichter – Die beiden ersten islamischen Jahrhunderte*. (= Inârah 3). Verlag Hans Schiler, Berlin 2008, ISBN 978-3-89930-224-0.
- Markus GROSS and Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Eds.): *Vom Koran zum Islam – Schriften zur frühen Islamgeschichte und zum Koran*. (= Inârah 4). Verlag Hans Schiler, Berlin 2009, ISBN 978-3-89930-269-1.
- Markus GROSS and Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Eds.): *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion I – Von der koranischen Bewegung zum Frühislam*. (= Inârah 5). Verlag Hans Schiler, Berlin 2010, ISBN 978-3-89930-318-6.
- Markus GROSS and Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Eds.): *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion II – Von der koranischen Bewegung zum Frühislam*. (= Inârah 6). Verlag Hans Schiler, Berlin 2011, ISBN 978-3-89930-345-2.
- Markus GROSS and Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Eds.): *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion III – Die heilige Stadt Mekka – eine literarische Fiktion*. (= Inârah 7). Verlag Hans Schiler, Berlin 2014, ISBN 978-3-89930-418-3.
- Markus GROSS and Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Eds.): *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion IV – Mohammed – Geschichte oder Mythos?* (= Inârah 8). Verlag Hans Schiler, Berlin 2017, ISBN 978-3-89930-100-7.
- Markus GROSS and Karl-Heinz OHLIG (Eds.), *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion V – Der Koran als Werkzeug der Herrschaft* (= Inârah 9). Verlag Schiler & Mücke, Berlin and Tübingen 2020, ISBN 978-3-89930-215-8.
- Markus GROSS and Robert Martin KERR (Eds.), *Die Entstehung einer Weltreligion VI – Vom umayyadischen Christentum zum abbasidischen Islam: Studia Islamica Philologica Necnon Theologica Carolo-Henrico Ohlig Dicata* (= Inârah 10 – nova series). Verlag Schiler & Mücke, Berlin and Tübingen 2021, ISBN 978-3-89930-389-6.
- IBN WARRAQ, *The Quest for the Historical Muhammad*, Amherst, NY, Prometheus Books, 2000.
- IBN WARRAQ, *Christmas in the Koran: Luxenberg, Syriac & the Near Eastern and Judeo-Christian Background of Islam*, Amherst, NY, Prometheus Books, 2014.